

IN THE WAKE OF MAHATMA GANDHI : Breaking the Salt Laws in Gujerat

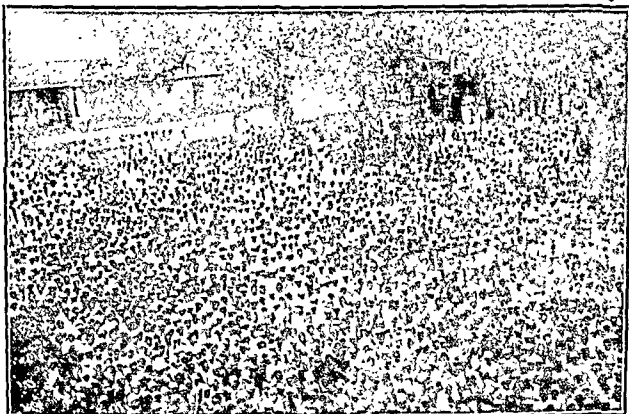
Acknowledgment—The photographs which illustrate the following pages have been supplied by the kind courtesy of Mr. Kanu Desai, *The Anandabazar Patrika*, The Bengal Provincial Civil Disobedience Committee, Messrs. D. Ratan & Co., and Messrs. A. N. Das & Co., of Calcutta, to all of whom we wish to acknowledge our indebtedness. The photographs and sketches illustrating Mahatma Gandhi's campaign have been specially taken for the *Modern Review* by Mr. Kanu Desai.



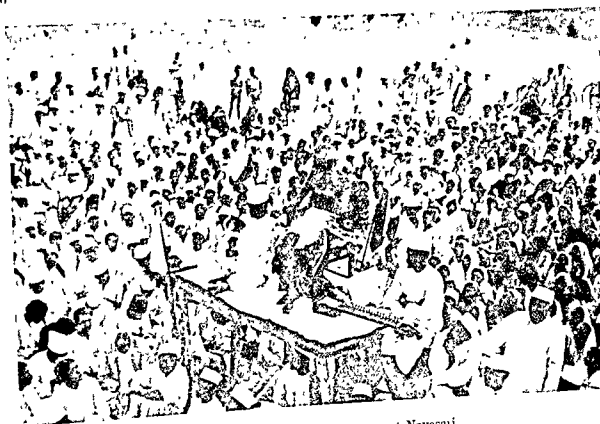
Mahatma Gandhi at work for *Young India*
in his hut in the Satyagrahi's camp



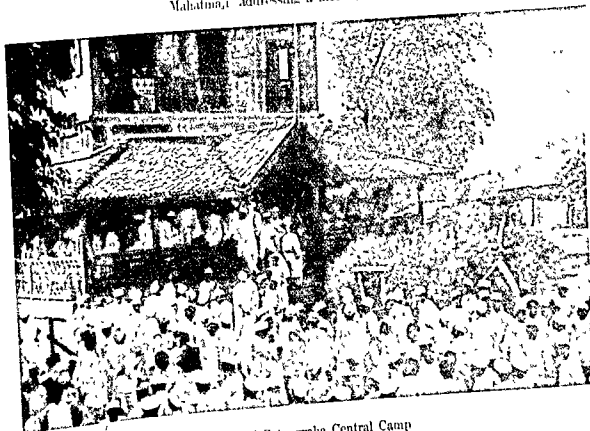
Mahatmaj's hut in the camp
near Navasari



Huge crowds welcome Gandhiji at Nadiad



Mahatma, addressing a meeting at Navasari



Navasari Satyagraha Central Camp

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN INDIA



Mr. Reginald Reynolds



ompanying

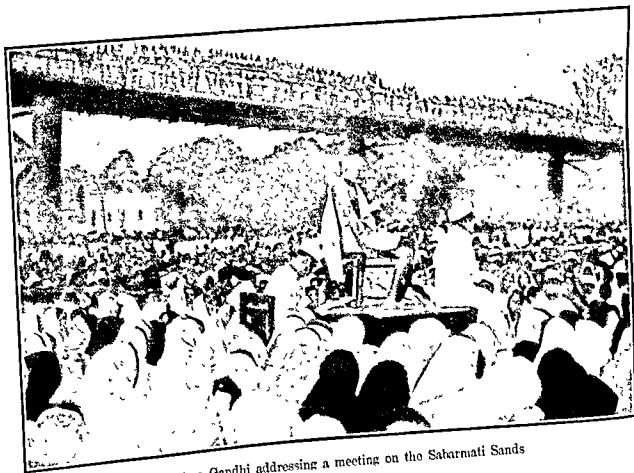


Gandhi going to speak at a mass meeting
with Miss Mithuben Petit and others





Crowds come to see and hear Mahatma Gandhi at Kheda



Mahatma Gandhi addressing a meeting on the Sabarmati Sands



Gandhiji taking his meal at Dandi
with Sgt. Abbas Tyabjee



Two French journalists in Khaddar accompanying
Mahatmaji on his march



Marching down to Barsad



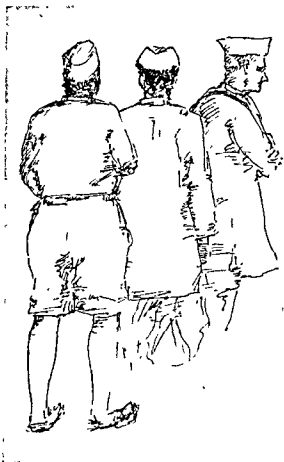
Sardar Vallabh-bhai Patel



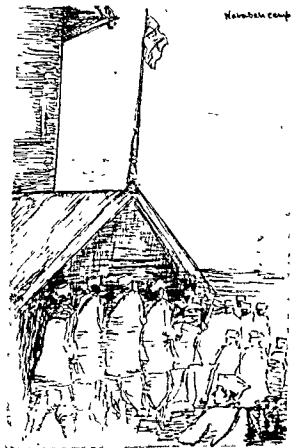
Dandi
Where the Salt Laws were first broken



Salt Law breakers at Dandi—The camp
in the background



Volunteers getting ready for arrest



The Central Camp at Navasati

After the pen and ink sketches by Mr. Kapu Desai

ALL INDIA FOLLOWS MAHATMA GANDHI : Bengal and the U. P.



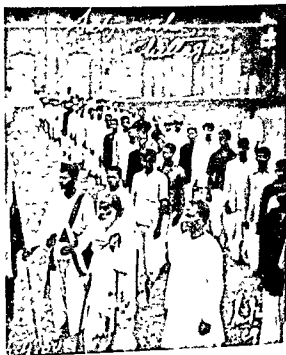
Arrival of the Satyagrahis at the Sealdah Station in Calcutta



Satyagrahis starting from Barisal in Bengal



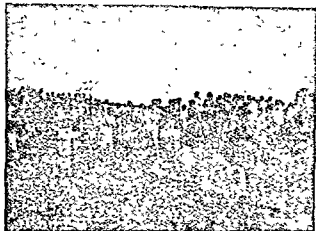
Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, one of the leaders of the Contai Satyagrahis. He has been sentenced to two and a half years' rigorous imprisonment.



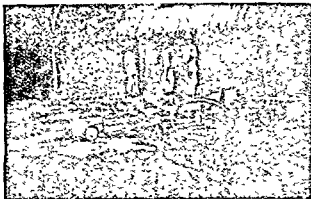
Satyagrahis from Chittagong



Making Salt at Tamluk in South Bengal



A meeting of villagers at Kalikapore near Calcutta



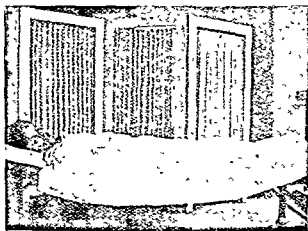
Volunteers' camp raided by the Police
Smashed utensils and a broken
Bicycle lying in the foreground



Police raid the Kalikapore Satyagraha camp



Volunteers kits scattered about by the Police



A wounded volunteers from Kalikapore
lying in hospital



Three wounded volunteers from Kalikapore



The Police charging a meeting at Narghat in South Bengal



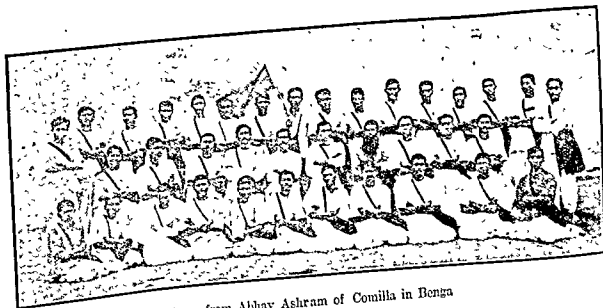
A ten year old boy beaten senseless by the District Magistrate with his hunter. He is lying on the lap of Miss Ganguly and two of her companions (the incident is described on page 622 of this issue)



Police officers watching the Satyagrahis at Contai



Miss Jyotirmayi Ganguly holding a meeting at Narghat in defiance of a prohibition order



Volunteers from Abhay Ashram of Comilla in Benga



Above—Arrival of Satyagrahis at Pisabani
Below—A seventy year old lady who accompanied
a Jatha to Agra as volunteer



Left—Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji, one of the leaders
of the Contai Satyagrahis. He has been
sentenced to two and a half years'
imprisonment



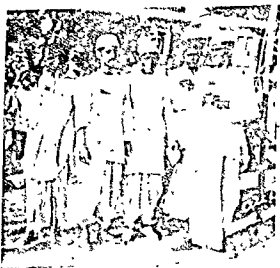
Making salt at Mahishbathan



The Police charging the Satyagrahis at Mahishbathan. A scene that has become quite familiar in Satyagraha centres



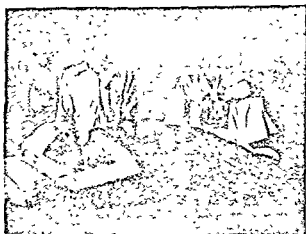
Four wounded volunteers from Neela being taken down from the ambulance at Chittaranjan Hospital, Calcutta



The first batch of volunteers to sell contraband salt in the streets of Calcutta



Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta and Mrs. Sen-Gupta
crossing the ferry at Kristapur on their
visit to Mahishbathan



Three wounded volunteers from Neela



Policemen getting ready
After a drawing by Kattu Desai



General view of the Salt Lakes near Mahishbathan where salt is being manufactured

WOMEN AND STUDENTS' MOVEMENT



A Ladies' procession in Calcutta



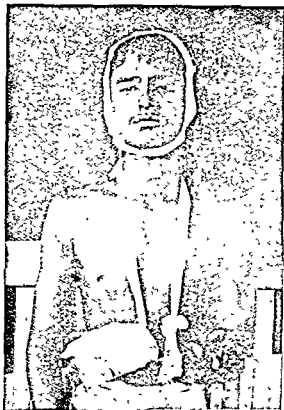
Girl volunteers taking out a procession in Calcutta



Mrs. Nistarini Devi addressing a meeting in Calcutta



An old gentleman beaten by the police in their attempt to disperse a ladies' meeting in Calcutta



A young man wounded on the same occasion



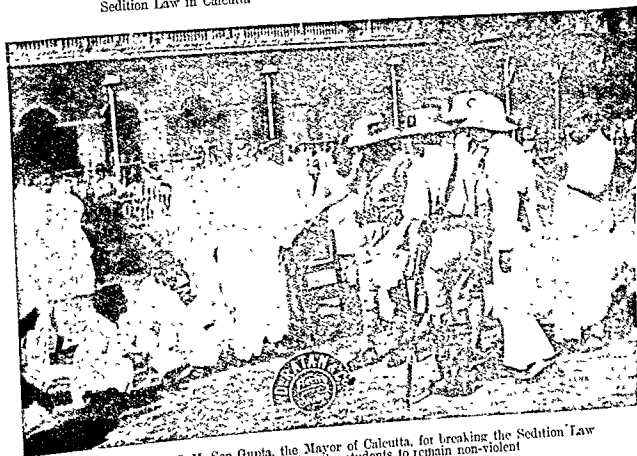
A group of lady volunteers who carried out foreign cloth boycott propaganda successfully at Nauchandi Fair in Meerut U. P.



Students under arrest for breaking the
Sedition Law in Calcutta



A ladies' meeting in Calcutta .



The arrest of Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta, the Mayor of Calcutta, for breaking the Sedition Law
Mr. Sen-Gupta is exhorting the students to remain non-violent



NOTES

The League of Nations and the Indian Situation

India is subject to Great Britain, and the Government of India is a subordinate department of the Imperial Government in London. But both Britain and India are independent members of the League of Nations. That is to say, India is a Member of the League of Nations, not because she is a part of the British Empire, but in her own right. This, however, is only theoretically true. As India can function in the League of Nations only through the Government of India, which is British and subordinate to the Government of Great Britain, India's independent membership of the League of Nations is not of much practical use to her in international affairs.

The League recognizes the fact that there can be disputes and differences of opinion between its Members, and it can arbitrate between the parties to bring about a settlement. But in the case of Britain and India, though there are very often acute differences of opinion between the two countries, these differences cannot be brought to the notice of the League in the ordinary way. If there be a dispute between France and Italy and if the Governments of the two countries are unable to arrive at a settlement by their own efforts, either Government can take it to the League of Nations; for neither is subordinate to the other. But as regards India and Britain, however grievous the complaints of the people of India may be against the British Imperial Government, their (the Indian people's) complaints cannot be brought to the notice of the League. For the ordinary way of doing this is not open to them. If India had been an independent country, her Government would have been national and that Government would have voiced her opinion at Geneva. But as matters stand, the Government of India will not and cannot recognize any opinion other than its own as the opinion of India, and being itself subordinate to the Government of Britain, it cannot ask the

League of Nations to arbitrate between itself and its master the Government of Britain.

Even in independent countries, there is never mathematically perfect unanimity of opinion in any matter, but substantial unanimity there very often is. In India, there was such substantial unanimity in boycotting the Simon Commission. But even in such a case, the British Government of India was able, indirectly by means of its direct and indirect powers of rewarding and punishing, to make it appear as if there was widespread support of the Commission. Similarly, though there is practical unanimity among all important political bodies in India that India should have Dominion status, Great Britain intends to act on the assumption that the wishes of Indians as regards the future form of Government of India are still unknown and have to be ascertained at a Conference in London of her representatives (to be chosen by Britain!) with British representatives. A mere child can understand that any wish can be proved to be the wish of India by choosing her "representatives" in a particular manner.

These examples will suffice to show that, if by some chance or through some loophole, some matter upon which the vast majority of the people of India are unanimous were brought before the League, the Government of India would be able to produce the opinions of many a mushroom Association to prove that there was no unanimity regarding that matter in this country and even that the view for which the Government stood was the view of the vast majority of Indians!

Such being the abnormal political condition of India, and Britain and the British group of members being very powerful in the League Assembly, League Council and League Secretariat, no definite favourable result need be expected from carrying our case to Geneva. The people of India must, therefore, rely mainly on their own efforts for success in their non-violent fight for freedom. But something can be done to

influence world opinion through efforts to place India's case before the League. In order to decide how this can be done, the Articles of the Covenant of the League of Nations should be carefully studied by our leaders. Their attention is drawn to Article 11 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which runs as follows :

"Any war, or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safe-guard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the Secretary-General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

"It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends."

War is generally understood to mean a quarrel between parties, usually nations, conducted by force, and denotes open hostility. In India, the Congresswalas, representing the largest group of politically-minded Indians, have declared non-violent war against the British Government with a view to the gaining independence. To put down this non-violent war, the Government is using force. So, there is force used on one side. The League should consider whether this is war. In some wars of independence and many other wars, a smaller number of soldiers is sometimes engaged than that of the men now engaged in civil disobedience. Therefore, so far as the number of those engaged in it is concerned, the present movement of non-violent hostility to the British Government should not be beneath the notice of the League of Nations. That all political parties and sections of Indians are not taking part in it can be no objection. For, in other wars of independence, too, (e. g., the American war of independence) part of the population remained loyal to the ruling power. It is no material objection, again, that the civil resisters are non-violent and unarmed. That fact rather goes in favour of the movement. For civil disobedience is ethically superior to armed rebellion. So the impression ought not to be created that men who seek to gain an object by wading through blood are entitled to a consideration to which those

who seek to gain the same object by peaceful means are not entitled. Hence, we are distinctly of the opinion that the first paragraph of Article 11 of the League Covenant is applicable to the present situation in India.

But if there be any doubt regarding the applicability of the first paragraph, there is little or none regarding the applicability of the second paragraph to the case of India to-day. The Civil Disobedience movement in India undoubtedly is a "circumstance affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends." It has disturbed the good understanding between the British and Indian nations. Hence it is the duty of some Member or Members of the League to exercise their "friendly right" to bring the situation in India to the attention of the Assembly or the Council.

Citizens of India residing in independent countries which are Members of the League may consult international jurists there to ascertain their views on the subject. A peaceful solution of the problem of Indo-British relations which would be honourable to both parties is highly to be desired. This seems to us possible through the good offices of friendly Members of the League of Nations.

Resignation of President Patel

Mr. V. J. Patel has resigned the office of President of the Legislative Assembly, stating in a letter addressed to Lord Irwin the reasons for the step he has taken. The Viceroy has accepted his resignation. Mr. Patel writes in the course of his letter :

Strict impartiality, and more than that, absolute independence, have guided my conduct throughout. Neither desire for popular applause nor a fear of bureaucratic frown have I allowed to influence my conduct at any time. I may have made mistakes, but I can safely say with a clear conscience today that on no occasion have I been actuated by any personal or political feeling, and in all that I have said or done I have according to my poor judgment endeavoured to consult the best interests of the Assembly and the country.

By unflinching adherence to these two principles in the discharge of my duties under circumstances however difficult, I brought down on my head the wrath of the bureaucracy. It is no doubt true that they tolerated my adherence to these principles up to a point, but in matters that really mattered to them it was a different story. The King's Government must be carried on and even a Speaker of a

popular Assembly is expected to behave and to make it easy for the bureaucracy to function.

I gave them no quarter and refused to be a part and parcel of the Administration or to be subservient to them on any matter, however vital from their point of view, and as a result harassment and persecution was my lot at least for the last three years.

They went to the length of organizing, and carrying out a social boycott of the President of the Assembly, they condoned—to use a milder term—all sorts of attacks in the Press, and otherwise on the impartiality of the Chair in the most unbecoming language imaginable.

As if this was not enough a clique of underlings, defamed on a campaign of vilification, abuse and misrepresentation of the President, was allowed to thrive, doing its work unhampered.....

Certain correspondents of newspapers had always free access to this clique and received at its hands every encouragement and inspiration. The columns of these newspapers were at the disposal of the clique for its campaign against the President, with the result that to the ordinary white man, not only at the headquarters of the Government of India but throughout the country, the occupant of the Assembly Chair has become an eye-sore. I have been shadowed and my movements have been constantly watched. It seemed to me as if there was a deliberate and organized conspiracy to persecute me in order that I might in sheer disgust, tender my resignation and thereby supply a handle to the enemies of India to demonstrate that Indians are unfit to hold such responsible positions. It was an open secret that the Government of India and their officials had no love for me and tolerated me in the Chair because there was no way by which they could remove me except by a direct vote of censure, but they were never sure of getting a majority in the House to pass such a vote, and perhaps you would not lightly allow such a motion to be tabled.

In the midst of these difficulties Mr. Patel carried on, because he believed that he was serving his country by doing so. And it must be admitted that he did render some service to India by the way in which he discharged his duties and the precedents and conventions he laid down and the rulings he gave. But under the changed conditions prevailing at present, he feels that his continued occupancy of the Chair can do no good. What the changed conditions are is thus stated by him :

Owing to the boycott of the Assembly by Congressmen in obedience to the mandate of the Lahore Congress, followed recently by the resignations of the leader of the opposition, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and a band of his loyal followers, as a protest against the manner and method by which the Government of India forced down the throat of an unwilling Assembly the principle of Imperial Preference, the Assembly has lost its representative character, and when speaker after speaker rose on the Tariff Bill discussion and said that by the attitude adopted by the Govern-

ment of India, namely, that the Assembly must accept British preference or the mill industry of India must go to wrack and ruin, they would be compelled to vote against their convictions and not on the merits of the Government proposals, I felt, whether it was worth while any longer presiding over an Assembly where it was not possible for the President to safe-guard even the freedom of vote supposed to have been guaranteed by the Government of India Act.

"It goes without saying that the Assembly would hereafter exist merely to register the decrees of the Executive and I would be doing a disservice to my country if I continued to lend false prestige to such a body by presiding over it any more.

President Patel on Freedom's Fight

Other grave considerations have weighed with him and led him to take the step he has done.

Apart from these considerations, in the grave situation that has arisen in the country, I feel that I would be guilty of deserting India's cause at this critical juncture if I were to continue to hold office of President of the Assembly.

My people have been engaged in a life and death struggle for freedom. The movement of non-violent non-co-operation and civil disobedience initiated by the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, the greatest man of modern times, is in full swing. Hundreds of prominent countrymen of mine have already found their place in His Majesty's gaols, thousands are prepared to lay down their lives if necessary and hundreds of thousands are ready to court imprisonment in the prosecution of that great movement. At such a juncture in the history of the struggle for freedom of my country, my place is with my countrymen with whom I have decided to stand shoulder to shoulder, and not in the Chair of the Assembly.

How Mr. Patel was Disillusioned

Mr. Patel co-operated with the British Government to bring about some amicable settlement by means of which a struggle for freedom like the present might be averted. But he has failed to achieve his object—he has lost faith in the good intentions and bona fides of that Government, and has become a Non-co-operator. He tells how :

As Your Excellency is aware, I was endeavouring in my humble way for the last four years that you have been at the helm of affairs in India to prevent such a situation from developing. I had all along pleaded that the crisis could be averted only by a frank and full recognition by Britain of India's claim to complete Dominion status without reservation, and the method of giving effect to that decision being examined in some joint and equal conference between plenipotentiaries of the two countries—

I confess I felt for a time that better days were in sight and India might soon secure her legitimate place as a free and self-governing unit in the British Commonwealth of Nations, without further sufferings and sacrifices, mainly through your instrumentality. But recent events both in England and India have completely disillusioned me, and I have now come to the deliberate conclusion that all talk about the so-called change of heart on the part of the British Government and change of spirit in day-to-day administration of this country, and of Dominion status being in action in India, is merely eye-wash, is as unreal as the Fiscal Autonomy Convention, and is not to be found anywhere translated into action in any shape or form.

In these circumstances, I have no doubt whatever that there is no desire on the part of the British Government to recognize the justice of the claim made by the Congress and satisfactorily settle India's problem to the lasting benefit of India and Britain alike. On the contrary, there has been abundant evidence in the recent actions of the Government in all parts of the country that, true to their traditions, they have launched on a policy of ruthless repression designed to crush the legitimate aspirations of a great people.

Mr. Gandhi Vindicated

Mr. Patel proceeds :

I am convinced therefore that Mr. Gandhi stands fully vindicated in the attitude he had taken up, that he was not prepared to advise the Congress to participate in the round-table conference in London, unless there had been a full and frank recognition of India's claim to complete Dominion status, without any reservation, and unless it was made clear that the conference was to meet to explore methods of giving effect to such a decision.

Such being his conviction, he naturally comes to the conclusion that

In such a situation the only honourable and patriotic course open to me is to sever my connection with the Government of India, which I hereby do by tendering my resignation, and take my legitimate place in the fight for freedom side by side with my countrymen. I only hope my indifferent health will not prevent me from actively participating in the movement, but in any case I shall be giving at least my moral support to it by thus resigning.

The Viceroy's Reply

Lord Irwin's reply to Mr. Patel contains among others the following passages :

Your letters make it plain that your course of action is not one that could be influenced by reasonable argument, and it is evident that nothing is to be gained by a detailed reply, nor is it necessary for me to vindicate the officers of my Government against charges which bear on their face their own refutation.

One conspicuous example of a misunderstanding of events lies in your belief that it was at your request or in accordance with your advice that my Government discharged its responsibilities in connection with the movement for refusal of payment of land revenue in Bardoli Taluka in 1926.

I regret that our official connection should have terminated in such circumstances, and can only hope that you and those with whom you are once again to be openly associated may come to realize how grave a wrong you do to India by rejecting the way of peace that lies open through free conference with His Majesty's Government in order to encourage your countrymen to a deliberate and dangerous defiance of the law.

It must always be assumed that the course of action of the British man in power is the only "one that could be influenced by reasonable argument."

It is not evident to us that nothing was to be gained by a detailed reply to Mr. Patel. What Lord Irwin says to Mr. Patel is generally said by men in power who have no convincing reply to give or who feel that an *ipsi dixit* backed by the visible or the invisible big stick is an effective substitute for a convincing reply.

The refutation which Mr. Patel's charges against the officers of Lord Irwin's Government are said to bear on their face is invisible to us.

The public may expect to hear more from ex-President Patel on Bardoli affairs in reply to Lord Irwin's remarks.

Is there any insinuation in the use of the word "openly" in the last sentence quoted above ? Does Lord Irwin suggest that even when occupying the presidential chair Mr. Patel, instead of being a neutral non-party man, had been secretly associated with Congressmen ? If so, why does he not say so "openly" ?

There is no question that the "way" which Lord Irwin speaks of is a way of peace. But the peace is peace at any price and the way of peace referred to is not believed by large numbers of Indians to be one leading to the freedom which India desires.

Some people can be fooled sometimes. But all people cannot be fooled for all time.

Significance of Mr. Patel's Disillusionment

Some men are against foreign rule because it is foreign. They are irreconcilable to any other kind of Government except

self-rule. Their hostility to foreign rule need not be based on their knowledge and experience of the evils of any particular specimen of such rule. For that reason their hostility may be made light of by critics by saying that they are doctrinaire politicians who are guided solely by abstract theories but pay no attention to realities and practical considerations. There may be something in such criticism. But it does not apply to men like ex-President Patel. He is a man of affairs, and has tried to work the "Reforms" and get as much good out of them as he could. He did not start with any *a priori* conviction that foreign rule cannot make for freedom.

Some politically-minded Indians have never associated with either official or non-official Britishers. Some may have mixed with a few British officials and some with only a few British non-official men. If men of any of these classes assert that Britishers do not mean to allow Indians to be masters in their own household, their opinion may be set down to absolute lack of experience or to its scantiness. This cannot be said of Mr. Patel. Both before and during his incumbency of the office of President, he has mixed with both official and non-official Englishmen in India and Great Britain. In India he has been in close contact with the greatest English official in India for years, and for him he still cherishes great regard.

When such a man comes practically to the same conclusion to which Mahatma Gandhi gave expression in his letter to the Viceroy, *viz.*, "that there never has been any intention of granting such Dominion status (equal to virtual independence) to India in the immediate future," and that "it seems as clear as daylight that responsible British statesmen do not contemplate any alteration of the British policy that might adversely affect Britain's commerce with India or require an impartial and close scrutiny of Britain's transactions with India," his disillusionment must be taken and considered seriously.

The adhesion of Mr. Patel to the civil disobedience movement is expected to give it a great push forward.

The Significance of Gandhiji's Disillusionment

Though Mahatma Gandhi never accepted any office under the British Government, his disillusionment is at least as significant as

that of Mr. Patel. In his letter to the Viceroy he writes: "I served them (the British people) up to 1919 blindly." Some of his dearest friends are Englishmen. His knowledge of the evils of British rule in India is derived partly from the writings of Englishmen. He has mixed intimately with many of them, and does not hate them. Yet such a man is leading a campaign to the death to free the country from subjection to them. To understand the significance of this fact we must recall to what extent and at what risk to his own life and reputation he co-operated with and served the British Empire and how profound was his faith in it.

Referring to the Boer War of 1899-1902, Gandhiji writes in his *Autobiography*, vol. I, pp. 497-500:

"When the war was declared, my personal sympathies were all with the Boers, but I believed then, that I had yet no right, in such cases, to enforce my individual convictions.....My loyalty to the British rule drove me to participation with the British in that war. I felt, that if I demanded rights as a British citizen, it was also my duty, as such, to participate in the defence of the British Empire. I held then, that India could achieve her complete emancipation only within and through the British Empire. So I collected together as many comrades as possible, and with very great difficulty got their services accepted as an ambulance corps. The corps acquitted itself well... We were asked at a critical moment to serve within the firing line. We had no hesitation."

At the time of the Zulu 'Rebellion' in Natal, which came soon after the Boer War, Mr. Gandhi was practising as a lawyer in Johannesburg.

"I felt, that I must offer my services to the Natal Government on that occasion. The offer was accepted...I had to break up my household at Johannesburg to be able to serve during the 'Rebellion'." *Autobiography*, vol. I, pp. 479-480.

During the World War, Mr. Gandhi raised recruits for the British Government. Of this recruiting campaign he writes in his *Autobiography*:

We decided to dispense with the use of carts and to do our journeys on foot. At this rate we had to trudge about 20 miles a day. If carts were not forthcoming, it was idle to expect people to feed us. It was hardly proper to ask for food. So it was decided that every volunteer must carry his food in his satchel. No bedding or sheet was necessary as it was summer (p. 453, vol. II). We had meetings wherever we went. People did attend, but hardly one or two would offer themselves as recruits. 'You are a votary of Ahimsa,

How can you ask us to take up arms? 'What good has Government done for India to deserve our co-operation? These and similar questions used to be put to us. However our steady work began to tell. Quite a number of names were registered.---(P. 456, vol. ii). I very nearly ruined my constitution during the recruiting campaign, (p. 461, vol. ii).

We have reproduced these passages from Mahatma Gandhi's *Autobiography* to recall the kind of co-operation he gave to the British Government. If British Imperialists want us to believe that it is Mr. Gandhi's fault or folly if the Loyal Mr. Gandhi has become the Rebel Mr. Gandhi, we are afraid we cannot oblige them. Even after the inauguration of Non-co-operation down to the date of his march to Dandi for making salt, his has been a moderating and a restraining influence on too ardent spirits. The development of intransigence in such a man means nothing less than the bankruptcy of British statemanship.

"Daily News" on Censorship in India

London, April 26

The *Daily News* referring to reports that Press messages from Rawalpindi are being censored, hopes that the Government of India will not withhold from the British public essential and accurate news.

The newspaper says that circumstances in India are of such deep significance to the whole of the Empire that there should be no possibility of misunderstanding about the facts. If the actions of the Government of India are to receive the sanction and support of public opinion in England and the Dominions, it is imperative that the public should not be given the faintest reason to suspect that material facts are being withheld.—*Reuter*.

But what will the London paper say to the following item of news circulated by the *Free Press*? Is it not a case of very material facts being withheld?

"Cable Returned as Objectionable"

Calcutta, April 25.

A cable sent on April 15 (Tuesday) by Dr. K. S. Roy, Secretary, Indian Medical Association to the Secretary General, League of Nations at Geneva and also to the Secretary of State for India, Mr. F. E. B. Brockway, Major Graham Pole, Mr. Ernest Thurtle and the Editor, *Daily Mail*, about assault by the Police on ambulance workers at Kalikapur has not been transmitted and returned to-day to the sender, as being objectionable, by the Telegraph Department with the refund of the cost.—(F. P.)

The incident referred to in the cable is that at Kalikapur, a village in the 24-Parganas District, a number of volunteers engaged in manufacturing salt having sustained injuries, a Red Cross ambulance with workers and medical appliances was sent there to render aid. The police, it was stated in the dailies, broke the stretcher, destroyed the medicines, bandages, etc., assaulted the workers of the ambulance, tore away their Red Cross badges, and so on.

In armed warfare among nations, the Red Cross is respected. Is there any national law anywhere or any international law permitting an outrage on the Red Cross when the wounded men sought to be helped are unarmed volunteers engaged in civil or non-violent disobedience? But assuming they were aggressively violent, why should not they be given medical aid by Red Cross ambulance men, seeing that in war no distinction is made between allies and enemies in giving such aid?

Chittagong Outrage

On the night of April 18-19, some men carried out an armed raid on the armouries of the railway Auxiliary Force and of the Police at Chittagong. They shot dead some 11 persons, including two Europeans, set fire to one armoury and the telephone exchange, cut the telegraph wires, tore up the railway line at some distance from Chittagong, and made good their escape after doing other kinds of damage. The raiders are being hunted up in the hills and jungles in the vicinity of Chittagong. Twelve of them, it is alleged, have been shot dead. Arrests on suspicion have been made in some East Bengal towns. But the main body of the revolutionaries, as the raiders are assumed to be, are believed to be still at large.

If they are really revolutionaries, some questions would naturally be asked. The C. I. D. can discover anarchists in obscure nooks and corners, but evidently had not the least inkling of the existence of some 100 revolutionaries who were good shots. Where and how did they get their training in marksmanship? Where was their rifle range situated? Shooting with rifles cannot be practised in the ill-lighted small rooms of students' "messes" within closed doors.

And how could the Englishman's proverbially timidest Bengalis develop into raiders, not of sweet-meat shops, but of armouries guarded by sentries with loaded guns?

"Raid Not the Work of Mutinous Police"

We had not heard any rumour that the Chittagong outrage was the work of mutinous policemen. So when we read the following *communiqué* in the dailies of the 26th April, we came to be aware simultaneously of both the rumour and its contradiction!

The Government are informed that the rumour still persists that the insurgents who committed the outrages at Chittagong on the night of April 18-19 consisted in whole or part of mutinous or discharged or dismissed policemen.

The Government have already stated that the outrage was the work of the terrorist revolutionary party, and they are glad to be able to state that there is no truth whatever in the rumour that police took part in it. The loyalty of the police force throughout has been and is unquestionable and unquestioned.

As twelve of the raiders are said to have been shot dead in the jungles, the best means of laying the ghost of the aforesaid rumour would have been to bring their corpses to Chittagong for identification. But we read in the papers that the bodies have been cremated before identification. If that piece of news be correct, there has been impolitic hurry.

By a curious accidental coincidence the "rumour" almost synchronized with the publication of the following passage in the editorial column of the *Indian Social Reformer* of the 19th April, which reached Calcutta on the 21st:

As has been repeatedly proved in popular outbreaks, the mob does tomorrow what it sees the Police doing today. In fact, the leaders of popular outbreaks are often men who have gained some experience of leadership in the preventive and punitive services of government. The retired or dismissed Police Inspector or Constable naturally acquires a position of influence in popular outbreaks and imparts to them some sort of organization which makes them formidable. The French revolutionaries faithfully reproduced the methods of the Empire which they overthrown as did the Bolsheviks those of the Tsarist regime. Meredith Townsend wrote if there was an insurrection in India it would be led by the Sepoys and the armed Police.

Mahatma Gandhi's Statement in American Papers

New York, April, 26.

The Indian Nationalist viewpoint is outlined in the American newspapers by a special statement from Mr. Gandhi, declaring that "civil resistance to the salt laws has caught the public imagination as nothing else within my experience."

Mr. Gandhi further states that the disturbances in Calcutta, Karachi, Chittagong, and Peshawar have so far not affected other parts of India, where civil disobedience has been going on in an organized fashion, but "the Government has not lost any opportunity to incense the people."—*Reuter*.

Bill Against "Devadasi" System

At the next meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi, Deputy President, Madras Legislative Council, will move that her Bill to prevent the dedication of girls to Hindu temples be referred to a Select Committee consisting of 15 members. She will also move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Madras Children Act of 1920.

Foreign Cloth Boycott

The following is from *The Bengalee*:

There appears to be very little doubt that the proposal to boycott foreign cloth is meeting with a considerable amount of success; so far we understand that the boycott has been directed chiefly against Lancashire goods, but the movement appears to be broadening and foreign cloth is gradually coming under the ban. The movement should, of course, very considerably help the Indian Cotton Mills Industry, and we shall not be altogether surprised to see a further all round advance in the price of most of the better Indian Cotton Mills Company shares.

The *Statesman's* review of India's foreign trade for March contains the following sentences:

Under manufactured articles, cotton yarn and manufactures decreased by Rs. 67 lakhs. Imports of twist and yarn declined from 4 million lbs. valued at Rs. 54 lakhs to 3 million lbs. valued at Rs. 33 lakhs. The quantity of cotton piecegoods imported also declined from 187 million yards to 182 million yards and the value from Rs. 5.09 lakhs to Rs. 4.54 lakhs. White and coloured goods fell off by 4 and 1½ million yards in quantity and by Rs. 19 and Rs. 12 lakhs in value respectively. Grey goods, however, recorded a slight increase in quantity from 81.08 to 82.0 million yards, although the value fell from Rs. 1.94 lakhs to Rs. 1.71 lakhs.

The extracts given above have been chosen from papers which do not belong

to the Congress school. They show that there has been reduction of imports of cotton goods. There is no proof that in consequence the semi-nudity of our people has increased. There can be an increasingly greater reduction in the import of these goods without affecting public health, decency or even comfort, until such importation ceases altogether. At the time of the American war of independence, Benjamin Franklin was asked some questions as to the non-importation of British goods by the Americans. Two of them, with his answers, were :

"What used to be the pride of the Americans ?"

"To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain."

"What is now their pride ?"

"To wear their old clothes over again till they can make new ones."

If any of us anywhere cannot get new Swadeshi cloth in the market or cannot afford to pay a little higher price for the same when available, we should be proud of wearing tattered clothes or even rags, instead of buying British textiles.

Cloth-dealers may naturally object to their shops being picketted. Picketting is an effective method, no doubt; but it is not the only one, nor is it the most effective. There should be house to house preaching of Swadeshim by men and women who practise it themselves. We are now in the midst of the summer vacation. Along with other active workers, our students may do this kind of work in their home towns and villages. Those who cannot devote all their time to it, should regularly spend their off time in this way. If in this way customers fall off, dealers in foreign cotton goods would necessarily become patriotic, though now they may be shortsighted enough to prefer pelf to patriotism.

A Patiala Communique

According to the Associated Press, the Patiala authorities have issued the following statement for public information :

"The attention of the Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala has been drawn to certain comments in the Press on the pamphlet called 'An Indictment of Patiala,' purporting to be the report of an Inquiry Committee appointed by the Indian States People's Conference, and avowedly based on *ex parte* evidence. It is understood that the said pamphlet has been widely circulated in the country and abroad. The said pamphlet makes very serious

allegations against the personal honour of the Ruler of the State and against the Government. After the publication of the report over the signatures of some public men in British India His Highness's Government immediately gave attention to the question as to what course they should adopt to vindicate the honour of His Highness and his Government. Although they have hitherto refrained from taking any notice of the campaign which has been carried on in certain sections of the Press in British India, the allegations contained in the report are so serious that his Highness's Government cannot allow them to go unchallenged. Without further entering into any controversy in the Press, His Highness's Government desire to state that they propose to take at an early date such steps as they may be advised to take for the vindication of the personal honour of the ruler of the State, and the reputation of his Government. His Highness's Government hope that the *ex parte* verdict of the Committee based upon evidence, the truth and strength of which has yet to be tested impartially, will not be treated as carrying with it the weight and the authority of an Imperial Tribunal."

Punishment for Breaking Salt Law

Offences against life, limb and property have varying degrees of heinousness, and hence they require to be punished in different ways. But the manufacture of contraband salt by civil resisters is a technical offence of which the seriousness is practically the same everywhere, whoever may commit it. Yet, the punishments inflicted on the accused are comparatively light in some cases and very heavy in others. These differences are noticeable not only from province to province and town to town, but even in judgments pronounced by the same magistrate in the same court these variations are to be found.

The legal punishment prescribed for this offence is either a term of simple or rigorous imprisonment or fine, or both. But very numerous are the items of news in the dailies from all provinces and many towns and villages which inform the public that there is illegal and extra-legal punishment, too, in the shape of assaults by policemen on men, women and children. Some firing has also taken place. All or the majority of these news cannot be false. The people of India never had any training or practice in the manufacture of war lies, either in times past or in modern times.

It is said that large crowds cannot be dispersed without the use of some force, which may, in some cases, include the shooting down of men with fire-arms. Whether

shooting was necessary on any particular occasion can be discussed only with reference to that occasion. But we are not now concerned with the question of handling large and turbulent crowds; but with how to deal with groups of salt-law-breakers, which are not generally large. These men are not turbulent and do not offer any resistance to arrest. They only defend their salt when it is sought to be snatched away from them. But if they are arrested, *ipso facto* they cease to defend their salt, which can then be taken away by the police along with their persons. Therefore, there is no reason why they should be assaulted. The law does not authorize the police to assault them or any other class of offenders. But it may be taken as a fact that salt-law-breakers have been beaten by the police in very many places. *Communiqués* are issued by the Government to correct mis-statements in the press, but news regarding police assaults on Satyagrahis remain officially uncontradicted. It is also well known that Indian newspapers are critically read by Government officials employed for the purpose. Otherwise so many editors could not have been prosecuted and sentenced. So the Government must be taken to be aware of the news of police assaults on salt-law-breakers. The correctness of such news could have been tested in law-courts if the men assaulted had sought any remedy there. But being Non-co-operators, they do not carry any cases to law-courts.

Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code makes the bringing of the Government into hatred or contempt punishable. That shows that the Government wants to be respected. One means of securing that respect is to see that its laws are respected both by its own servants and by non-officials. But if the police be allowed to beat any man in an illegal or extra-legal way, the law ceases to be respected.

Hence, if it be the intention of the Government that the *Satyagrahis* should be punished, some by being sent to jail or fined or both, and some by being thrashed by the police, the law should be so amended as to include the latter among legal punishments. But if that be not the intention of the Government, such assaults should be put a stop to and the assailants among the police should be punished either as ordinary offenders or at least departmentally.

We are aware that if all who have openly

violated the salt-law were arrested and sent to jail, there would scarcely be room there for so many prisoners, and it is not quite easy to improvise jails. Houses can be hired for locating ordinary Government offices there; but rented private houses cannot be converted into jails—they would not be so secure as jails specially constructed for the purpose. The cost of feeding and clothing an army of *satyagrahi* prisoners would also be a heavy and prohibitive drain on the provincial exchequers. For all these reasons, it may be necessary to keep down the number of prisoners. That may be one reason why in all provinces stress is laid, not so much on the arrest of the numerous volunteers as on the arrest of their few leaders. But though the number of prisoners may have to be kept within certain limits, law-breakers cannot be allowed to violate any law with impunity. Some punishment must be provided for such offences. If beating with lathis be considered a desirable form of punishment, it should be legalized and regularized. The number of blows, their weight, the length, thickness and heaviness of the lathis, the grades of policemen who can beat offenders without and before trial, the parts of the body where the blows are to be delivered, etc. should be definitely prescribed. But the real remedy does not lie in the multiplication of forms of punishment and in increasing their severity but in freeing India. That is our point of view. If Britishers do not want to let go their hold on India, they should at least govern it as if it were free.

Punishments strike terror only for a time. Imprisonment has lost all terror for tens of thousands. So has assaults by the police perhaps for as many. There is a smaller number of men who would not mind being shot dead or killed in some other way. But their number is increasing. Terrorism does not terrify after a time. The revolutionaries, who are called anarchists or terrorists in official parlance, have found that in spite of the use of bombs and revolvers by them, the Executive and the Police have not given up their work. Terrorism has not depleted the Executive and the Police service. The classes from which these services are recruited are also the classes from which the civil resisters come. They are at least as courageous as those who serve Government for pay and pension. Their adherence to principle is not

less than that of Government servants. So, if Government servants cannot be made to give up their work by non-official terrorism, civil resisters too cannot be forced to give up *theirs* by official terrorism. No doubt, civil resisters do not get any salary as Government servants do. But patriotism is perhaps at least as strong an impelling motive as pay and pension.

Some persons can be frightened sometimes but all persons cannot be frightened for all time.

There may be some British statesmen who want first of all to show that they can suppress all struggles for freedom, and when they have given a demonstration of their power, they mean to come out with some crumbs of favour. But such action is graceless, leaves a bitter memory behind and serves no useful purpose. Nothing is gained by striking a generous pose when that becomes a virtue of necessity—nobody can mistake it for real generosity, or even justice.

Imprisonment of the Leaders

The picking off of the leaders in all provinces for arrest and imprisonment may be meant to deprive the civil disobedience movement of guiding and controlling minds. But if there be genuine patriotism among the volunteers, as we believe there is, leaders in sufficient numbers will spring up from among them. Even if Mahatma Gandhi were arrested, some one will be found to take his place, though, of course, a man of his saintly and towering personality would be impossible at present to discover anywhere.

Hem Chunder Basu Lectureship

There are so few facilities for higher culture in the ordinary provisions of our more or less starved universities, that more than ordinary interest attaches to the Hem Chunder Basu Lectureship, endowed by a generous patron of culture and administered by the Council of National Education. As the only surviving non-official endeavour in the cause of education in Bengal, the National Council of Education has been compelled by a combination of circumstances to allocate its available resources to provide for a form of "useful" education designed to solve to some

extent the gigantic problem of unemployment in Bengal. But culture or 'tilling of the mind' is not wholly neglected and it is through the Basu Lectureship the Council is able to offer its scanty tribute to the Shrine of Culture. Considerable significance therefore attaches to the appointment from time to time made to this chair by the committee of the Council. Some of the former occupants of this chair have been unquestionably brilliant professors and exponents of one or other phases of Indian culture. A feeling has been growing up in educated circles in Calcutta that recently the chair is not shedding sufficiently brilliant or new light on the phases of Indian history and culture that the chair is designed to do. The educated public in general are not aware of the attainments or achievements of the new incumbent, Mr. Bidhu Bhusan Dutt, said to be the Secretary of the *Indian Council of Cultural Education*. He has been nominated by a committee of very competent and responsible men, and we must take for granted that they have satisfied themselves as to the capacity and merits of the new nominee and have chosen the best available exponent of Indian history and culture. We sincerely hope Mr. Dutt will retrieve the bedimmed glory of this chair of national culture. We have one suggestion to make. We trust Mr. Dutt will take for his theme the aesthetic phases of Indian civilization. Indian Art is a very despised subject in Indian education and there is a crying need for an adequate interpretation of the values and principles of Indian Art—which is undoubtedly an unique achievement and the finest flower of Indian civilization but which is unfortunately still a sealed book to most people with any pretensions to education.

G.

Intended Raid on Salt Depot

It has been reported in the papers that Mahatma Gandhi intends to raid and take possession of the salt depot at Dharasna. Until we are in full possession of necessary details, we are unable to pronounce any opinion on the ethical aspect of the contemplated raid. Is there any ethical difference between raiding a Government salt depot and looting a Government treasury where salt revenue is kept? Meanwhile the Collector of

Salt Revenue, Bombay, says in a statement that "the salt in Dharasna (Chharwada) salt works is not the property of the Government but of the salt manufacturers, whose interest must be prejudicially affected by any attempt to remove the salt from the salt works except in a manner contemplated by law."

Though the Collector may or may not mean it, his statement may be construed to mean that in his opinion there is some legal and ethical difference between removing salt belonging to the Government and that belonging to private individuals !

A Good Retort

Government officials concerned have in many places broadcasted opinions that the salt manufactured by the *satyagrahis* is unfit for human consumption, that it contains injurious chemical substances, that it is poisonous, or the like. It seems this was done in Allahabad also. Interviewed by a Free Press representative Pandit Motilal Nehru spoke as follows on the subject, in part :

[According to the Salt Act] The manufacture of salt is "The separation of salt from earth or other substance so as to produce alimentary salt." As every school boy knows "alimentary" means nourishing, but according to official reports, published in the press, the contraband salt prepared by the *satyagrahis* is positively injurious to human beings. That being so, it is no offence to manufacture it. Let the Government issue another *communiqué* to this effect and cease to interfere with the salt *satyagrahis*. This will be a more plausible ground than the concoction of cock and bull stories. It matters little that convictions already obtained would be illegal, but that is of no consequence to a mighty government.

Exodus to the Hills

When people are engaged in a life and death struggle for freedom, it may not appear much of a grievance that the greater and the lesser Olympians, white and brown, rule human beings from mountain heights in summer. But it is sheer waste to remove whole offices to the hilltops and bring them back to the plains every year. It is absurd that men should be paid high salaries to rule others with whom they are not in touch for months and to whom they are not easily accessible. The Ministers and brown Execu-

tive Councillors in particular cut a very ridiculous figure. Their usefulness lies in great part in their being of the people and accessible to them. But they, too, must travel to the hills, partly perhaps because their white secretaries refuse to swelter in the plains. In any case, as our Brown Masters are not polar bears, they do not require an arctic climate for flourishing. As for the White Olympians, they may as well rule from England in these days of wireless telegraphy and telephony and swift-flying aeroplanes. Staying at home (or Home ?) they might agree to demand a lower salary than now.

A "Liberal" Statement

The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association—we could wish its influence and usefulness were proportionate to its many-worded name, has issued a statement to the press from which the following passage is extracted :

Liberals firmly hold to their view that the civil disobedience movement will not only fail to bring India nearer to an early attainment of the National aspirations but will, on the contrary, retard it and plunge the country into violent turmoil, in spite of the determination of those who have inaugurated it to keep it non-violent. The movement has gained on an accession of strength owing to the economic conditions now obtaining in the country. Commercial, industrial and trading interests in the country have begun to despair of securing under the present regime their rightful claims to unhampered development and progress. They feel that under the present system of administration their interests are and will always continue to be subordinated to outside interests.

Liberals repeat what they have often indicated, namely, that the only way to counteract the present disruptive tendencies and restore faith in the efficacy of constitutional methods is not a policy of repression but courageously to make it clear that Britain means to establish Dominion status for India without any delay, and that the Round Table Conference will consider and evolve a scheme to that end with the necessary reservations and safeguards for the transition period.

Liberals strongly disapprove of the severe sentences on some civil resisters at various places, and are of opinion that such uncalled-for sentences are calculated further to incense public opinion.

Civil Disobedience has undoubtedly disturbed the slumbers and pathetic contentment of many persons. It may not bring the country nearer Swaraj, but will the paper statements of the Liberals do so either ? As for the recent disturbances, it is poor logic,

connect them even indirectly with civil disobedience. They are mostly due to the repressive measures adopted by the authorities and their arbitrary methods. Similar causes gave rise to violent extremism decades before civil disobedience was started. There was no civil disobedience when Khudi Ram Bose, Barindrakumar Ghose, Ullaskar Dutt and others started a misguided campaign of violence with bombs, etc., for making the country free. There were many far more serious and bloody riots than any recent ones long before even Non-co-operation was started or thought of.

Nobody has hitherto succeeded in extracting from the powers that be any definite information regarding the day, week, month, year or century when Britain will deign to confer Dominion status on India, and regarding the probable agenda of the Round Table Conference. May the Western India Liberals have better luck! But it is to be hoped that in that case they would give some slight credit to Mahatma Gandhi's movement for making the white Gods more propitious.

The British "Fool's Paradise"

London, April, 25.

The *Daily Herald* attributes the profound discontent all over India to the long waiting for the Simon Commission's report. The newspaper says the delay has bred suspicion, and the new confidence created by Lord Irwin and Mr. Wedgwood Benn has given place to distrust and anger. Rarely were delays so dangerous. The urgent need is that the report shall be speeded up and its production followed by immediate action.—*Reuter*.

The discontent in India, in so far as it is articulate—and inarticulate discontent cannot have reached England, has been made manifest mostly by the actions and utterances of Congressmen and those who hold the same opinion as they. They are the most numerous political group in India. This group has never paid the Simon Commission the compliment of worrying itself about the date of publication of its Report. That date and the contents of the Report do not excite its curiosity. It is entirely indifferent about these matters.

There is a general belief that myths were and could be born only in hoary antiquity. But that is an unfounded belief. In proof thereof, one has only to think of the myth that Lord Irwin and Mr. Wedgwood Benn created any confidence in the hearts of any considerable number of Indians. Apart from

paying personal compliments, if any leading man who counts had any confidence in the effective good intention of these statesmen, Mr. Gandhi's civil disobedience movement would not have been started and caught the imagination of the public and Mr. V. J. Patel would not have resigned the presidency of the Assembly to stand shoulder to shoulder with the fighters for freedom.

Snobbery in Australia

A suggestion had been made by the present Federal ministers in Australia that Sir Isaac Isaacs, an Australia-born man, should be appointed the next Governor-General of Australia. This has roused the opposition of some Australians who seem to consider themselves *Sudras* and Britain-born men *Brahmins* or *Kshatriyas*.

Mr. Latham, leader of the Federal Opposition, has entered a strong protest against the suggestion that the office of Governor-General should be allotted to an Australian-born man.

Speaking here last night, he said that the present Federal Ministers never had any real enthusiasm for the Empire and Great Britain. No substantial body of opinion desired a change which would sever an important link with what the great majority of Australians were still proud to call their Mother Country.

Senator H. E. Elliot, addressing the Empire Reciprocity League, declared that the appointment of Sir Isaac Isaacs would be interpreted by the outside world as an attempt on the part of Australia to cut herself away from the Empire.—*Reuter*.

Equipment for Righteous Struggle

When a struggle goes on for the establishment of what is just and right, e.g., for winning national freedom, the chances of success should not be judged by the standard of mere external and physical equipment. There is a dialogue in the *Ramayana* of Tulasidas between Rama and Bibbishan which has lessons for us at the present juncture. Ravana had war chariots, but Rama was without any. Seeing this Bibbishan became restless with fear. On account of his great love for Rama, Bibbishan began to entertain doubts about his victory. So bowing to his feet he said lovingly:—"Master, you have neither chariots nor even shoes on your feet. How will you defeat so powerful an enemy?" Rama replied:—"Friend, look here, I have brought that sort of chariot

with me which brings victory. Bravery and righteousness are the two wheels of that chariot and truth and morality are the firmly planted banners. Energy, knowledge, self-restraint, and benevolence are the horses harnessed to that chariot. They are controlled by the reins of forgiveness, mercy and equality. Faith in God is my driver and guide; renunciation my shield and contentment my sword. Discipline and regularity of life are the arrows and an undaunted and pure heart is my quiver. Charity is my battle-axe, intelligence is my immense *shakti* and superior knowledge is my bow. My reverence for pious people is my impenetrable armour. No other armament can be equal to this for victory. Comrade! if anybody has got such a Righteous Chariot, no enemy can ever defeat him."

The Prosperity and Poverty of India

Mr. J. Coatman, who was until recently Director of Public Information to the Government of India, writes in *India in 1928-29*, published the other day "under the authority and with the general approval of the Secretary of State for India": "No one whose direct acquaintance with India extends over a period of twenty or thirty years will have any hesitation in saying that India has prospered during that period, and if evidence were asked for, a number of unmistakable signs can be pointed out." The first sign which he mentions is that "in 1913 India ranked sixth among the trading countries of the world, and by 1925 she had attained to the fifth place—a fact which is not generally recognized today. Year by year her exports and imports have steadily climbed almost without a pause, except during the War, for well over half a century." (P. 76.) This roseate picture has to be modified by the facts that the vast bulk of India's export and import trade is in the hands of foreigners, that the exports and imports are carried almost entirely in foreign vessels, that the exports are mostly raw products much of which come back to India from foreign countries in a manufactured condition to be sold to Indians at prices many times the value of the raw materials and that the manufactured goods exported from India are to a great extent manufactured in factories owned and managed by foreigners.

The vast majority of Indians live in

villages and live, directly or indirectly, on or by agriculture.

Some idea of the material condition of the villages can be gathered from the following remarks of Mr. Coatman:

"Although an appreciable improvement has taken place in the standard of living of the Indian agricultural masses during the past quarter of a century, this only represents the genesis of what has yet to be accomplished. There is a vast amount of what can only be termed dangerous poverty in the Indian villages—poverty that is of such a kind that those subject to it live on the very margin of subsistence. This may be taken to be the normal state of millions of agricultural labourers who own [no] land themselves, and whose income consists mostly of customary wages paid in kind." "The Indian agriculturist has, as a rule, no resources on which to fall back in bad times. Even at the best of times he has to wait for six months for the return for his labour and expenditure" (P. 78.)

Mr. Coatman continues:

"In addition to these economic distresses the Indian villager normally finds himself bound in a chain of circumstances adverse to his welfare and prosperity. In the first place, innumerable villages all over India are foci of preventable disease which causes immense economic wastage." (P. 79.)

Elsewhere this official writer states:

"India is primarily a land of small villages and tiny hamlets; towns are few, and of great cities there are but rare specimens. There are fully half a million villages in India, and of these, immense numbers are diminutive clusters of mud-huts microscopic in scale when compared with the immensity of plain or mountain in which they are set. Only a very small proportion of these villages are touched by the railway or by metalled roads. The vast majority of them are approached by unmetalled roads or winding paths between the fields, the former usually impassable, or almost impassable, by wheeled traffic after rain, whilst the latter cannot afford passage to a wheeled vehicle at any time." (P. 71.)

The New Press Ordinance

In a previous note we have ventured a guess that British statesmen in authority would give a demonstration of their power of repression, and after that they might strike a generous pose and proceed to confer on India what in their opinion are "boons." The revival of the Press Act of 1910, repealed in 1922, with certain additions to make it more effective and applicable to the present situation, is the latest means of repression adopted by Lord Irwin's Government.

In our opinion, it would have been better if Lord Irwin had promulgated an ordinance suppressing all newspapers except those owned and edited by Anglo-Indians and except also some Moderate papers like *The Bengalee* of Calcutta. In that case the public would have been able to perceive the result of the most effective form of repression in this line and adapted their actions as well as their inaction to the new state of things. It is better to kill the nationalist Press outright than to scotch it. A gagged and emasculated Press is an apology for the Fourth Estate.

In his statement relating to the ordinance Lord Irwin says that "the measure is not designed to restrict the just liberties of the press or to check the fair criticism of the administration." But who are the men who will decide what are the *just* liberties of the press and what is *fair* criticism of the administration? They are the bureaucrats who and whose actions come in for criticism. The assurance given by Lord Irwin is, therefore, useless. Nay, it is worse. It seeks to produce the impression that Freedom of the Press remains unimpaired; but it is an unfounded impression.

Realities are always to be preferred to cloaks which disguise them. It is for that reason that we have said that thorough suppression of the Indian Press would have been preferable to their gagging and emasculation. Total suppression would no doubt have meant a great economic hardship to numbers of men who make their living by publishing and helping in the publication of our newspapers. But such hardship would have been small in comparison with the economic distress produced by the ruin of most of India's indigenous industries by which millions of our countrymen lived.

A well conducted Press is a tower of strength to all good causes, including the cause of liberty. But when it is hampered in its activities, it cannot fulfil its function. It is then better for it to cease to exist. For, then, in the absence of a Press, people can think of and devise other means of gaining their object in various fields of human endeavour.

It should not be forgotten that, in the long history of civilization, the Press has made its appearance only in comparatively modern times. It has been a great help and has made life more interesting. But even in ages before it was born, people managed to

live happy and cultured lives. What is more to the point in the present situation is the fact that people in bondage in those days managed to win freedom in spite of the absence of a Press. So nobody need despond. India will be free in spite of the Press ordinance.

In the course of his statement Lord Irwin says :

The Civil Disobedience movement, whatever may have been the professed object of those who launched it, is rapidly developing, as all reasonable men foresaw, into violent resistance to constituted authority. The riot at Calcutta and Karachi, the armed outbreak at Chittagong and the grave disturbances at Peshawar show clearly that the spirit of revolution fostered by the civil disobedience movement is a beginning to emerge in dangerous forms.

We have already pointed out the fallacy underlying statements and reasoning like the above. It is *not* the Civil Disobedience movement which has developed into violent resistance to constituted authority, for example, in Calcutta, Karachi, Chittagong and Peshawar. The men implicated in the disturbances in those places were not manufacturers or hawkers of contraband salt who suddenly or gradually developed symptoms of violence;—they were groups of men different from the civil resisters. Nor should it be said or suggested that but for Civil Disobedience the recent disturbances would not have taken place. Similar and worse disturbances and outbreaks took place in India long before Civil Disobedience was planned, started or heard of. Events happening at one and the same time may not have any causal connection. *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc* ("After this, therefore on account of it") is a type of fallacious reasoning with which even undergraduates in their teens are acquainted.

When the Press Act of 1910, of which the present ordinance is a replica with added terrors, was debated in the old Imperial Council, the late Messrs. G. K. Gokhale and Bhupendranath Basu and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya fought against its passage. It was in vain that they pointed out that the Bill was unnecessary, that it would drive discontent and sedition underground, and so on and so forth. It was passed in spite of their stalwart opposition. And now, referring to its repeal in 1922, Lord Irwin records: "It was suggested at the time that the Act was not wholly effective."

We are far from suggesting that all journalists understand the responsibilities and duties

of their profession and do their work in an exemplary manner. But he would not be considered a sane or a wise statesman, who would propose to fetter and handcuff all or most men or cut off their hands and feet on the ground that there are some thieves, robbers, murderers and incendiaries among mankind.

What the Press Ordinance is Like

The Associated Press has furnished the dailies with a summary of the provisions of the Press ordinance, portions of which are reproduced below for purposes of comment and information :

Its main provisions are almost the same as those of the Press Act of 1910, but there are several important additions to cope with the present situation. It provides for power whereby the presses which print and the newspapers which publish certain matters, are liable to have their security forfeited—if any security has been deposited. The ordinance does not make it obligatory for every keeper of a press and publisher of a newspaper to give security. In the case of existing presses and newspapers no security need be deposited unless the local Government requires this to be done.

It may be assumed that the local Government will require security from existing presses and newspapers which give direct encouragement to revolutionary and civil disobedience movements.

The operative clause (clause 4) reads :

Whenever it appears to the local Government that any printing-press in respect of which any security has been deposited as required by section 3, is used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book or other documents containing any words or signs of visible representations which are likely or may have a tendency directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise,

(A) to incite to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act of 1858 or to any act of violence or

(B) to seduce any officer, soldier, sailor or airman in the army, navy or air force of His Majesty or any police officer from his allegiance or his duty or

(C) to bring into hatred or contempt His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India or the administration of Justice in British India or any Indian Prince or Chief under the Sovereignty of His Majesty, or any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India or to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the said Government or any such Prince or Chief or

(D) to put any person in fear or to cause annoyance to him and thereby induce him to deliver to any person any property or valuable security or to do or to omit to do any act which he is legally entitled to do or

(E) to encourage or incite any person to interfere with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order or to commit any offence or to refuse or defer payment of any land revenue tax, rate, cess or other due or the amount payable to Government, or to any local authority or any rent of agricultural land or anything recoverable as arrears of, or along with such rent or

(F) to induce a public servant or a servant of a local authority to do any act or to forbear or delay to do any act connected with the exercise of his public functions or to resign office or

(G) to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between the different classes of His Majesty's subjects or

(H) to prejudice the recruiting of persons to serve in any of His Majesty's forces or in any police force or to prejudice the training, discipline or administration of any such force.

The Local Government may, by notice in writing to the keeper of such printing-press stating or describing the words, "signs" or "visible representations" which in its opinion are of the nature described above, declare the security deposited in respect of such press and all copies of such newspapers, book or other document, wherever found in British India, to be forfeited to His Majesty's Government.

It may be pointed out that, in this operative clause, sub-clauses (E) for the greater part and (F), (G) and (H) are entirely new offences.

Another addition in the ordinance to the old Press Act is in clause twenty-three which says: "Where a deposit is required from the keeper of a printing-press under sub-section one or sub-section three of section three or under section five (relating to the deposit of a further security) such press shall not be used for printing or publishing any newspapers, book or other document until the deposit has been made, and where any printing-press is used in contravention of sub-section one, the local Government may, by notice in writing to the keeper thereof, declare the press so used and any other printing-press found in or upon the premises where such press was so used, to be forfeited to His Majesty and the provisions of section seven (issue of search warrant) shall apply."

There is a provision for appeal to the High Court, where the case will be heard by a special bench of three judges.

After the first deposit has been forfeited a higher deposit may be demanded and in case of presses, if any offence is again committed, both cash deposit and the press may be forfeited.

Most of the offences enumerated in the ordinance were already punishable under some penal law or other in force at present. Therefore, so far as these are concerned, the ordinance is a redundancy. Men could be punished for them after trial in the ordinary law-courts according to the ordinary processes of law. But now their security deposits, the offending newspapers or other publications and the printing presses may be forfeited

by a mere order of the local Government. No doubt, whenever a printer, publisher or editor is prosecuted by the Government, his conviction generally follows automatically, but still there is a chance given for a defence and in rare cases there is even acquittal. Moreover, only the offender is punished. But the ordinance by forfeiting the entire plant and materials of printing firms would punish all those who are directly or indirectly dependent upon the same for their livelihood. This may be Martial Law justice of a sort, but it is certainly not equity; for all the employees and beneficiaries of printing publishing or newspaper offices are not responsible for what is printed and published. According to the ordinary law of the land, a political offender may be fined only up to a certain fixed amount. But the forfeiture of printing establishments would be equivalent to fines of varying degrees of heaviness. Some presses may be worth a few hundred or a few thousand rupees, whilst others may be worth a lakh or more. So, for the same kind of offence, some men may be practically fined only a few hundred rupees, whilst others would be fined a lakh or more, by the forfeiture of their presses. This is not equal justice.

The new sub-clauses added make some acts criminal offences which are parts of passive resistance and civil disobedience movements. Lord Hardinge declared the Passive Resistance movement in South Africa entirely constitutional. But a successor of his makes the promotion of civil disobedience criminal. Let jurists decide whether the promotion of what is constitutional can, according to sound legal principles, be made a crime. Non-payment of a particular tax or taxes is part of passive resistance. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, the foremost Liberal of his day, considered it quite constitutional. That does not, of course, mean that if a man does not pay a tax, he is not to suffer the penalty. It only means that, though the passive resister must suffer when he does not pay a tax or violates a law even in a non-violent manner, the movement of passive resistance or civil disobedience is not criminal, and if anybody speaks or writes in support of it or promotes it, he does not commit a crime. The advocacy of murder is a crime, but the advocacy of passive resistance is not a crime. But now the new ordinance makes it a crime to speak well of passive resistance or civil disobedience of any kind. So,

armed rebellion and its promotion are crimes, and passive resistance and promotion of passive resistance are also crimes of the same hue. The British law in India does not furnish any moral ground for preferring the latter to the former. Both are tarred with the same brush. This is levelling down with a vengeance. For a press may be forfeited for incitement to murder and also for supporting or approving of the non-payment of some unjust and oppressive tax. Does the law then mean to say that a political assassin is no worse than a civil resister? Would not that indirectly amount to unintentionally putting a premium upon the heinous offence of political murder?

The right of resistance then of any kind is now denied by the British-made law of India. The only correct attitude then for us is to lie low, lick the dust, whine out prayers, petitions and humble protests and indulge only in such criticisms as may seem fair in the eyes of our infallible masters.

But the Indian Press will survive this humiliation, this fettering, this gagging and this emasculation, and continue to do its duty. May Lord Irwin live sufficiently long to find out his mistake and repent, and continue to be a friend of India ever afterwards!

Following Lord Irwin's statement, wisacres observe that those newspapers which indulge in fair criticism need not be afraid. This assurance has no value at all. The new ordinance will be worked by the same kind of men who administered the old Act of 1910. Well-known papers like the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Tribune*, the *Patrika*, the *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Tribune* of Lahore, the *Punjabi* of Lahore, the *Hindu* of Madras, the *Independent* of Allahabad, received the friendly attentions of that Act. It would be absurd to pretend to believe that all these papers exceeded the bounds of fair criticism.

The offences have been described in such elastic, comprehensive and vague terms that if any Indian newspaper escapes it will be by the mercy of the powers that be, not because of technical innocence. It is humiliating to work with a batter round one's neck which may be tightened at any moment.

An appeal would lie to the High Court against orders of forfeiture. That is an illusory safe-guard.

When a book, a pamphlet or a newspaper draws upon itself the wrath of a local Government, it does not mean that the provincial

Governor has read it. He is too busy and too august a person to do so. Even the Chief Secretary may not have read it, nor an Executive Councillor. During the *India in Bondage* trial Mr. Chief Secretary Hopkyns and Sir Provas Chandra Mitter, an Executive Councillor, admitted that they had not read the book, nor did they know who had read it. But all the same two men were tried and punished in connection with its publication. Similarly, a press may be forfeited on the strength of the opinion of some underling who has read some "objectionable" publication in question, and that without any trial.

"Give us Darkness, O Lord !"

In all ages and climes saints and sinners and seekers have prayed for light, more light. The bureaucracy in India do not seem to belong to any of these classes of mortals; for the press ordinance is virtually a prayer for darkness and still more darkness. Complete liberty of the press, even licence, with all its disadvantages, has at least one use—namely it enables both officials and non-officials to know the worst of what men are doing, thinking, imagining, etc. The new ordinance will make men think, not twice, but many times before they print and publish even what is perfectly true but irritating to men in power. In consequence, the rulers of the land, like others, will be entirely in the dark as regards some aspects of contemporary history.

The ordinance is calculated to keep men in the dark about many things Indian, not only in India, but also abroad. For the Act of 1910 which it revives contains a section (section 15) authorizing the detention of certain articles being transmitted by post. And we know that even letters sent from or to India are opened, read and copied surreptitiously, delayed in delivery and sometimes intercepted. Cables are also intercepted or refused transmission or censored. Such being the case, it would not be unfair to conclude that there are powerful forces in India operating to keep the world outside India, including Great Britain, in ignorance of much that is happening in India. Some recent cables from England show that many publicists there do not like this policy.

What Will Moderates Do ?

The Committee which was appointed to bring about unity among all non-Congress groups so that a united demand might be presented at the Round Table Conference at London is to meet two weeks hence at Bombay. One would like to know whether the Press Ordinance had brought about any change in the attitude of our Moderate or Liberal friends.

The Press Act of 1910 and the Registration of Books Act of 1867 were considered by a Committee appointed in February 1921, which reported in July the same year, recommending among other things the repeal of the Press Act. Much of the credit for its repeal belonged to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who was then Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council. His work has now been undone. Of the Conference of all non-Congress parties which has appointed the aforesaid Committee, Dr. Sapru is the leading spirit. Does he and his fellow-Liberals still think, after the promulgation of the Press Ordinance, not to speak of the resignation of Mr. V. J. Patel, that Indians can usefully and honourably take part in the Round Table Conference? All the prominent political parties boycotted the Simon Commission. Should not the Round Table Conference be similarly boycotted, seeing that it is a super-Simon Commission camouflaged to look like something different and more glorious? Had we ever supported the proposed Round Table Conference, which we never did, now after the gagging of the Press we would certainly have urged its boycott. We would have demanded the withdrawal of the ordinance as a condition precedent to joining the Conference.

Mr. Patel's Second Letter to the Viceroy

Ex-President Patel's second letter to the Viceroy has been released for publication. In it among other things he says :

In 1927 when he went to England he also tried to convey the real situation to His Majesty, Lord Birkenhead and other leading public men of England, but when an all-White Simon Commission was appointed he felt that his advice had fallen on deaf ears.

The letter gives glimpses of how he gradually got completely disillusioned.

At the Conference on the 23rd December at the Viceroy's house when His Excellency could not give an assurance to Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit

Motilal Nehru that his Government would support the immediate establishment of the Dominion form of Government as a condition before participating in the Round Table Conference Mr. Patel thought Mahatma Gandhi was somewhat unreasonable but subsequent events, viz., the speech of Earl Russell, His Excellency's address at the Assembly, numerous prosecutions of public men and Imperial Preference completely disillusioned him.

When writing this second letter did Mr. Patel really hope that Lord Irwin would in the least give ear to his appeal, or did he adopt that form of writing to say things which otherwise he could not have said. For we read :

Mr. Patel appeals to His Excellency to invite Mahatma Gandhi to a settlement and says : "If for any reason you find yourself unable to persuade the British Government to accept in substance the suggestion I have made, my advice is that you should tender resignation of your high office rather than allow your great name being associated with the campaign of repression designed to suppress the legitimate aspirations of millions of human beings."

Concluding the letter Mr. Patel says : "Your influence with all parties in England is great and you enjoy in an abundant measure the confidence of the Secretary of State and the British Government. If therefore, you take courage and rise to the occasion, you will serve both India and England as no man has served in the past. If you fail, it must be India's good-bye to England."

the ruins of pre-Khmer architecture, being conducted here by a French mission.

Yet statues and inscriptions dating at least 900 years before the Christian era have been found

Sambor, a more ancient city than Angkor in the thick Cambodian jungle north of Phnom-Penh in the province of Kompoung-Thom, once known as the "mysterious city," has yielded to the picks, and dynamite of the expedition, under the leadership of M. Goleubew, samples of sculpture of 900 B. C.

One of the inscriptions informed the ladies that the temple to whose walls it had been fastened was built by Queen Sakamjari and her royal consort Isanavarmian the First, in honor of "Siva, the god who dances and laughs." The sculpture shows Siva and three girls, one of whom is playing a long flute, another slapping cymbals, while the third hammers a kettledrum.

Contrary to the usual difficulties encountered in excavation work, the Khmer monuments have not been buried by earth sand or mud, but by the impenetrable tropical forest through which the workers spend days trying to clear a path. In some cases trees have grown through monuments, dislocating them from their bases, says Associated Press.

Indian archaeologists and students of archaeology have a field of training and co-operation with French archaeologists here. They and also others may try to re-establish cultural relations between India and French Indo-China

Mark the words "to hope."

The *Times* report adds that Sir Albion Banerji said that "often in the absence of reliable information the American Press and people were misled, sometimes by Indians lacking a sense of responsibility." Is there no misrepresentation by anti-Indian British and American hirelings?

—

Why are the British in Palestine?

At a meeting held in the Victoria Hotel, London, sometime ago, members of the executive of the Seventh (Palestine) Dominion League expressed their views on the situation in Palestine to a number of journalists.

After a discussion, Commander Kenworthy, M.P., speaking "as a pacifist," enumerated the strategical advantages of Palestine. In the present state of the world this country could not evacuate a region and allow any other power to establish itself in close proximity to the Suez Canal. Palestine was also an important stage on the Indian air-route, and the finest deep-water port in the Levant was being constructed at Haifa. Haifa, he believed, would become the terminus of the great pipe-line which would link the vast oil-fields of Mosul with the Mediterranean.

Are mandated territories like Palestine to be made permanent parts of the British Empire for strategic and economic reasons? And is India to be held down in her present position as long as Britain can do so?

—

Travel for Students

While our students are seldom taken round even their own country, other countries give their students the educational advantages of travel. The recent tour of some English school boys in India is well known. Germany does similar things.

A visit of a unique character has just been made to an English public school by a party of German school-boys. The top form of the largest and, in the opinion of some, the most progressive secondary school in Germany came over with two of their masters, and lived for a week at Gresham's School, Holt, at the invitation of the headmaster, Mr. J. R. Eccles.

The visit was the outcome of a tour in Germany by boys from Wellington, Cheltenham, Christ's Hospital, and Gresham's School, organized by Toc H, that took place last Easter. This party was entertained

by the Aufbauschule, of Neukolin, in Berlin, and the German visit is the direct result of conversations that took place then.

The visit, which must be almost the first of its kind, cannot but be the beginning of a work of international co-operation in education that must strengthen the hands of those who are working for conciliation between nations.

Plans are under way at Pomona College, Glendale, California to send a party of ten Pomona graduates and upper class men to the Orient to study oriental life, conditions and problems in the field, especially China; to bring in closer social and intellectual contact students of the East and West and thus aid in the world-wide movement to exchange knowledge and understanding. Each member of the party will later write a thesis covering at least one primary phase of his study, including such subjects as transportation, highways, fine arts, social transformation, and economic progress. These will be submitted to the College after the return of the students. In addition, each one will write a section of the book it is proposed to assemble—a first-hand symposium on student life in China. The motion picture will also be used extensively for this purpose.

—

Exchange of Students and Professors

Berlin. Fifty-six German students have been sent to American universities during the past year by the German committee for providing an exchange of students.

The committee revealed that 13 students had been sent to French universities, and 19 from foreign countries had been enrolled at Heidelberg.

In addition professors from German universities had been placed in American and French universities in exchange for professors from those countries placed here.

—

Chinese Naval Cadets in British Naval College

Vice-Admiral Chen Shao-kuang, acting Minister of the Chinese Navy and commander of the second Squadron, and a party of Chinese naval officers and cadets, who have now left China for England to obtain training and to continue their studies in Greenwich Naval College, paid a visit to H.M.S. Bee, flagship of the Yangtze Flotilla, and H. M. S. Bridgewater.

In the course of an address, Admiral Chen said, the British Government had shown its friendliness to the Chinese people by its willingness to render assistance to the Chinese Navy, so that China would have a strong sea force when she was unified.

Foreigners had never been admitted to Greenwich College in the past, and the cadets were the first Chinese party to obtain training there.

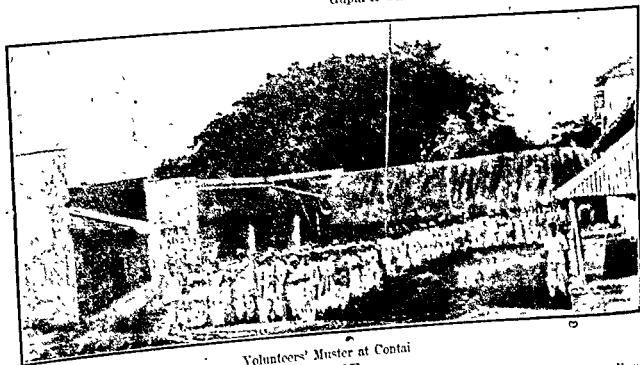
There is nothing surprising in Chinese being more favoured by Britain as regards facilities for naval education than Indians. For Britishers are our "trustees."



Malatunaji going to the seashore
to break the Salt Laws



Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta who has been elected
Mayor of Calcutta for the fifth time. Mr. Sen-
Gupta it will be recalled is now in prison



Volunteers' Muster at Contai

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A Great Seer

By MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[Editor's Note.—This brief article by Mahatma Gandhi has a little history behind it. Years ago—it may be ten or fifteen years ago.—I read in one of the literary productions of the Mahatma that, of the three moderns who have left a deep impress on his life, he was more indebted to the Gujarati poet Rajchandra or Raychandbhai than to any one else. On reading this I wrote to Gandhi-ji to favour me with an article on Rajchandra. He promised to give me the article. But as he has been for years past a very busy man, I did not send him any reminders and he forgot all about it. Last year I requested him to send me a short article and incidentally reminded him of his former promise. In reply, he wrote to me from Wardha on the 16th December last :

"Dear Ramanand Babu I received your letter of 26th Nov. only to-day. You want me to give you 1000 words. It is like drawing 1000 live teeth at present. And you wanted this for your X'mas number. Does it not mean I am too late? But if I am not, to find time for writing out something of the size you want, is physically impossible. Every minute is premortgaged.

"I have forgotten all about the promise, but I would gladly fulfil it if you can wait and send me a reminder, if you find that I am still not resting somewhere near Yerowada in January.

Yours Sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI.

I did not send him any reminder, because every minute of his waking hours was devoted to the service of mankind. But he has kept his promise! And he has done so before being lodged in Yerowada, which he anticipated. Evidently he wrote the article on his way to Dandi. For Shrinut Pyarelal, at that time his Secretary, writes to

me: "On or about the 15th March, during our march to Dandi, I sent you per registered post an article on Sjt. Raychand which Gandhi-ji had written for the *Modern Review* in fulfilment of his outstanding promise."

KAVI Rajchandra was born in a place called Vavania in Kathiawad. I came in touch with him in 1891, the day of my return from London, at Dr. P. J. Mehta's residence in Bombay. Kavi, as I used to call him, was nearly related to Dr. Mehta. He was introduced to me as a *Shatradhani*, i. e., one who can remember a hundred things at a time. Kavi was quite young at the time, not much older than I was then, i. e., 21 years. He had however given up all public exhibition of his powers and was given to purely religious pursuits. I was much struck by his simplicity and independence of judgment. He was free from all touch of blind orthodoxy. What struck me perhaps more was his combining business with religion in practice. A student of the philosophy of religion, he tried to practise what he believed. Himself a Jain, his toleration of the other creeds was remarkable. He had a chance of going to England for studies, but he would not go. He would not learn English. His schooling was quite elementary. But he was a genius. He knew Sanskrit, Magadhi and, I believe, Pali. He was a voracious reader of religious literature and



Kavi Rajchandra

had acquired through Gujarati sources a knowledge, enough for his purpose, of Islam,

Christianity and Zoroastrianism. Such was the man who captivated my heart in religious matters as no other man has till now. I have said elsewhere that in moulding my inner life Tolstoy and Ruskin vied with Kavi. But Kavi's influence was undoubtedly deeper if only because I had come in closest personal touch with him. His judgment appealed to my moral sense in the vast majority of cases. The bedrock of his faith was unquestionably *ahimsa*. His *ahimsa* was not of the crude type we witness to-day among its so-called votaries who confine their attention merely to the saving of aged cattle and insect life. His *ahimsa*, if it included the tiniest insect, also covered the whole of humanity.

Yet I never could regard Kavi as a perfect man. But of all the men I knew he appeared to me to be nearer perfection than the rest. Alas! he died all too young (thirty-three years) when he felt that he was surely going to see truth face to face. He has left many worshippers but not as many followers. His writings, largely consisting of soulful letters to inquirers, have been collected and published. An attempt is being made to have them translated in *Hindi*. I know that they would bear an English translation. They are largely based on inward experience.

Napa

18-3-1930

Rev. C. F. Andrews in America

By Dr. J. T. SUNDERLAND

I am writing from New York, on this seventh day of April, to tell the readers of *The Modern Review* something about the important visit of Mr. Andrews to this country, which has just come to an end. He has been here about four months, and yesterday sailed for England. The evening before his departure the Women's University Club of New York, one of the most important women's organizations of the city, gave an "Indian dinner" in its fine club house, with Mr. Andrews as the leading speaker. He could hardly have received a warmer

"send-off," or more numerous, or more ardent expressions of desire for his return.

His months here have been crowded with work. I wonder that he could have accomplished so much. His activities have taken four forms:

I. PUBLIC SPEAKING

He has preached in many churches, where his deeply religious spirit has made a profound impression. In his sermons he has pleaded for a higher type of Christianity; one more like that of Jesus than the

Christianity displayed in most of the churches of the world; a Christianity of universal love and goodwill; one that teaches and practices brotherhood between rich and poor and between all races of mankind; one that settles all difficulties arising among nations by methods of friendship, that is, by conciliation and arbitration, and never by the brutal method of war. He has spoken often of Mahatma Gandhi—telling of the loftiness of his aims, the depth and sincerity of his piety, the nobleness, purity, and strength of his character; the close identity of his religion with that of the Sermon on the Mount; his very important "spinning wheel movement" through which he is doing so much to relieve the awful poverty of millions by introducing hand-spinning and weaving into homes; his ceaseless activity in all the most important social reforms of the country, such as the removal of the opium menace and the drink menace; the abolition of child marriage and *purda*; the mitigation of the evils of caste, and the lifting up of the untouchables. All these subjects he has not hesitated to introduce in some degrees into his sermons.

But the larger part of his speaking has been done in the form of lectures and addresses, delivered in great numbers, in colleges and schools, in theatres, halls and private parlours, and before all kinds of gatherings. In these addresses, he has spoken more or less on social, educational and religious conditions in India, but most often on political conditions and the present very serious political crisis.

Realizing that it was more important for him to get a hearing in New York than anywhere else, he spoke here oftener than elsewhere. But he travelled widely, visiting our Southern, Middle-Western and New England States and Canada, and speaking in most of the largest cities, including Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and Montreal.

II. WRITING FOR THE AMERICAN PRESS

Mr. Andrews has been remarkably successful in getting a hearing through the press. Not fewer than half a dozen extended articles from his pen have appeared in our best magazines and reviews, such as the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Yale Review*, and others of like standing. Also the daily papers have been freely open to him, and

in these he has had a number of letters and short articles of importance.

He is so well known in India that readers of *The Modern Review* need not be told his views on Indian problems generally. Yet it may interest them to learn something of what he has thought it important and necessary to say in America, in order to correct misunderstandings like those caused by Miss Mayo, and to do what he could to create a popular sentiment here in sympathy with India's determination to shake off her bondage and attain once more a place among the world's great nations. The theme on which he has both written and spoken oftenest and which seemed most to interest the American people has been Mahatma Gandhi. Unquestionably he has done more than has ever been done before, to give America a true idea of what India's great saint and public leader is and is not, and what he is and is not endeavouring to achieve for the Indian people, politically, socially, educationally, and religiously.

Mr. Andrews has defended earnestly India's right to freedom, her right to freedom now; and her full competence to rule herself as soon as proper arrangements can be made to transfer the government from the hands of present officials to those of officials, national, provincial and local, elected by the Indian people themselves. As between independence and dominion status, he declared his preference for the latter. He deplored what he regards as the great mistake of Great Britain in not granting it last year. He looks forward to the proposed Round Table Conference, which is to be held in London, with a faint hope that the result of it may be a definite offer of dominion status which India may possibly be able to accept even yet. But he stands strongly with the National Congress and with Gandhi in holding that India must have self-government in some real and substantial form soon, and he firmly supports Gandhi's non-violent, non-co-operation movement.

III. INTERVIEWS

Mr. Andrews has done much valuable work for India in private ways, by interviews and conversations with influential public leaders, thus endeavouring to influence American public opinion through them. For example, he has had long conversations with a number of influential national officials

concerning the injustice done to Indians by our present naturalization laws, and has obtained promises from them to look into the matter more carefully than they had done, and to exert their influence to right the wrongs.

IV. A NEW BOOK

While here Mr. Andrews secured the publication of an important book upon which for some time he has been working, namely, *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*. The work is issued by the great Macmillan Publishing House, and I am glad to say is already having a large sale. He told me that he hopes to follow it in perhaps four months with another—a companion volume entitled "The Story of Gandhi" (Gandhi's Life or Biography). I was also greatly pleased to have him add that he is planning to do for the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, (a little later), essentially the same service that he is now doing for Mahatma Gandhi, namely, give the world one or two books on him (Tagore). Unquestionably he is the best able of any living man to portray for the world the real Gandhi and the real Tagore.

I have said that Mr. Andrews goes from here directly to England. He is expecting to stay there three or four months, working to help India, and also to help Britain, in the serious crisis which is upon both nations. He hopes to be there at the time of the report of the Simon Commission and the holding of the promised Round Table Conference. He will do all in his power to influence Great Britain to be just to India, and to help India to secure freedom and self-government soon and without bloodshed. He

is not sanguine as to what he can accomplish; but he will do his best.

I trust my readers will pardon me if I say a word in closing, about my book, *India in Bondage*, which appeared chapter by chapter in *The Modern Review*, was published in book form by the honoured editor of *The Review*, passed quickly through a first edition, went far into a second, and then was suppressed by the British Government. It is interesting to reflect that its suppression has called out many and weighty protests, not only in India but in America and even on the floor of the British House of Commons. You will be glad to be informed that an American edition of the book has been published,* which is attracting wide attention and sales—all the wider because the work was suppressed in India.

You may also be interested to know that almost the last act of Mr. Andrews before leaving America, was to ask permission, on reaching England, to arrange, if he can, for the publication of an English edition, for which he expressed his wish to write an introduction. The friends of India in America are all glad that Mr. Andrews came, and stayed so long. We are sure that he has rendered an important service to both India and America, by helping to create a better understanding between the two countries, and also by opening the eyes of not a few Americans to the fact that India's struggle is a matter of world concern. The world can never have permanent peace so long as one-sixth of the human race is in bondage.

* By the Lewis Copeland Co., 119 West 37th St., New York City

The New President of Chicago University

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M. A., PH. D.,
Lecturer in Political Science, State University of Iowa

WITH stately academic ceremonies Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins was installed last month as the fifth President of the University of Chicago. The thirty-seven-year-old Chicago University is a leader among institutions of higher learning in America. It is a mammoth educational plant. It was founded by John D. Rockefeller and possesses immense material resources. There are today only two or three universities in the United States whose teaching faculties can be said to rival that of Chicago. And in some of its chosen fields, the University of Chicago has no rival.

ERA OF YOUTH

Dr. Hutchins, who is only thirty years old, is the youngest President of a large university in this country, if not in the world. At twenty-five he was head of the Law School of Yale University.

In the Western World, oftener than in India, great things were done by the very young: Alexander, Napoleon, Pitt, etc. Young Captain Nelson, later Admiral and Lord Nelson, when only twenty-five, was rebuked by an older officer for youthful presumption. Young Nelson replied: "Sir, I have the honour to be of the same age as the Prime Minister of England."

The New President of the Chicago University might quote that Nelson remark to anybody criticizing his youth. He is five years older than Pitt was when he first became Prime Minister.

Age is no crime. The Indian detractors of youthful President Jawaharlal Nehru will be interested to know that there are at least two very capable members now in the United States Senate, "the highest deliberative assembly of the world," who are not yet thirty. They are admirably referred to as "Boy Senators."

Robert M. Hutchins, who has ascended to the presidency of the University of Chicago, is just thirty. He is not much younger than its first President, the late William Rainey Harper, who took office at

thirty-four. Neither is Hutchins much younger than Charles W. Eliot, who became President of the Harvard University at thirty-five. Yet it is generally conceded that Hutchins has had more experience than either Harper or Eliot. Hutchins was Secretary of Yale University for five years, and then became Dean of Yale's Law School.

BRILLIANT CAREER

The New Chicago President was born in 1899. He joined the Italian army during the Great War, and drove an ambulance for two years. It won him a medal from the Crown of Italy. At the close of the war, he returned home and entered Yale University from which institution he received his B. A. degree in 1921.

As a student at Yale, Mr. Hutchins was self-supporting. One of the means by which he paid his expenses was the organization and management of the Co-operative Tutoring Bureau, a group of student tutors.

He took his LL.B. degree from the Law School of Yale University in 1923. Immediately he was appointed a law professor at Yale, and in little over a year he was appointed Dean of the Yale Law School.

President Hutchins has already established an enviable record as a scholar and administrator. At Yale University, for example, he was chiefly instrumental in organizing a school of Human Relations.

"As Dean of the Yale Law School," says an announcement from the University of Chicago, "he organized in co-operation with Dr. Milton C. Winternitz, Dean of the Yale Medical School, the Institute of Human Relations, which is to focus the social and biological sciences in a study of man and human relationships. As his individual contribution to this new type of study he has investigated the psychological aspects of the law of evidence."

"While Mr. Hutchins was developing the application of social science to the law, a similar experiment was being made in the

Medical School by Dean Winternitz. The two Yale experimenters in education planned their efforts in the two fields together, and finally, to correlate the programme and make it effective in all branches of human endeavour, conceived the plan of the Institute."

LEARN TO THINK

Oxford, Cambridge, Gottingen, Paris, St. Andrews, Basel, Harvard were centuries old before the University of Chicago was even a conception; but the representatives of these and a hundred other universities stood at salute to the young Chicago University, and its younger President. It was not only the academic world that paid its tribute. Governors, city officials, financiers, leaders of industry, and leaders in the domain of creative thought paid their acknowledgment to everything that the new President stood for. The entire pageant was a promise for the future of education.

That promise, implied in the ceremonial gathering, was confirmed by young Mr. Hutchins in his augural address.

"It is the object of higher education to unsettle the minds of young men, to widen their horizons, to inflame their intellects," he said. "And by this series of mixed metaphors I mean to assert that education is not to teach men facts, theories, or laws; it is not to reform them or amuse them or to make them expert technicians in any field; it is to teach them to think, to think straight, if possible; but to think always for themselves. If we should send a graduate of our law school to the bar who had memorized the Constitution and all the statutes and decisions in the country, I should think we had miserably failed, unless he had developed a critical faculty and a power of independent reasoning which probably could not live along with so much detailed information. By the same token a graduate of our law school who could not repeat a line of the Constitution, and had never got a case by the heart would still be a product of whom we could be proud if he had found here a habit of work, an ability to handle his material, to effect new combinations, to exercise creative imagination, in a word, to think.

"At every age their elders have a way of underestimating the development of the young. As a result many people seem to have the notion that the processes of

education are simple and easy, that the student comes to college a sort of plastic mass to be moulded by the teacher in whatever likeness he will. It is for this reason that parents have sometimes felt they could solve their domestic problems by turning them over to the educator.

"The college is there, with all its opportunities. Broadly speaking he may take it or leave it. And what this comes down to is that if a man has not character, if he has not the germs of intellectual interest, if he does not care to amount to anything, the college cannot give him a character or intellectual interest or make him amount to anything. It may complete the task. It is too late to begin it."

TOUCH LIFE AS IT IS

President Hutchins declared that the Chicago University's value has been to try out ideas, to undertake new ventures to pioneer. "Research is going far toward bringing scholarship in touch with life as it is being lived today; and it may eventually lead to some slight advance in the life that is to be lived tomorrow.

"The university has learned that only by keeping in touch with reality can real life be understood. And by maintaining close contact between research and the actual problems of life—by fronting this university on reality—we can do our greatest service to humanity."

Pointing out that American institutions of higher education are turning out 120,000 graduates a year, Dr. Hutchins emphasized the need of insight to revalue the matter, the methods and organization of the university, to add and modify in the light of its immense public responsibility.

The university, according to President Hutchins, is no more, no less, than the unfolding of the future. "The university will always maintain its experimental attitude," he indicated. "It may institute new advanced degrees, to represent attainment of varied objectives. The doctor of philosophy degree, for instance, is now given both to students working toward the objective of research and to those who intend to be teachers—two widely dissimilar paths, which now must be forcibly converged into one track."

CREATIVE SCHOLARSHIP

Speaking in a very subdued tone at first and always without gesticulation, he named among others the following policies which he would endeavour to carry out in the administration of the University :

1. Increase of professorial salaries.
2. Radical reforms in the methods of the University's undergraduate colleges to the end that the specially gifted student shall not be held back by the mediocrities.
3. The widening of experimental work and the intensification of the trying out of ideas.
4. Closer co-operation of the University's experts on such problems as "the problem of the family" a problem which will involve the co-operation of eleven departments of the University, from art to chemistry, and of seven of its professional schools, from divinity to medicine."
5. Devising of the best methods of preparing men and women for research and creative scholarship, on the one hand, and for teaching, on the other.

The inaugural address of President Hutchins glittered with the gems of many valuable thoughts. Thus :

"A University is not a collection of buildings, nor a collection of books, nor even a collection of students. It is a community of scholars. It is men and nothing but men that make education."

"If the first teaching staff of the University of Chicago had met in a tent, this would still have been a great university."

"We are dedicated to the proposition that all men are entitled to whatever education they can use effectively."

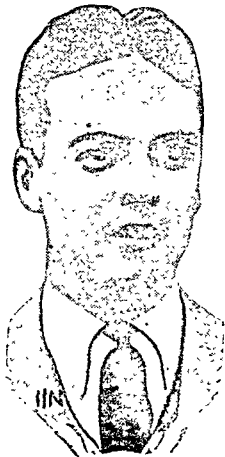
"Only by keeping in touch with reality can real life be understood."

"The unfortunate circumstance that universities were founded by people who could read, and were proud of it, has tended to emphasize the importance of that exercise and to make the library the great centre of scientific inquiry."

"Emphasis on productive scholarship (as distinguished from teaching undergraduates) has characterized the University of Chicago from the beginning and must characterize it to the end."

Reading between the lines one can easily see that what Mr. Hutchins was stressing was the urgency of making education more and more scientific, of acquiring the scientific point of view. The facts thus far brought out by science are of course incomplete and changeable, because the methods of science are not yet perfect. Human mind has not yet attained omni-

science. But the task of the scholar is to search for truth by the most perfect methods of observation available at any given time. He should be the vanguard of scientific knowledge. To him science will always mean as the effort, to discover truth by the method of observation and experimentation. This would cover social as well as natural science. It was not what Mr. Hutchins actually said, but it must have been in the back of his mind.



Robert Maynard Hutchins

BRIGHT FUTURE

The eminent assembly of 2,500 learned guests listened to the promises, theories, and prophecies that the thirty-year-old leader of education voiced. It was his day, utterly his day when the ceremonies ended with his father standing before him to be honoured by the University of Chicago at President Hutchins' hands. Halting, modest, the father—William James Hutchins, President of Berea College, Kentucky—gazed down and took the hood of the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from his son.

Robert Maynard Hutchins. Impressive as were the ceremonial and the pageantry of what young Hutchins called "the greatest day of my life," the bestowal of the honorary degree upon his white-haired father was the most striking feature of the inauguration. It moved the beholders of the scene most deeply and will linger in their memory the longest.

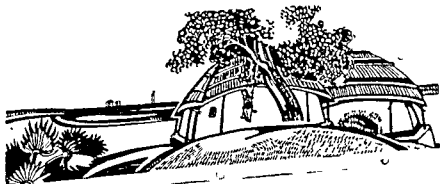
Toward the eleventh hour of a day, crowded with speeches, songs and feasting, up rose Dr. George E. Vincent, retiring President of the Rockefeller Foundation. He took exception to the orations which showed a tendency to gush over Mr. Hutchins as "the boy wonder."

"President Hutchins is more, much more than that," implored Dr. Vincent. "Think of the multitude of . senile adolescents

who will never grow up ! Modern science has changed our ideas about age. Character and personality are nowadays not questions of chronology. Mere exposure to experience is no guarantee of wisdom. The vast majority register foggy outlines. Many require a long time exposure. Others, like the new President, have quick lenses.

"He has been promptly tested on both sides and has won early recognition for alert intelligence, resourceful imagination, a pioneering spirit, and a delightful personality. The University of Chicago and the City of Chicago hail him. Under his leadership the institution will make steady advance as a vital, stimulating, productive servant of the community, the nation and mankind."

Prolonged applause.



Industrial Reconstruction and Industrial Efficiency

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D.

II

3. DEVELOPMENT OF ENTERPRISE

INDUSTRIALIZATION and rationalization will not only establish the existing Indian industries on a more solid and economical basis both for national prosperity and international competition, but they will also stimulate new industrial enterprises and create new industrial opportunities. Their immediate effect might, however, tend to diminish the number of occupations in certain industries, especially in the transitional period of reorganization, as already referred to.

The most important effect of rationalization will be the decrease in the proportion of the population dependent upon agriculture which is at present too large. Civilization has reached such a stage of development and the requirements of modern life have become so fine, complex and numerous, that most of the modern nations employ from one-third to half of their actual workers for the production of the basic necessities, such as foodstuff and raw material. But the proportion of actual workers employed in agriculture with respect to the total actual workers amounts to 73 per cent in India as compared with 8 per cent in England and Wales, 32 per cent in the United States, 34 per cent in Germany and 40 per cent in France.*

Although the case of England which depends upon other countries for two-thirds of the annual food supply, is an exception, the industrial conditions in the other countries indicate the proportion of people which could be economically engaged in the modern state of industrial and cultural progress. The proportion of agricultural population in India should not exceed that of France, where agriculture and manufactures are well balanced. Even with this reduced number, India will be able to produce much more than what she produces now.

While the ultimate effect of agricultural rationalization will be reduction of the number of workers now employed, for the present the tendency of reduction will be partly counter-balanced by the increased activities in agricultural production. Thus, the utilization of waste land, intensification of cultivation, diversification of farming and the manufacture of some of the crops on the farm itself will create enough new occupations to absorb a part of the unemployed.

The rationalization of arts and crafts or the cottage industries by the utilization of modern industrial technique will, however, be followed by increased facilities for industrial employment. It has been noted that cottage industries have not become out of

* Proportion of population in different industries in various countries (in millions):

Country	Year	Actual workers	Agriculture		Industry transport and trade		Other occupations	
			No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
England and Wales	... 1911	16.2	1.3	8	11.5	71	3.4	21
Germany	... 1907	28.1	9.8	34	14.6	51	3.7	15
France	... 1911	20.9	8.5	40	9.5	47	2.9	15
United States	... 1910	38.1	12.5	32	19.1	50	6.2	18
India	... 1921	146.0	106.0	73	25.7	18	34.3	9

Compiled and adapted from *Annuaire Statistique, France, 1922*, pp. 16-91; *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1928*, pp. 37-38.

date and that they still retain their vitality. Modernization and rationalization will give them a new life both in economic stability and competitive ability against large-scale industry, whether foreign or domestic, and not only solve the problem of under-employment among the artisan classes but also draw a larger number of the village population into their scope.

Increasing facilities for industrial occupations in the country will, however, result mostly from the growth in number of large-scale industries, especially the industrialization of manufacturing processes for mass production under the factory system. The essential conditions for the development of large-scale industries including the factory system are the supply of iron and coal, raw materials, market facilities, efficient labour and sufficient capital. Of these the most important are, of course, iron and coal. For they are not only the products of large industrial enterprises, but also supply machinery and mechanical power for other large-scale industries.

The iron-ore reserves of India are surpassed by only those of America and France as noted before. The iron-ores of India are not only immense in reserves but are among the richest in iron-contents having 60 per cent. of iron-contents as compared with 50 per cent or less in most of the countries. Moreover, the presence of iron-ore, coal mines, flux and fireclay within an average distance of 125 miles makes it possible for India to become one of the greatest centres in the world for the manufacture of iron and steel.* "There is little doubt", says Sir Edwin Pascoe, Director of the Geological Survey of India, "that her vast resources in iron-ore

will one day give her an important, if not dominant, place in the steel of the world."

The fuel resources of India are not very great, but the shortage of coal and oil are compensated by the supply of water-power, in which India stands second only to the United States in potentialities among the industrially advanced countries. If fully developed India will be able to supply electricity to many industries, such as railways, tramways, factories and even some cottage industries, and thus save coal for the purpose of her iron and steel industries.

As to raw materials, India has a vast supply and is a great contributor to the world's requirements. In 1927-28, for instance, India produced practically all the jute, over one-fifth of the cotton, about one-fourth of cotton seed, over five-sixths of rape seed and about one-tenth of linseed.† Having one-third of the world's cattle including buffaloes, and one-seventh of the world's sheep and goats, the production of hides and skins, one of the most important raw materials in modern industries, is also considerable. In the production of some minerals, such as, mica and manganese, India holds a very high place. While she

* See his "A General Survey of India's Mineral Resources." *Capital, Indian Industries and Transport Supplement*, Calcutta 19 December, 1929, p. 13.

† India's share in the production of some of the world's raw material in 1927-28. (In million quintals)

Material	World production	Production in India
Jute	18.52	18.47
Cotton	50.08	10.85
Cotton seed	102.20	24.85
Rape seed	12.00	10.20
Linseed	40.80	4.10

Compiled from the *International Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics*, 1927-28.

* Records of the Geological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1922, Vol. 2, Part II, pp. 203-212.

enjoys practical monopoly of mica production,* the production of manganese in 1927 amounted to over 35 per cent of the world's total.* India suffers potential loss by the fact that most of the raw materials are exported in a raw state. For example, India exported in 1928-29 3.7 million (400 lbs. each) bales of raw cotton, *i. e.*, about two-thirds of the crop, 5 million bales of jute, or half the production, 13 million tons of seeds, 66,000 tons of hides and skins and 681,000 tons of maganese ores† In fact, out of the 330 crores worth of exports in 1928-29 170 crores worth of merchandise, *i. e.*, over half, consisted of raw materials and articles mainly unmanufactured. It has also been found that the same ship which carries hides and skins out of the country also carries the tanning materials. Most of the raw materials are sent out only to be brought back as manufactured articles.

India has also great facilities in marketing. Her own home market can consume a vast amount of manufactured articles. In 1928-29, for instance, she imported 67 crores worth of cotton manufactures, 16 crores worth of sugar, 8 crores worth of wool and silk manufactures, 6 crores worth of provision and oilman's stores and many other articles for which there exist all the materials for home production. In fact, of the Rs. 160 crores worth of wholly or partly manufactured goods, consisting of 71 per cent. of her total imports, India could produce a considerable part at home. §

As to the supply of efficient labour there exists, however, a difference of opinion. It has been stated, as noted before, that India's factory worker is only 40 per cent as efficient as an English factory worker. Although the inefficiency of the Indian worker as compared with that of a British worker cannot be denied, neither the proportion of difference nor the basis of calculation can be accepted to represent the real state of things. In the first place, unlike the British labourer, the Indian labourer is not educated and trained for factory work nor is he expected to work in a factory all his life. He is generally an

illiterate peasant, who takes to factory life and resorts to his former occupation whenever opportunity occurs. In the second place, there is a good deal of difference in raw material, hours of work, comfort and management. In India the cotton used is coarser and more liable to break, hours are longer, temperature is much higher and management is less efficient. In the third place, the main object of an industrial undertaking being to make profits, a factory, following the economic law, employs more of the cheaper factors in production than the dearer ones. In fact, due to the cheapness, many more extra hands are employed in India. Moreover, although the same machinery might be used in both countries, all latest improvements are not to be found as quickly in India as in England. Improvements in hand tools and implements even in handy work also help the English worker to minimize the time of work.

Whatever might be the present conditions, Indian labourers are not inferior to those of any other country in their potential efficiency. The most important source of labour supply in India is, and will be, the agricultural labourers and cultivators or peasants. As to the latter, says Dr. Voelker of the Royal Agricultural Society, after an enquiry into Indian agriculture, "At his best, the Indian ryot or cultivator is quite as good as, and in some respects the superior of, the average British farmer." * An investigation carried out by the present writer under the auspices of the Bureau of Labour Statistics, United States, Department of Labour, into the social and economic conditions of the Hindustanis, *i. e.* East Indians on the Pacific Coast of the United States and Canada, revealed the fact that in industrial efficiency the Indian workers were as good as, if not better than the Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, American and Canadian workers.† In the evidence before the Industrial Commission of 1916-18, Mr. T. H. Tutwiller, the General Manager of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, stated that many European and American artisans had been successfully replaced by Indian artisans. "Where Indians have been substituted for Europeans in these works", continues Mr. Tutwiller, "the quality of our products has

* See the *Capital*, Calcutta, December 19, 1929, p. 14.

† Compiled from the *Review of the Trade of India in 1928-29*, pp. 67, 69, 161-166.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 150-153.

* *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, 3: 6.

† See the present writer's *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast*, Berlin, 1923, pp. 47-52.

not suffered.* In fact, given the equal facilities for health and education, Indian labourers are capable of doing the same efficient work as that of the labourers in other industrially advanced countries.

As far as capital is concerned, India is, however, in a different situation. In the face of extreme poverty, India could not be expected to possess sufficient capital for rapid industrialization. But with an adequate banking system, she can amass considerable amount of necessary capital from her own people. The largest industry of India is the cotton mill, which is practically financed by indigenous capital. "Money begets money", and once industrialization starts and foreign "drain" ceases there will be increasing supply of capital for investment within the country. Moreover, foreign capital with adequate security can be attracted from abroad for investment in India.

Thus there exist in India great possibilities for the development of large-scale industries for mass production. Improvement in existing industries, such as cotton and jute manufactures, especially cotton goods of finer counts as recommended by the Tariff Board on Cotton Textile in 1926, will also lead to the creation of new industrial opportunities. Moreover, with the introduction of modern technique in production, there are great prospects for the improvement in forestry, fishing, mining, transporting, banking and trading industries, thus creating new industrial opportunities and absorbing a much larger population. In industry, transport and trade, India employed only 18 per cent of the population in 1921 as compared with 45 per cent in France, 50 per cent in the United States and 51 per cent in Germany.†

With the growth of industrialism, there is no reason why India should not employ about one half of her working population in manufacturing, transport and trade.

4. CONSERVATION OF RESOURCES

The utilization of natural resources for human purposes is one of the essential conditions of production. Since the resources are limited in quantity, to conserve them by preventing wastage and economizing usage so that they may remain a permanent source of utility is a question of vital importance

to national welfare and forms one of the most important phases of industrial efficiency. Rationalization of industry implies conservation of resources, but the importance of the subject needs separate treatment.

The most important natural resources of a country are the arable land or soil fertility, of which the chief elements are nitrogen, potassium and phosphoric acid. Since these elements are limited in quantity and costly in price, permanent agriculture depends upon their preservation in sufficient quantity. This can be done either by the addition of fresh supply to the soil or by bringing the potential supply into available form. The general principle of conserving soil fertility is that what is taken out must be put back in some form or other.

A considerable part of India's fertility is lost by erosion and a still greater part is depleted by constant cropping without return of these elements in the form of farm-yard manure or commercial fertilizers. The continuous export of food and raw material is a heavy drain upon India's soil fertility, especially as India is scarcely in a position to buy commercial fertilizers from abroad. While the purchase of commercial fertilizers is more or less impossible for the average Indian cultivator, a good deal can be done towards the utilization of farm-yard manure. This depends altogether upon the possibility of finding a cheap fuel substitute for the farm-yard manure. Among the other lines of work for preservation of soil fertility is the rotation of crops, fixation of nitrogen from the air, prevention of erosion, finer tillage and use of oil-cakes, bone-ash and similar other fertilizing material.

Next to fertility is the question of conserving forest resources. The principle of conserving forest is that the annual cut should be replaced by annual growth. Since a forest generally takes from 50 to 100 years or even more for maturity, according to the nature of the wood, it becomes evident that only from one-fiftieth to one-hundredth of the forest resources of the country can be consumed in any one year. Moreover, conservation should include afforestation of waste land, substitution of the present forests by better ones, elimination of waste from fire, and substitution of timber by cement, stone, brick and iron and steel wherever possible.

One of the most complicated problems of the Forest Department in India is to find cheap and easily grown varieties of trees

* Indian Industrial Commission. Evidence, Calcutta, 1918, 2: p. 356.
† See the foot-note above.

which could be used as fuel instead of farm-yard manure. The generation of electricity from water-power resources for railways and factories might release a considerable portion of coal for domestic use. The encouragement of horticultural industries for which younger trees are preferable may also be helpful in supplying the disused trees for fuel supply. As at present, many old fruit trees occupy the orchard, which are neither good for fruit bearing nor supply quick turnover of wood supply. But the most important sources of fuel supply must come from the rapidly grown trees on the waysides and waste lands, and full encouragement must be given for their cultivation.

The principle of conserving fisheries is practically the same as that of forests. The annual hatch must replace the annual catch. The silting of the rivers and indiscriminate use of the existing resources have greatly diminished the fresh water fisheries of the country. What is needed is the provision for spawning and maintenance of hatcheries, rearing of fish including mussels in all the available water resources of the country. The occasional dredging of rivers will help both navigation and fishing. These must be followed by the provision of facilities for transporting, refrigerating, curing and reducing. It is the duty of every provincial government, especially those having sufficient fresh-water and marine fisheries, to establish or revive a department of fisheries with all facilities for scientific research both in the culture and commerce of fish. Moreover the Government must encourage and advance money for enterprise especially in marine fisheries.

The last but not the least important class of natural resources is the minerals, the conservation of which is also a very important question, especially in view of the fact that these are limited in quantity and like plants and fisheries cannot be reproduced. The minerals might be classified under two headings, namely, those which are exhausted in a single use and those which can be used more than once. Besides, there is also water, the supply of which is practically perpetual, although limited in quantity. The conservation consists in more economic use of them, elimination of wastage in mining and extracting and in the use of substitutes whenever possible.

Coal and iron are the most important minerals, the one supplying the mechanical power and the other machinery. The iron-ore reserves in India are one of the largest in the world, but the same is not true of coal. That sunlight might one day be utilized as energy source is quite possible, but for the present is beyond the control of human efforts. The possibility of utilizing water for generating electricity and power is a great solution of the problem of India's fuel shortage.

The Indian Ocean, the meridian sun, the monsoon and the Himalaya mountains keep the water resources of India in complete annual circulation from the ocean to the mountains. This circulation is not, however, evenly distributed throughout the year nor throughout the country. The annual rainfall, for example, varies from 460 inches at Cherrapunji to 3 inches in Upper Sind, and the wet season of almost daily rainfall is followed by the dry season without any precipitation. The conservation of water consists in its distribution throughout the year and in conveying it to those regions where it is most needed.

The usage of water might be classified under four categories, namely, domestic needs, navigation, irrigation and mechanical power. The problem of supplying sufficient pure water for domestic usage can be solved by building tube-wells and large tanks, the latter might be utilized for irrigation and also for fishery. The question of navigation becomes important for a twofold reason. In the first place, the water transport is much cheaper than railway transport; and in the second place, navigation is also helpful to irrigation. It has often been pointed out by writers that the Government sacrificed waterways for railways in India. It is worth while considering the question in all its aspects, and the appointment by the Government of Bengal of a permanent Waterway Board is a step in the right direction. The more important question is that of irrigation. The value of irrigation to agriculture was realized even in ancient India and provision was made for the elaborate irrigation system, which has gradually fallen into disuse. In the meantime, irrigation has been introduced and partly revived by the present British Government and at present about 48 million acres of land, i. e., about one-fifth of the

total area sown, are thus irrigated.* The irrigation projects under construction will no doubt add several million acres more to the irrigated area. India needs a more rapid progress in irrigation. The last but not the least important question is that of generating electricity from India's vast waterpower resources. Several projects are already under construction. The railway line from Bombay to Poona has already been electrified. What is needed is a bold project for developing all the water-power resources of the country for navigation, irrigation and electrification. It must be remembered that all these are investments.

5. ORGANIZATION OF CAPITAL

As noted before, the insufficient supply of capital is one of the most fundamental causes of India's low productivity. How to increase the margin of savings, to mobilize the savings for productive purposes and to make the best use of the capital goods are, therefore, some of the problems for increasing productive power or industrial efficiency.

The ultimate sources of all capital are the savings or the margin of production over consumption. The problem is how economy could be effected and wastage avoided in consumption so that there might be a decided increase in the savings. The most important cause of wasteful consumption in India is the pompous and extravagant ceremonies like marriages and funerals. They not only cost the savings of many years, but often leads a man to spend the earnings of several years much ahead and thus incurring extortionate debts from which many of them can never get out in their lifetime. The second important cause of wasteful consumption is drinking. The extent of drinking in the country is indicated by the fact that about one-quarter of the total provincial revenue is dependent upon the excise, the proportion rising to 33 per cent in Madras and 34 per cent in Bihar and Orissa. Since the total provincial revenue amounted to 86 crores of rupees in 1926-27, that would mean that the excise revenue amounted to 21.5 crores. That the actual expenditure by the people on drinks amounts to several times more can be easily assumed.

To show the folly and ruinous effect of these wasteful consumptions is the first step towards increasing the desire for savings. The crusade against drink evil by Mahatma Gandhi and others is a progressive move. Agitation against marriage dowry and pompous ceremony will also have salutary results. In its positive aspects, increased savings can be accumulated by the cultivation of forethought and thrift, which can be socially acquired by India, where "high thinking and plain living" has been the ideal of life.

The most important motive force in saving is, however, the security of investment. Nothing gives better opportunity for this purpose than the banking and insurance institutions. Moreover, they also mobilize the social savings into national capital. The banking institutions in India might be classified under four headings, namely, indigenous banks, postal savings banks, general banks including industrial and mortgage banks, and co-operative banks. Nothing is known about the extent and deposits of the indigenous banks. The deposits in the Postal Savings Banks increased from 10 crores of rupees in 1900-01 to 26 crores in 1926-27. The general banks in India are represented by the Imperial Bank, Indian joint-stock banks* and exchange banks with head offices located outside of India. The deposits in those three classes of banks rose from 37 crores in 1900 to 211 crores in 1926.†

The co-operative societies were started in 1904 and by 1926-27, the total wasting capital stood at 25 crores.‡ Insurance companies are also important instrumentalities for encouraging and mobilizing capital. But they have made very little headway in India, the total income of 51 companies amounting to only 33 crores by 1926.

These banks are quite inadequate to meet the industrial demands of such a great

* With paid-up capital and reserves of Rs 5 lakhs and over.

† The growth of deposits in crores of rupees :—

Year	Imperial Bank (former Presidency Banks)	Joint-stock Banks	Exchange Banks with Deposits in India only	Total
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1900	18.4	8.01	10.5	36.9
1926	70.3	59.6	71.5	211.4

compiled from Statistical Abstract.
‡ Abridged Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1928, p. 51.

* The Abridged Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, 1928, p. 53.

country as India and one of the greatest drawbacks to the development of modern industries is this lack of adequate banking facilities. Indian banking and finance being the tail end of British banking and finance with head office in England have had scarcely any scope for development. Modern banking has not been brought within the easy reach of the people nor has there been anything done to restore their confidence in those banks which have been available to them. It is no wonder that a considerable part of India's savings lies idle or invested in gold and silver. Even the insurance companies have not been endowed with enough security. The result is that about 15 crores of India's savings have been invested in foreign insurance companies.* Banking enquiry started recently has not been appointed too soon. It is hoped that Indian banking should be raised to the same level of efficiency both as regards savings and investment as those of other industrially advanced countries.

The direct means of mobilizing social savings for industrial purposes is the industrial enterprise itself, whether undertaken by an individual or a corporation. While nothing is known as to private investment, the paid-up capital of various joint stock companies registered in India rose from 24 crores in 1890-91 to 267 crores in 1926-27, besides the investment by foreign joint-stock registered abroad. What is of more importance is that most of the social savings find their way automatically into productive processes, such as tools, implements, machinery, raw material and plants.

Government can also help much in attaching social savings for industrial investment in both private and public enterprises. This is especially true in India where private initiative has not yet found full scope for development, and all the industrial activities of national importance have been so long controlled by foreigners. There are several acts by which Government have been entrusted to make advances for industrial purposes, such as the Land Improvement Loan Act of 1883, the Agriculturists Loan Act of 1884 and the recent Cottage Industries Aid Act in the provinces of Madras and Bihar and Orissa. But

the activities of the Government in this respect are quite inadequate to the national needs.

The lack of sufficient capital in the country naturally raises the question whether India should welcome foreign capital. But whether India likes it or not, foreign capital to the extent of about £600 million or Rs. 800 crores has already been invested in the country, as already noted before. That due to the political subjugation, this capital has been invested often at a great disadvantage of the country scarcely needs discussion. But India does not expect to be always in the helpless condition and in fact she is already striving for the Swaraj. The problem is that if she needs further capital, on what condition she will invite or accept it.

As to the need of foreign capital in India there cannot be two opinions. India must be rapidly industrialized, if she wants to solve the problem of extreme poverty, and stand the world competition and preserve her industrial independence. In fact, there is no time for her to pass through the slow degree of industrial evolution, she needs industrial revolution as far as she can adjust her social conditions to modern industrialism. What she needs is the "jumping over" several stages; this is only possible with the help of foreign capital.

There are two ways in which foreign capital can be brought into the country. In the case of loan capital, the main question is that of the rate of interest. India is undergoing rapid political development and there is scarcely any hope that in this transitory period, the rate of interest will be low. As far as investment is concerned, the problem is much more complicated. Foreign investment has often drained away high profits, employed foreign officials in the superior position and secured the monopolistic control of national industries to the detriment of the growth of indigenous enterprise. These evils can, however, be much mitigated, if not altogether eliminated, especially under Swaraj, by requiring foreign companies to incorporate in India and to have an adequate proportion of Indian directorate and technical staff.

The last but not the least important question of the most efficient administration of the capital resources of the country is the most economic utilization of its capital goods. This resolves itself into three problems, namely, (1) the substitution of older tools,

* Cf. *The Welfare*, Calcutta, October 26, 1929. p. 155.

implements, machinery, live-stocks and other capital goods by the new ones whenever economical; (2) introduction of tools, implements and machinery, and other capital goods, whenever there are none and whenever it can be done economically, and (3) making the fullest use of the existing tools, implements, machinery, live-stock and other capital goods.

The most important way of dealing with these questions is the establishment of agricultural and engineering colleges in every province or important section of the province like those in the United States. They should be supplied with agricultural experimental stations and engineering workshops. These stations and workshops in conjunction with various departments of agriculture and industries should be specially charged with the improvement of live-stock, farm implements, and tools and machines for cottage industries, and household work suitable to the local conditions. Encouragement to invention, patents and copyrights are some of the means of introducing new and more efficient tools, implements and machinery as well as other industrial technique into industrial processes.

One of the most important means of making best use of the capital goods, especially expensive machinery, is the use of the shift system. Two shifts of eight or even nine hours a day have been tried with advantage in many countries and three shifts of seven hours a day are now being tried in Russia. India with insufficient capital resources and vast man-power can ill-afford not to take advantage of at least the two shift system. It might not be very convenient for the city of Bombay on account of the scarcity of space, but other cities are not so unfortunately situated. The difficulty of employing women and children at night can be avoided by making them work only in early hours of the day. Nothing could be more convenient for tropical countries than that of working very early in the morning.* Other difficulties can be similarly well arranged.

6. ADMINISTRATION OF LABOUR.

The last and by far the most important question in achieving industrial efficiency is the organization of human resources for productive purposes. Although the improvement of race and health and the reorganization of social and political institutions are the essential conditions, the industrial efficiency of a nation depends, in its final analysis, upon its ability to mobilize human energy into productive power. Labour being the active agent in productive processes, industrial efficiency really means the scientific organization of man-power with a view to obtaining the maximum production with the minimum effort. Industrial research, technical education industrialization of production, rationalization of industry, development of enterprise, conservation of resources and organization of capital are nothing but the different aspects of adjusting labour forces to productive processes. Since under the modern system of production an increasingly large number of industrial population depends upon labour, a word must be said on administration of labour, which presents a problem of great importance to every industrially advanced country.

The development of large-scale industries has given rise to various problems in relation to working and living conditions and to industrial relations. The use of machinery and mechanical power, employment of large numbers of people in a certain time and place, the use of material of often unknown origin, minute division of labour and consequently profitable employment of cheap labour of women and children, transportation of workers from the place of birth and residence to the place of work, often of a long distance, the necessity of living nearer to the place of work and the consequent congestion and crowding, production much ahead of consumption and for distant market, and trade depression, the rise of trade unionism and of self-consciousness on the part of workers and increasing conflict between employers and employees, are the causes of several complicated problems, of which the most important are those in relation to recruitment, safety, health, hours, women, children, disputes, wages, housing and unemployment.

The obligation of the State to the labour question rises from a threefold reason: first, protection of the wage-workers, who neither

* In the Imperial Valley of Southern California, where the temperature rises as high as 117° F., the Hindustani farmers, who are settled there, begin work at 3 A. M. and work until 10 A. M. and commence work again late in the afternoon, if necessary.

singly nor often even in combination can make a fair bargain with large business concerns as to the conditions of work and other similar matters; second, expert and specialized service in the case of accidents and diseases, which is often beyond the power of both employers and employees; third, preserving the general welfare of society as a whole, which both employers and employees are apt to forget. Among such problems must be included child and woman labour and industrial peace. For the solution of these problems almost all countries have developed labour or social legislation.

Social legislation in India might be said to have begun as early as 1835 when Indians were sent out to the colonies as indentured workers. This was followed by plantation legislation in 1863, factory legislation in 1881, and mining legislation in 1901. Since then all labour legislation has been greatly amended and amplified. With the establishment of the International Labour Organization in 1919, social legislation has made rapid progress in India as in fact in several other countries. Most important of these new labour acts are those relating to compensation and trade unionism.

The most serious defects of the existing social legislation are the narrowness of scope and the lack of uniformity. In the first place, the application of the labour law is restricted only to a limited number of workers even in organized industries, for instance, transport workers do not come under any existing labour law. In the second place, there is no uniform labour law for all classes of workers even in the same industry. Plantation labour is, for example, employed under different laws in Madras and Assam. There is a similar lack of uniformity between the labour law of British provinces and that of Indian States. Even the first Factory Act of 1881 avoided the defect of sectionalism and provincialism by making it universal throughout British India. Since the Government of India Act of 1919 things have become worse by the assignment of the welfare legislation to the discretion of the provinces. Thus the cotton mills of Bombay have to pay maternity benefit, while those in the United Provinces are quite free from any such provision, although they compete with each other. In the third place, the social legislation in India is still behind most of

the industrially advanced countries in progressive measures, such as the minimum wage, sickness insurance and employment bureaux.

What is needed in India is a uniform and universal labour legislation for all India including both British provinces and Indian States alike and for all industries of at least similar character. Unless there is levied a tariff between Indian States and British provinces and even between one province and another the industries of one locality cannot be discriminated against those of others. Such an Act can be passed only by one central government and the application may be left to the provincial governments or Indian States according to the local conditions but subject to one central authority. It is fully realized that this is not an easy task, especially as far as Indian States are concerned. But the next constitutional reform is expected to find a solution. Whether the next constitution should be unitary or federal the residual power must be preserved with the Central Government as far as labour legislation is concerned, especially for British provinces. Nothing could be more harmful to the progress of social legislation than the policy of sectionalism or provincialism which is bound to result in discrimination and in retardation. The best example of such a condition is presented by the United States, where the labour laws are different in different States and the Federal Government has not even the power of passing the child labour law without infringing upon the right of the States. In India provision should be made in the new constitution so that such difficulties might be avoided. The Government should introduce progressive measures into labour legislation. The International Labour Conference may give a lead on this point.

One of the most important problems of modern industrialism is that of housing. The standard of housing in a poor country like India has always been very low as far as comfort and aesthetics are concerned. But modern industrialism with centralized industries and congested accommodation has made it also insanitary and unhealthy. The problem of housing is, however, more complex than it appears to be. Inasmuch as the industry is a benefit to society, it is the society or more strictly the State, which is responsible for improving the conditions of life outside the

factory or the place of work. Moreover, compulsion upon employers to accommodate employees may not only be detrimental to the growth of industry, but its effect might be deleterious upon the employees themselves. When the labourer has to work in the employer's plant and to live in the employer's house from which he cannot very well move at will, he is liable to become nothing but a serf as under the feudal system. The best solution of the problem is to build industrial towns, either on the co-operative basis or at public expense, near industrial towns where the workers can dwell with their families by the payment of an economic rent. There are, however, industries such as mining and plantation, especially seasonal industries where employers will have to make provision for the employees, and housing in such cases must be regarded as a part of the industrial enterprise, and the regulation of housing conditions must be a part of social legislation as far as sanitation, decency and comfort are concerned.

Another vexed problem is that of the minimum wage. The main object of industrial activities of a nation is to improve the material condition and general welfare of the people as indicated by high standard of living. Of all the civilized countries of the world, the standard of living is the lowest in India. The effect of the low standard of life upon national vitality and social progress is anything but salutary. It must be at once realized that the number of workers in organized industries is only a small fraction of the total workers living upon wages and is still smaller of the total population of the country. It is not possible to increase the wages of one class at a level much higher than the rest nor is it possible to increase the wages or income of the large majority of the population without increasing the productive power of the country. There is thus a vicious circle. The problem of higher wages is still a very vital one and a solution must be found by the State.

The best way to approach the problem is the establishment by the Government of a minimum wage board, the duty of which will be to estimate a minimum wage for each province or a section of a province if necessary. The effect of such estimate will be very beneficial. It will not only set a standard which will be a basis of bargaining

for the workers but will focus the attention of the public on the necessity of increasing national dividend both by increasing national production and decreasing social population. Not the least important is the duty of the State to see that this minimum standard is given effect to by all the important industries, such as tea, jute, cotton and coal. Moreover, the Government itself must introduce the standard of minimum wage for its own employees. Nothing shows more clearly the unsoundness of the whole economic organization of Indian society than the existence of starving wages, which do not exceed more than a few rupees a month on the one hand, and the luxurious salaries amounting to several thousands a month on the other. Nobody would suggest that there should not be any gradation in the wage-scale, but that such a disparity in national income can exist only in a country where there are a few masters and the rest, and by far the majority, are nothing but slaves. The readjustment of the salary on the basis of India's national income has been long overdue.*

The most difficult problem before the country is, however, that of unemployment which is only a part of the general under-employment and to which has been ascribed the loss of at least one-third of the nation's man-power. Among the causes of general unemployment must be mentioned the following: (1) the growth of population faster than the available farmland and consequent decrease in the size of the farm; (2) decline of arts and crafts in the face of foreign competition; (3) disappearance of most of the subsidiary industries which found their places in the household of both the farmer and the artisan; (4) lack of capital as a result of the growing poverty of the people; (5) lack of introduction of modern science and art including industrial technique commensurate with the growth of population in India and with the industrial progress of the world; and (6) failure to modernize the productive processes which the rising generations of the educated classes could join for following an honourable career and for gaining a decent livelihood.

The problem of under-employment can be solved only by creating more industrial

* According to the census of 1921, out of 682 619 railway employees, 411,176 or over 60 per cent were getting a salary of less than Rs. 20 a month. See Census Report, 1: 283.

opportunities or development of industrial enterprise, as noted before. The first and foremost method of developing national industries of India is to base them on such sound economic basis by industrialization and rationalization that they can compete with those of other nations. The immediate effect of rationalization on employment has been already discussed. Secondly, these industries need multiplication and diversification for which there are also ample opportunities in India, as already noted. Both industrialization and rationalization will also offer to the educated younger generations opportunities for an industrial career and gainful occupation and thus solve one of the most acute problems of unemployment in the country. Moreover, it is only through the continual utilization of scientific and technical education of enterprising younger generations for industrial purposes that the productive processes of the country can be kept abreast of other industrial nations of the world. Lastly, there must be created subsidiary industries which occupy both artisans and cultivators in the off-season. Here comes the economy of the *khaddar*, and nobody has done more for rebuilding the subsidiary industry of India than Mahatma Gandhi and the All-India Spinners' Association. Un-economic aspects of the *khaddar* have already been referred to. But whatever might be its

ultimate end, for the present no other industry has shown itself to be more practical and economical.

The last but by no means the least important aspect of social legislation is social insurance. With the growth of the sense of responsibilities on the one hand, and the conception of social solidarity on the other, society has realized the importance of devising means of distributing the risks and losses of a few among many. Accidents, sickness, invalidity, premature death, old age and unemployment are some of the common risks, especially in the case of work-people whose only asset is in most cases ability to labour, and anything interfering with this ability may deprive him of his income, thus causing distress not only to himself but also to his dependents. The under-employment of most of the working classes, the decadence of private charity and the breakdown of the old joint family system have brought before the public more and more the importance of introducing some kind of social insurance into India. The first step has been taken in this direction by the enactment of the Workmen's Compensation Act. The scope of that Act is, however, very much limited. It ought to be widened and include other phases of risks than mere accidents and disease.

Americanization of Europe

STANDARDIZATION Vs. INDIVIDUALISM

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., Ph.D.

ONE of the most fascinating things about travel nowadays through the countries of Europe is the opportunity it affords the visitor to study how each of the war-wrecked nations is adapting itself to the new demands and requirements of the post-war world. Of the pre-war world Europe was the centre, European ideals its standard and European power its driving force. But the Great War ushered in new ideals, shifted the seat of power and made the United States the centre of the modern world. Further, it painted a new map of Europe, destroying old nations and creating new ones. In spite of these radical changes, Europeans were inclined

to think and act during the first half of the post-war period as though the war had not brought about any basic change in the life, thought and economic structure of Europe. Slowly but surely, they began to come out of that stupor and realize that a new universe had come into existence with a new economic outlook and a new philosophy of life. But the new outlook being radically opposed to that of old Europe, it has not been easy for Europeans to fall in line with this march of modernism headed by, as they saw it, the dollar-chasing Yankee. Nevertheless, the march of events made Europe realize that she could ill-afford to sit and watch modernity marching past her

if her lost place in the sun was to be regained.

Among the various forces which are actively engaged in modernizing Europe, the international activities of the American people must be put down as the most important. The influence of the American people is so profound and far-reaching that one may venture to say that what Paris was to Europe and America yesterday, that the United States is to the commercial world of today. The prosperity, resources, methods and ideas and the ever-increasing needs of the American people are raising the economic levels of the entire world; their financial resources are greatly helping to resurrect many of the countries of Europe, to revive old industries and build new ones for them. Take, for instance, the case of Poland. It was only on the Armistice Day, November 11, 1918, that Poland, after having been divided for more than a century among Russia, Austria and Germany, became once again an independent nation. In looking back on the past decade of its history, one is considerably surprised to note what a great part America and her money have played in the life of this young nation. Most of the Rs. 210,000,000 loan that has put Poland on a firmer financial footing came from the United States. Is it unnatural then if American ideas and ideals find a receptive soil there and if American business methods capture their imagination? Scarcely a work on scientific management is published in America today that is not translated immediately into Polish.

Poland has industries that were begun before the discovery of America, but now some of them are revived by American methods under the guidance of expert American engineers. One of the oldest of Poland's industries to be given a new lease of life by the introduction of American technique is her salt mines which have been adding to the savour of Central European foods since the tenth century. By helping these needy European states, America helps herself also inasmuch as such contacts enhance her trade relations with those countries. It is little wonder, therefore, if the United States exports more goods to Poland than any other country with the exception of Germany which is Poland's nearest western neighbour. America furnishes approximately sixteen per cent of all Polish imports Poland, with 150,000 square miles, is sixth in size among European

countries, being surpassed only by Russia, France, Spain, Germany and Sweden; it has a population of approximately 30,000,000, a total exceeded only by Russia, France, Germany and Italy. America's traditional friendship dates from the time of American Revolution, when two young Poles, Kosciuszko and Pulaski, gave their services to Washington and commanded American troops.

THE NEW AGE IN GERMANY

Much like Poland, other smaller states of Europe are also rapidly adopting Americanism, but the business of Americanization, which now seems to have got a fair start throughout Europe, receives nowhere so ready a response as in Germany. We may, therefore, say that among the European nations, the one which is adapting itself most easily to the new state of affairs is Germany. Strange as it may seem the principal defeated nation of the war is finding herself more at home in the world created by her defeat than any of the nations which defeated her. A decade ago Germany was in the grip of depression, economic, political and mental. She was demoralized, having lost a war and having lost faith in herself. She had lost her colonies, some 27,000 square miles of territory, nearly all her shipping and about 6,400,000 of her population. She had been deprived of Lorraine and its iron, of the Sarre and its coal, of Upper Silesia and Alsace. She even wondered if she would be allowed to retain the Rhineland, that most German of the German provinces. As late as 1923, the German Government seriously considered even the proposition of simply letting this rich industrial area be cut off temporarily at least from the Reich. Such indeed was her state of despair after the war.

But having charged up her defeat in the war to profit and loss, Germany soon began to envisage the world of the present and the future with the determination to find her place in the sun by some other means than by blasting her way to it. Indeed, a new spirit has come now to pervade the Germany of today, and it is this that strikes the traveller from the very moment he sets his foot on German soil. Though Germans are still intensely patriotic, yet they are loath to let patriotism stand in the way of what they consider their advantage. The idea of allowing Germany to be outdistanced by other nations simply because the latter apply

non-German methods never enters the average German's head. There is nothing that a German of today will not scrap if it stands in the path of his country's progress. He is ever ready to overthrow meaningless traditions and sweep out superstitions sanctified by time. In fact, as soon as he is persuaded that a new method of doing a thing may be better than the old way, he shows an eager readiness to try the method out.

This situation has, however, made Germany a ready market and apt pupil of the United States. More and more common has it now become with American firms to establish subsidiary companies in Germany. Some maintain only assembling plants, but many others manufacture their complete output in Germany itself. American firms, instead of finding restrictions as has often been the case when they tried to expand in Europe, are receiving encouragement today to carry on their manufacture on the German soil. This favourable condition for American business is partly due to the belief of the Germans that the coming in of so many American houses means greater employment for labour, as well as greater demand and larger sales for German raw materials. Take for example the American motor business. Many leading motor concerns such as the General Motors, Ford, Graham Paige, Hudson, Chrysler, Willys and Overland have rented or purchased big plants and have equipped them with the latest American machinery.

Many of these factories are using German materials. Chevrolet, for instance, uses Krupp steel for its chassis. By using German material wherever possible these American firms strive to lessen the opposition of German automobile manufacturers to American commercial penetration. Hence American firms take special pains always to point out in their advertising pamphlets the large percentage of German materials used in their goods and the great number of German workmen employed in their plants. Of all the American firms now established in Germany with subsidiary companies, the General Motors is now leading with 576 office employees, of whom only 30 are Americans. This factory is in the outskirts of Berlin and employs about 1,700 German workmen. Other American firms now manufacturing in Germany are the Mergenthale Linotype Company with 3,000 employees, International Harvester with 1,500 workmen, National Cash Register, Otis Elevator,

National Radiator, Singer Sewing Machine, Eastman Kodak which manufactures films and even exports them back to America; Palm Olive Soap, Wrigley Chewing gum, United Shoe Machinery, Goodyear Rubber Companies etc. The latest evidence of Berlin's Americanization is the establishment of chain stores on American model. Such invasion of Germany by American business cannot but result in the introduction of American ideas and methods into German business.

Germany does not mind becoming Americanized nor turning to the United States for inspiration; in fact, she is ever ready to rebuild her industries and reorganize her production in accordance with the directions of modern American industrialism. "In co-operation with America," observes Prof. Adolph Von Harnack, President of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for the promotion of Science, "we have much to gain, and so I hope our Americanization will increase. The war interrupted valuable relations between us which are not yet fully restored. Personal contact is still missing and its value cannot be fully balanced by mutual knowledge of the results of research. Germany can gain by more intensive personal and intellectual contact with the United States." Similarly Herman Dietrich, the Food Minister, is of the opinion that German farmers would be much better off if they followed American methods. "We must make many reforms," says he, "in order to be Americanized. We must improve our production methods, also our organization and selling methods. We must standardize our agrarian products, create a sensible credit policy and reconstruct our many out-of-date farms. The German farmers are badly off. We should be stimulated to transplant American ideas wherever possible." Dr. Willy Hellpach, a member of the Reichstag, sums up the general feeling in his declaration that the Fatherland has a better chance if it goes on towards complete Americanization rather than "one quarter Americanized" as at present.

No other country has gone forward with such seriousness of purpose in the reconstruction of its economic life nor has introduced so fearlessly new experiments and novel methods in the reorganization of its industry. She shows no hesitation at all about Americanizing herself to find her right place once again among the nations of the world. As a result of this attitude Germany has now become as strong, if not stronger, than she was before the war so far as her industrial

capacity is concerned. Her general production has increased 20 per cent in the last three years; her share of the world's trade was 5.8 per cent in 1927 as compared to 4.6 in 1911-13; her share of the world's exports of manufactured articles was 20 per cent as compared to 25 per cent just before the war. Her aggregate coal production was greater in 1928 than in 1913, though mined from a smaller area and by fewer workmen. Her iron and steel production have far exceeded the level of pre-war days. Her merchant fleet, reduced almost to zero, by the Treaty of Versailles, is now fourth in size. She owns only 6 per cent of the world's tonnage now as compared to 12 per cent in 1914. Germany has been prompt in the payment of her debts. After paying reparations, Germans had Rs. 4,800,000,000 in their savings banks at the end of the year 1928. This extraordinary achievement has been the result of hard labour, inventiveness and a superb organization. Germany showed herself to be ready even to the extent of Americanizing herself to achieve this result. What she has been able to achieve within a decade is indeed without precedent in the economic history of any nation.

CONFLICT OF IDEALS IN FRANCE

As the traveller crosses from Germany into France he finds a different attitude of mind. France has little sympathy with the trend of post-war thought; she looks on with a world where materialistic and technical development, business and financial expansion, are flourishing at the expense of art and culture. Thoroughly convinced that they have arrived at such a logical conception of what is good and what is bad, the French are fighting hard to remain what they are in spite of the march of materialism which is threatening to conquer Europe. Therefore, in comparison to what is going on in Germany, the changes wrought in France since the war, do not seem very striking. Rather than risk being left behind in the post-war world, the German is willing, if need be, to turn himself into an American; but the Frenchman, rather than turn himself into an American, will cheerfully take the last place in this "unspiritual" march of modern progress. Therein lies a basic difference between the Germans and the French. The German is a man of flexible ideals, capable of an amalgamation with foreign ideals. He is not at

all bewildered by a world influx. He constantly balances the old against the new and discards whichever he deems unsuited to his ends. The Frenchman, on the other hand, gazes upon a world influx with cynical detachment.

Nevertheless, France, like Germany, has been stimulated into activity by deepened adversity caused by the Great War. The ten departments of her territory, forming her most highly industrialized regions, were in ruins as a result of the war. Coal and iron mines had been damaged, factories had been wrecked, roads and bridges, railways and canals had been destroyed. A region inhabited by 4,890,000 people in 1914 had to be reconstructed, and then there was the gigantic war debt staring her in the face. At this juncture she had to face also a shortage of labour. How great was that shortage is seen from the fact that between 1921 and 1927 about 1,500,000 foreign workers entered into France in response to the demand. In the midst of such depressing conditions, it was fortunate that she found herself in possession of the rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine as a result of the war. These provinces greatly added to her resources, and made France aspire again to become a great commercial nation. France had always lagged behind in industrializing the country, her traditions being highly individualistic. Mass production has never appealed to the French and does not even now.

But the war created new industries and forced France to modernize her factories and make more extensive use of machinery. Thus the industrial equipment of the country had come to be strengthened. In spite of her unwillingness, she is being forced into it. Her industrial advance may be judged from the following figures: Her production of pig-iron has risen from 5,207,000 metric tons in 1913 to 9,293,000 in 1927; steel production has increased from 4,687,000 tons to 8,275,000; coal production which was 40,844,000 tons in 1913 is now about 52,000,000 tons a year. Exports of manufactured articles were two and one-half times greater in 1927 than in 1913, exports of industrial raw materials two and one-fourth times greater. In spite of her conservatism, France has succeeded in completely overhauling her productive system and is now enjoying a greater measure of prosperity. Though she resents the idea of being Americanized, yet France has undergone in her own way a veritable economic revolution in the last decade and is trying to keep pace

with the other leading manufacturing nations of the world.

If we go over to Czechoslovakia, we notice that the first thoroughfare the traveller sees on entering Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia is "Hoover Ulice" or the Hoover Avenue. The name speaks for the cordial relations existing between Czechoslovakia and its earliest benefactor, the United States of America. About ten years ago, the Czechs and Slovaks cut loose from traditional imperial moorings, only to find themselves drifting rapidly towards disaster. Undernourishment and starvation threatened the population during war-time and after. It was during that time of dark despair and hopeless dependency that American credits and American supplies began to flow into Czechoslovakia. American flour and fat brought in by the Hoover Food Relief Administration went far towards saving the life of the people and American credit towards saving the Government from hopeless collapse. America's timely assistance, together with Woodrow Wilson's recognition of Czechoslovakia's national aspirations jointly helped to set the country upon its feet and to create a vast fund of goodwill for America.

Out in Austria one finds a powerful means of propaganda for America in the Viennese opera which in recent times has been using more and more American material. The quick success of American writers, particularly such novelists as Sinclair Lewis, Theodore Dreiser and Thornton Wilder is proof that Europeans of German stock understand readily the American mentality. American plays are also very popular. The Viennese has changed greatly. He is no worshipper of idols, and when he sees something good that has come from America, he is ever ready to take it up. That tendency is apparent in the zeal with which the English language is studied by the Austrians. It is not money alone,—the European sees many methods and technique in America which are better than those in old Europe, and his genuine admiration for those ideas and ideals makes the Americanization of Europe a most natural process. Many American methods of handling foodstuffs on their way from the producers to the markets are now being introduced rapidly into European countries.

It must also be pointed out that societies for the cultural exchange between European countries and the United States also help greatly to accelerate the process of Americaniza-

tion of Europe. Hundreds of students from Europe go to America to study American industrial methods and to introduce them into Europe on their return. American educational procedure and administrative methods are also having an increasingly greater influence on institutions of learning in Europe. One of the American ideas gaining a foothold in Europe is the college and university dormitory plan. Before the war, says Dr. S. Duggan of the Institute of International Education, that system of student residence was virtually unknown in Continental Europe. Students lived with private families or in *pensions*. Now one finds in places like Prague, Munich and other university centres some of the finest hostels for students. The whole plan of *Cité Universitaire* in Paris is based on the scheme of American life. Another way in which academic America is influencing Europe is seen in the lessening of the rigidity which formerly characterized educational administration. The American idea of vacation courses is also spreading now in Europe. In some instances the sessions have been deliberately modelled upon those of American institutions. American ideas are carried into Europe not only by American students who go there to study, but even more by European students who go to America for graduate and undergraduate studies; they bring back with them something of American educational ideals and methods. Last year there were not less than 10,000 foreign students enrolled in American institutions of higher learning.

AMERICANISM IN GREAT BRITAIN

While the Germans are enthusiastic in their acceptance of this new spirit of industrialism and the French are anxious to reject it if possible, the British are solemnly regarding it without the enthusiasm of the German or the detachment of the French. Though the British, like the French, resent being forced to adopt other methods than their own, the domination of America is so great and the movement of her industrialism so powerful that in spite of themselves they find Americanism taking possession of them. Even things of minor interest such as American chewing gums and American slangs are becoming popular in spite of the English conservatism. The United Kingdom which ranks first among the customers of the United States, is the largest market for the consumption of

American chewing gum. American slang, much like the despised chewing gum, is taking hold of the English. That this is the case was ascertained by means of a popular competition in *The Manchester Guardian*. Prizes were to go to the two best lists of six most expressive slang phrases. First prize was awarded to the list below, and second to another constructed more or less on similar lines :

A pain in the neck
To get away with it
To let in on the ground floor
Bats in the belfry
To bump off
To spill the beans

"It is clear" says the judgment "that American slang predominates and incredible as it may seem, no one quoted any of the good old British slang phrases, perhaps because they are no longer known."

There seems to be a great demand for American books in Great Britain. There are already 150,000 American volumes in the "British Library of Politics and Economic Science," and they are being added to at the rate of 6,000 annually, but the demand for American books far exceeds the supply. The Bodleian Library of Oxford,—a library noted for its collection of rare books and manuscripts,—has so many volumes from the United States that their disposal has become one of the most serious problems of the Bodleian's present plan to increase storage space. The Bodleian now spends about Rs. 45,000 annually for the best foreign books and periodicals. About one-third of this amount is spent on American books alone while two-thirds is reserved for books published in the rest of the world. About 30,000 of Bodleian's American volumes, dealing chiefly with American history, jurisprudence and political science, have recently been assembled and placed in Rhodes House though still under Bodleian jurisdiction, as a separate departmental library for the American colonial students.

Concerning the 150,000 American volumes in the British Library of Political Science in London, Sir William Beveridge, Director of the London School of Economics, says that it is only a part of what English students should have for research on American questions and problems. "It is from the American," writes he, "that we can learn much that is interesting and valuable because

of the economic and political conditions in the United States. The American output of books on these subjects is of tremendous value, and we should miss nothing of it." According to Sir William's estimate there should be a sum of Rs. 1,200,000 available to furnish books for the use of British students. This would be, he adds, far cheaper than sending students to America for research and would benefit a much larger number. Nevertheless, there are great many British students who, like the Continental students, go over to the United States to study American educational procedure and American business and industrial methods.

Britain has not, however, begun to Americanize her industries to the same extent as Germany. Recent statistics of British trade show that the export trade of Britain's manufactured goods has decreased. The impoverishment of many of Britain's former customers as a result of the war, the increasing industrialization of other nations and the growing tendency on the part of each nation to become its own manufacturer, and the relatively high cost of British production are among the principal causes of the shrinkage of British exports. Spurred by the ambition to regain her lost place in the sun, Germany has adopted American mass production methods and geared up its industrial machine to a high point. But Great Britain, unwilling to Americanize her industries to meet the present situation, is seeking for a way out of the difficulty. The circumstances in which British trade was built up have been greatly changed by the world war, and so Britain faces now the most difficult problem of how to adjust her economy to a new age. She thinks that she has the key to the solution of the problem in an economic federation of her far-flung dominions. But dominion sovereignty is flung dominions. But dominion sovereignty is making such a federation well-nigh impossible. It is no wonder, therefore, if many British economists are pessimistic about Britain's economic future.

TOURIST TRADE AN AMERICANIZING FORCE

Few realize how great a part the American tourist industry plays in the Americanization of Europe. Since wealth flows in the wake of these tourists the countries of Europe are anxious to Americanize themselves to attract the much coveted trade. According to the American Government estimate American tourists spent in 1928 in

Europe about \$525,000,000,—more than two-and-a-half times the total paid by Europeans to the United States on account of war debts. So there is a general scramble to do everything possible to make it attractive to American tourists. Each European country tries to outdo the other in advertising and welcoming them. A recent estimate indicates that something like half-a-million American tourists go abroad each year where a generation ago the average was scarcely above 50,000. The tremendous amount of money these tourists spend abroad goes toward contributing materially to the settlement of international balances. The vast sums coming from this trade are so important in the economic life of the various European nations that they do everything possible to Americanize themselves, their hotels and their pleasure resorts in order to attract the tourist trade. Thus the American tourist industry has come to be a powerful force in this process of Americanization of Europe.

In the year 1928 the American tourists spent in France about \$200,000,000 but in 1929 they spent \$40,000,000 less than the amount they spent in the previous year. It is no wonder, therefore, that recently Premier Tardieu realizing this to be too serious a loss stood up in the French Chamber of Deputies the other day and advocated the expenditure of more than \$1,000,000 in 1930 for the encouragement of tourists. The French are, therefore, busy building new hotels, renovating old ones, improving their railways and contributing in numerous other ways toward making things pleasant for the foreigners in their midst. France has hitherto held the first place in attracting the American tourist trade. In fact, no other nation in Europe is within a near reach of her when it comes to what she gets out of this trade. How great is the difference in the incomes that France and other European nations derive from American tourists is seen from the fact that whereas Americans spend around \$200,000,000 yearly in France, her nearest competitor for American dollars, Great Britain, garners only \$50,000,000; Italy gets about \$32,000,000 from American visitors and Germany but \$20,000,000.

Because England's share of the millions of dollars spent each year by tourists is considered far too small, one of the biggest publicity campaigns ever undertaken in Great Britain is being planned for this year. The

tourist is to be considered henceforth by the British not as a stranger within Britain's gates but as a national asset, a potential buyer of British goods and a paying guest at British hotels. The latest example of Americanization of Britain in its attempt to attract American tourists is seen in the announcement made recently of a \$5,000,000 hotel to be built near the Marble Arch with 2,000 bedrooms and 2,000 baths. This hotel is to be built more or less on American plan to make Americans feel at home and draw a larger share of the tourist traffic. This is the outcome of an investigation made last year which showed that while as many as 100,000 American tourists visit London, there are but 4,000 rooms in the whole of the British Metropolis of the modern type demanded by the average American traveller. In order therefore to meet the taste and requirements of the American tourist this modern hotel is to be built in London.

Unfortunately however the process of Americanization of Europe does not stop here. For the sake of American dollars Europe stoops even to the extent of catering to the lowest and meanest prejudices of the American. Shamelessly has she begun to draw colour line where such lines never existed. Only last summer Mr. Stephen Alexis, a member of the *Croix Diplomatique* and hailing from the Haitian Republic, was refused admittance into a Parisian dance hall. The proprietor excused himself for this indignity by stating that admission was denied to all coloured persons, irrespective of status in order to spare the feeling of the American clients. This is one of the many such cases that have taken place in France recently. It seems a pity that even France should sacrifice her great ideals of equality, fraternity and liberty, the three corner stones of her Republic, for the sake of winning American patronage. London too is surrendering to this temptation. Paul Robeson, the well-known American Negro actor and singer was recently barred from the grill of a prominent London hotel where he was to be the guest of his English white friends. Another prominent American negro from Chicago was refused admission to thirty London hotels last summer. Europe now seems ready to prostitute herself for the sake of the "Almighty dollar" and allow her culture to be threatened by the intense American racialism.

The undoubted superiority and economic predominance of America is stimulating Europe to Americanize herself further into an economic federation, a United States of Europe, but as this aspect has been dealt with in a separate article in a previous issue of the *Modern Review*, no attempt is here made to deal with it in this connection. American civilization in the course of its development has given rise to some distinctive features. Though Europe supplied the background for the rise of American civilization, yet Americanism as a culture in the form in which it now exists, is very different from the culture that America received from Europe in the early days of her history. Some maintain that the American type is a genuine mutation in the history of culture, that it is new, a product of the last century and that it is stamped with success. It is transforming the external conditions of life; it is assimilating other types to itself and recoinning them.

No world conquest, whether that of Rome or Christendom compares with that of Americanism in extent or effectiveness. Her influence is certainly felt all over the world and is seen at its best in the way it is causing even age-old Europe with her ingrained ideal of individualism to Americanize herself. The distinctive features of Americanism,—quantification, mechanization and standardization,—are conquering not only Europe, but in fact the whole world. The civilization of Europe is cultural but that of America is industrial. It is natural therefore that the thinking Europeans should be greatly alarmed at what is now taking place in Europe. Every year numerous articles and a large number of books are coming out of the European press whose burden is the threat of America to the traditional culture of Europe. But is Europe prepared to challenge the imperialism of American industrialism and pay the cost in the interest of culture and humanity?

Bankim Chandra Chatterji

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

FIFTY years ago no name stood higher in the literature of Bengal than that of Bankim Chandra Chatterji, and his fame has not faded in the years that have passed. Out in the West literature has been recognized as a profession for a considerable time. Men and women have made a living out of it; some have prospered, a few have become wealthy. Perhaps a few people in India now devote their whole time to literature, but it is only a doubtful and scanty living that can be made out of it. There is a familiar saying in this country that Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, and Sarasvati, the goddess of learning, do not agree and are seldom found together. It was so even in the West, for the greatest writers in Europe in earlier times were usually very poor. There is authority in Holy Writ for the truth that one cannot serve God and Mammon at the same time. Equally was it true that Mammon and the Muses could not be served together.

Bankim Chandra did not derive a living from literature. He was one of the first two graduates of the Calcutta University and almost immediately after obtaining the B. A. degree he was appointed a Deputy Magistrate, an office he held till nearly the end of his life, for he did not live long after his retirement from the service of the Government, and he was barely fifty-six years of age at the time of his death. Year in and year out, with the exception of Sundays and the few public holidays he was in his office for six or seven hours every day. This is usually sufficient occupation for men of average energy, but Bankim Chandra utilized the few hours of leisure every day out of office for literary work which has enriched the Bengali language and secured for him a permanent place among the immortals.

There is no good likeness of him in existence. He seldom sat for his photograph and no painter or sculptor drew or chiselled his image. In his lifetime no photograph

ever appeared in any of his books. After his death the only likeness found in his works represents him with a large turban on his head. He belonged to a race which generally goes about bare-headed, but Bankim Chandra was evidently photographed in his official dress. This photograph fails to convey an accurate idea of the face and the contour of the head. He was a man of a slender build and slightly above the medium height. His head and features were highly intellectual and could not fail to arrest attention anywhere. The forehead was not very high but it was broad and smooth. The eyes were deep-seated, grey and keen. Bankim Chandra had a habit of looking through narrowed eyes so that they were rarely wide open, but they gleamed and flashed with humour in conversation and became brilliant in moods of earnestness and exaltation. The nose was prominent, Roman, and curved over the upper lip with sensitive nostrils. The lips were thin and closed firmly over remarkably small teeth, while the strong jaws bore evidence to great strength of mind and character. It was the head, however, that showed a high order of intellect. It was of the finest Brahminical type mentioned by Sir William Hunter. It was not unusually large but perfectly proportioned, a head that a Roman sculptor would have loved to reproduce in plaster and marble. The keen, strong, aquiline face, the splendid head with its curling, ruffled hair which was rarely combed or brushed, stamped Bankim Chandra Chatterji as a man with a great intellect.

Of the greatness of his intellect there cannot be the slightest question. He was profoundly versed in Sanskrit and English literature and the versatility of his genius found scope in various directions. First and foremost, he was a novelist, a romancer whose books display the novelist's art at its highest. There has been no greater stylist in Bengali prose. Lyrical poetry in Bengal had reached a high level in the time of the Vaishnava poets. Chandidasa who lived over five hundred years ago, was the first great poet of Bengal and he was a supreme artist, and his language was remarkably simple and musical. Bengali prose, however, was of much slower evolution. Rammohun Roy was the first Bengali prose writer of distinction and he also composed some beautiful hymns. Later on, Akshay Kumar Dutt was an eminent prose writer, though his language was not very elegant and

agreeable to the ear. Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara introduced a much smoother and more classical prose, but both these writers translated and adapted their subjects from either Sanskrit or English. They did not display the creative faculty of genius, or introduce an original literature. Bankim Chandra appeared in the literary firmament of Bengal as a dazzling luminary, a star of the first magnitude. He first discovered the possibilities of Bengali prose, and the music and the rhythm that can be found in it. As a youthful aspirant to the favour of the Muses he had served his apprenticeship under Iswara Chandra Gupta, at that time the most popular poet of Bengal and also the Editor of the Bengali newspaper, *Sangbad Prabhakar*. Bankim Chandra wrote verses of no particular merit, but soon found out that the proper vehicle for his creative faculty was prose. His first novel appeared when he was twenty-seven years of age, and at once made a profound impression.

To the close student it is a fascinating study to note the gradual formation and the growing clarity of Bankim's style. As a romance his first book is excellent reading, but the style is at times stilted, burdened with the elaborations and the long and difficult words then in vogue. There can be no mistaking, however, of the hand of the true artist throughout the book. The story is well sustained and hangs well together, the plot is skilfully arranged, the characters are well developed, and the sense of humour, the hall-mark of the true artist, is often present. Another characteristic feature of creative art is the conception of tragedy, and there are glimpses of it in Bankim's first novel.

This book is called *Durgesandini*, or the "Chieftain's Daughter." The second, *Kapalkundala*, a name taken from the Sanskrit drama, *Malati-Madhava*, bears vividly on every page the signmanual of the master-artist, the wizard who waves his magic wand and shapes emerge out of the shadows and materialize into living, palpitating beings. The book is a prose-poem, a drama in which the actors move sometimes like shadowy figures and again as living realities, the poetic touch appearing at every turn, and the story, perfectly proportioned and powerfully conceived, moves onward to sudden and swift tragedy. *Kapalkundala*, the central figure, is a creation of the finest imagination. She is a

spirit-woman, elusive, untouched by life or the world, virginal of mind and body, passing calmly and untroubled through the brief span of her short life.

Shortly afterwards Bankim Chandra founded the *Bangadarsana* or the "Mirror of Bengal," a monthly magazine which established a new era in the literary history of Bengal. Nothing like it had ever been seen before in any part of India. It was the most brilliant and scholarly periodical ever known in Bengal. For four years it was edited by Bankim Chandra and during that period it afforded full scope for the display of his versatile literary genius. His great social novel, *Vishabriksha*, or the "Poison Tree," first appeared as a serial in this magazine. This was followed by *Chandrasekhar*, an epic romance of which the style is representative of Bankim's marvellous art at its highest, the dramatic development being as effective and impressive as the glowing passages are full of power and poetry. To the pages of the magazine he contributed criticisms of classic Sanskrit works and some important Bengali books showing critical acumen of a high order, unequalled powers of analysis and a literary judgment beyond praise. He wrote serious and thoughtful articles on many problems, he exposed the untruthful character of several chapters of modern British Indian history, he wrote bright humorous papers with an undercurrent of deep feeling. As a controversialist he had no equal and no rival. In argument his razor-like intellect flashed and thrust like a finely tempered Toledo rapier. In his matchless strength he was frequently pitiless, but there was no denying his dazzling skill and superiority in controversy.

At this distance of time it is somewhat difficult to realize to the fullest extent the effect produced by the emergence of Bankim as a force in periodical literature. The literary atmosphere in Bengal at that time was peculiar and artificial. The educated classes despised the Bengali language and literature. They prided themselves on nothing so much as the ability to speak and write English. They invariably discussed English authors and recited English poems. They were ignorant of the great wealth of the lyrical poetry to be found among the Vaishnava poets of Bengal. The exquisite poetry of the Maithil poets Vidyapati and Govindadas Jha, so widely appreciated by the Vaishnavas of Bengal, was a sealed

book to them. Bankim himself was one of the finest scholars and writers of English in his time. Under the assumed name of Ram Sarma he once engaged in a controversy in the columns of the *Statesman* newspaper with the Rev. Dr. William Hastie, then Principal of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta, and the manner in which he used the English language and proved himself a past master of controversy elicited wide admiration. But Bankim was much greater than a mere scholar. He was a born artist and creator of literature, and the highest literary art invariably finds expression in the language lisped and learned at the mother's knees. In the creation of all true imaginative literature the heart has as large a share, if not larger, as the head, and the heart has only one language, that in which the child heart speaks to the mother heart.

The appearance of the *Bangadarsana* monthly magazine was nothing short of a literary revolution. It was a revelation as well as a revolution. It revealed to the educated Bengalis the potentialities and the fascination of the Bengali language when used by a highly gifted writer. Almost all the subscribers of this periodical were Bengalis who had been in the habit of scoffing at their own language. In spite of their partiality for the English language and their partiality for the English literature they could not resist the fascination of this new Bengali writer, who used the Bengali language with a power and witchery that held every reader breathless with admiration. Round Bankim had gathered a small and select band of writers, who, after him, were the most important contributors to the *Bangadarsana*. Some of them had been in the habit of writing English books and papers, but were very diffident about their ability to write in their own language. Bankim prevailed upon them to overcome their diffidence and they became distinguished Bengali writers. Some of the Sanskrit Pandits of the old school, men who favoured the use of long and difficult words in Bengali prose, savagely denounced Bankim for his marked tendency to simplify the Bengali language and to bring it within the easy comprehension of all readers. But this opposition was swept away by the flood-tide of popular enthusiasm. If the *Bangadarsana* had three thousand subscribers it had thirty thousand readers. Every number of the magazine was awaited with

eager impatience and hailed as a literary event. Men and women read it from cover to cover with avid and unabated interest, and keenly discussed what they read. The finer passages in his novels were read over and over again and were frequently committed to memory. I have heard a Nair gentleman, a native of Malabar, reciting whole passages of the original Bengali text of *Vishabriksha*, using of course the Sanskrit accent. They are books which, once read, can never be forgotten. This is specially true of the best and greatest of his novels *Kapalkundala*, *Vishabriksha*, *Chandrasekhar*, *Krishnakanta's Will*, *Anandamath*, *Rajsimha*, *Devi-Chandhurani* and *Sitaram*. Any Bengali who confesses to ignorance of any of these books must be considered ignorant of the greatest masterpieces of Bengali literature. They are perfect productions of the novelist's art and some of the characters, such as Pratap and Chandrasekhar and the leading figures in *Anandamath* are worthy of the great ancient Aryan masters. These stories grip the imagination while many of the dramatic situations and scenes everlastingly haunt the memory.

In the appearance of the modern novel in Indian literature some people have endeavoured to trace the influence of English fiction. This is certainly true to this extent that the main features of the novel are western, in form, arrangement and execution. English fiction itself is by no means original. Cervantes wrote *Don Quixote* long before any English novel was written and that masterly and unromantic romance has exercised a powerful influence on all fiction in Europe. The *Hitopadesha*, *Kathasaritsagara*, the Buddha Jatakas and many narratives were written long before such a thing as the English language was in existence. As stories those of the *Arabian Nights* have never been surpassed. There is also a remarkable and suggestive parallelism between different literatures. In the ancient polite literature of the Aryans the epics come first and these are followed by the dramas. In Greece it was the same, but any suggestion that this sequence is due to Sanskrit influence must be repudiated. The novel is in reality the modern form of the epic and the saga, the unfolding of a sustained narrative and the delineation of character. The form is immaterial so long as the stamp of individuality is clear. Take, for example, *Chandrasekhara*, in which Bankim's art

shows itself at its best. It is unquestionably an epic in prose and characters like Pratap and Chandrasekhar are clearly Aryan in conception and might have stepped out of the pages of the Mahabharata. Again the patriotism that glows and throbs and rises to devotional heights of exaltation in *Anandamath* can never be felt or understood out of Aryan India. The greatest writer may owe a great deal to other influences, but only a man of the highest genius can achieve what Bankim has done.

The series of papers called *Kamalakanta's Daptar* (note book) occupies a place apart. There is no other book precisely like it in any other literature. Kamalakanta Chakravarti was an opium addict and these papers were supposed to have been written by him in scrap books and on stray sheets of paper. This faintly suggests DeQuincey's *Confessions of an Opium-eater*, but there is no other similarity between the two books. The personality of Kamalakanta, the drug fiend, is that of Bankim himself. Under the veneer of the opium-eater's humour and apparent absurdities lies a deep, strong, profoundly thoughtful personality, the burning heart of an intense patriot, whose passionate and eloquently pathetic references to the Motherland cannot be read without the eyes being dimmed with tears. There are papers of sparkling fancy and pure poetic imagination, flashes of irresistible raillery and bright banter, and then, without an effort, the theme moves to serious purpose and the reader sees the pierced and bleeding heart of a patriot bared before his eyes. The charm of the style never flags; it bubbles over with humour and is pointed with sarcasm. At the next turn it rises to the sublime heights of passion and attains the note of prophetic fervour. Persillage and the slinging of wit form the outer crust; at the core there is the white flame of truth, the ardent devotion of earnest patriotism. *Kamalakanta's Daptar* is undeniably a great book.

Bankim's writings and style leave a very definite and clear impression on the mind. His range is wide: he is romancer, critic, humorist, patriot; later on, he wrote on religious subjects, and translated the *Bhagavadgita*. His *Krishnacharita*, or the "Character of Krishna," is a work of great analytical power and dialectic skill. The precision and perspicacity of expression are everywhere noticeable. In reasoning and

controversy the directness and incisiveness of his style are always obvious, but even in narrative he is usually pithy and concise, and it is only in descriptive and reflective passages that his diction flows and sweeps forward in graceful or impassioned periods. But through it all one consciousness never leaves the reader, namely, the strength of the style and of the personality behind it. If a single word could indicate the preponderating characteristic of Bankim Chandra Chatterji's style it would be strength and again strength. It were as if he wielded the brand Excalibur in one hand and the hammer of Thor in the other. Never was intellect more masculine and virile than his, never were simple words charged with such tremendous strength. Well did Jyotirindra Nath Tagore, *litterateur* and dramatist, once write that when Bankim met another man in controversy his unfortunate opponent knew what it was to be struck by a thunderbolt.

During all these years while Bankim was fashioning with his brain and hand a literature which has ensured his place among the immortals he was living the drab and scarcely elevating life of a subordinate Magistrate, transferred periodically from one district to another, and serving under men generally incapable of forming any idea of his literary genius. He was not always well treated, though towards the end of his service he received titles to which he did not attach the slightest importance. His work in office generally consisted of trying criminal cases and perhaps attending to some details of the treasury. It was all petty work and he never once spoke of it out of office. It is a sign of no small strength that despite his surroundings and the trivial work that occupied so many hours of his time day after day he could accomplish so much and turn out literary work of such a distinctly high order.

Some of Bankim Chandra's novels were translated into English, but the translations were not always very good and did not convey the attractiveness of his style. Mrs. Knight's translation of *Vishabriksha* however, was appreciated in England and the *Princh* wrote the following two characteristic lines about it:

"Have you read the Poison Tree
By Bankim Chandra Chatterjee?"

Bankim's widest fame does not rest upon his great novels and other brilliant writings, but on the *Bande Mataram* song, which appeared in the novel called *Anandamath* or the "Happy Monastery." The story is founded upon a slight historical event, the rebellion of a sect of Hindu monks against the Mahomedan power in Bengal. While the story was appearing as a serial in the *Bangadarsana* which had been revived and was being edited by Bankim's brother, Sanjib Chandra Chatterji, also a Bengali writer of distinction, there was much speculation as to the ulterior purpose and motive of the novel. In all the previous books of Bankim it had been noticed that they were placed on the market without any press notices or extracts from favourable reviews. Bankim was a proud man by nature and he would not permit his books to be advertised backed by the commendations of the Press. His name was sufficient to insure the popularity and sale of his works, though the buyers of books in those days were few. In the case of *Anandamath* alone Bankim made an exception. To prevent misunderstanding and the attribution of any ulterior motive he attached to *Anandamath*, when it appeared as a book, the opinion of the *Liberal* newspaper, then edited by Krishna Bihari Sen, the youngest brother of Keshub Chunder Sen, and a scholarly thoughtful writer and critic. It was the only instance in which a book written by Bankim appeared with a press notice.

Neither at the time *Anandamath* was running as a serial nor on its appearance as a book did the *Bande Mataram* song attract any particular attention or create any stir. Only one incident, now nearly forgotten, can be recalled in this connection. A certain Bengali poet, who owed much of his popularity to Bankim's appreciation in the *Bangadarsana*, had a discussion with Bankim on this song. He wanted to know why it had been composed partly in Bengali and partly in Sanskrit. Bankim replied that he saw no objection to such a method considering the peculiar character of the song, but his interrogator persisted with his questions and objections until Bankim abruptly closed the discussion by saying that he wrote the song as it occurred to him and there was no more to be said.

The book *Anandamath* appeared in the early eighties of the last century. The song lay buried in it for nearly twenty-five years

and it was hardly ever sung in private or public. The tune to which it had been originally set was scarcely in keeping with the solemn impressiveness of the words. In 1905 came the partition of Bengal and then this song leaped into sudden, glorious life, electrifying the frenzied and harrowed feelings of Bengal by its exalted adoration of the Motherland, the exquisite beauty of language and expression, the intensity of devotion, and the purifying and elevating influence on the mind and the spirit. And from Bengal the song and the words passed over all India as a living unifying force, the rallying call of nationalism. Whenever the national heart is stirred the cry of *Bande Mataram* is heard. Whenever Indians congregate, whether it is in America or England, Australia or Japan, the greeting is ever *Bande Mataram*, and every gathering, political, social or any other, ends with shouts of *Bande Mataram*.

Here, then, is the answer to the perplexed question put to the composer by the Bengali poet who had no vision. If this song had been composed in Bengali throughout how could it have been taken up by the whole population of India speaking such a bewildering variety of languages? There is at present no man, woman or child in India, or out of India, who is an Indian by birth that does not know the first two lines of the *Bande Mataram* song. How did Bankim himself come to write it? A story has come down the years, and some reliable persons have vouchsafed for it, that Bankim had said on one occasion that a time would come when this song would be heard on every lip. Had he a prophetic intuition of this kind? To this question no answer can be given. That the song was inspired may be easily believed. Whether the inspiration was conscious or unconscious is beyond our knowledge and understanding. There is a power outside of man that impels him at times to compass some great purpose without any conscious volition on his part. It may be the light of genius, it may be the spirit of prophecy, whatever it was the *Bande Mataram* song was not composed for Bengal alone. The portion composed in Bengali creates no difficulty as regards its universal acceptance throughout India. The Sanskrit is so simple that it can be understood even by those who are ignorant of that classic language. In north India and southern, to people speaking languages derived from a

Sanskrit or Prakrit origin, to others who speak languages derived from the Dravidian stock this universal national song is as simple as their own language. At a given and pre-arranged signal the millions of India can sing this song in chorus throughout the land, neither language nor religion dividing them.

As a national anthem this song is unique. There is no note of exultation and defiance usually so characteristic of such compositions. There is a vast difference between invoking the homeland as Fatherland and apostrophizing it as Motherland. The first personifies roughness and arrogance, the second is the embodiment of gentleness and sweetness. From the first words to the last line the *Bande Mataram* song is a hymn of adoration, an offering of love and reverence. The land, the fertile country of Bengal is saluted as the Mother of seven crores of children. It is glorified as a land of plenty, fruitful and bestowing many blessings upon her children. The charge of her weakness is repudiated but still there is no note of vainglory, no wild defiance shouted to the four winds of heaven. The patriot who first sang this immortal song in *Anandamath* was weeping freely by the time he had finished it. This is not the sign of proud defiance but of utter humility and an overwhelming love. It is a song of devotion, the prayer of a devotee who worships the image of the Mother. This song exalts patriotism as a religion; patriotism is not depicted as an aggressive sentiment, but a feeling that fills the heart with love and the spirit with gratitude. Other patriotic songs in other lands mention the greatness and power of the country, the fearlessness and puissance of the people; this song celebrates the beauty of the country, the green-clad fields, the soft, scented breeze from the south, the glad nights with the white moonlight, the flowers everywhere in bloom, the musical notes of the birds, the boons freely bestowed by the loving and prodigal Mother. The ancient Sanskrit saying represents the mother and the motherland as more exalted than heaven, and this song is in keeping with the tradition and temperament of the people of India. Bankim is great as the creator of a fine literature of remarkable beauty and power, but he is greater as the high priest of a pure and noble patriotism, the composer of one of the loftiest and most beautiful

patriotic songs in the literature of the world.

And this man, so great, so gifted, so highly inspired, never stood in the limelight and consistently and resolutely shunned the light of publicity. From his quiet study he exercised a power of which he was fully conscious and he dominated the literature of Bengal with his genius and virile strength, but he was rarely, if ever, seen in public. He disliked all demonstrations and his countrymen in his time, were not so demonstrative as they are now. To the last he followed the course of Bengali literature with unabating vigilance, and every new writer of promise received cordial encouragement from him. Many were not admitted to his intimacy but he was always accessible to young aspirants in literature. The profound thoughtfulness of his nature was concealed underneath a light exterior. He was a man of superb silences, of long solitary hours spent in profound contemplation. The little room outside his ancestral

residence at Kantalpara, a few miles from Calcutta on the Eastern Bengal Railway, was the scene of many night visits, much thought and high literary work. He died as he had lived and no crowd followed his remains to the cremation ground at Nimtola Ghat on the banks of the Hoogly. I was present. On his countenance was the peace and majesty of death, the final and beautiful slumber that knows no awakening, and the setting sun lighted up the features in perfect repose and cast a halo around the splendid head which had finished its triumphant work.

In a country like India, a land of diverse peoples and many tongues, the inspired genius of Bankim created a common bond of nationhood in the *Bande Mataram* hymn. Over every man, woman and child who utters or sings *Bande Mataram* hovers the spirit of the master who has linked a whole nation together by the words of a song, a song that will be heard as the hymn of a free India in the years to come.

Orissa States and British Policy.

By PROF. P. C. LAHIRI, M. A.

II

WELLESLEY'S object of establishing a barrier between the province of Cuttack and the Raja of Berar's territories was achieved when engagements were entered into with the Orissa States, and the treaty of Deogaon was concluded. Had Wellesley, however, been re-appointed in his office like Cornwallis and come to India some ten years later, he would have seen that there was no real cause for fear from the Maratha power of Nagpur whose field of military action was already becoming more and more circumscribed by the Company's gradual territorial acquisitions, establishment of protectorates, etc. Moreover, by his supremely aggressive and successful subsidiary policy Wellesley had clipped the wings of the Maratha houses. The Orissa States, therefore, did not fare very well, as they might have at first expected, primarily because there was

seldom any great necessity felt by the Company to improve the position of these States both politically and territorially to balance the power of Nagpur. It must be understood that the real object of contracting relations with the States, not only of Orissa but also of Bundelkhand and Kathiawar, was to break up the great Maratha Confederacy. Consequently, the first batch of engagements entered into with the Orissa States was more favourable from the point of view of their sovereignty than the later ones.

As has already been said, the Orissa States may be divided into two groups from their history. The first or the Cuttack group received *Qaulnamas* from the East India Company in 1803 in return for the treaties of submission by them, without much reference to their earlier historical status so that even zamindars (in the present sense) were

included in this list. In the treaty engagement the Raja engaged to maintain himself in submission and loyalty to the Company's Government, and for himself to pay annually a *peshkush* to that Government; and after providing for extradition of offenders and the passage of the troops of the Hon'ble Company through his territories further engaged himself in the event of any Raja or other person offering opposition to the Company's Government to depute contingents of his own troops to act in concert with those of the Company to coerce and bring such Raja or person into subjection. Of the *Qaulnama*, some specimen clauses are given below :

Clause I. The annual *peshkush* payable by the Raja.....is fixed in perpetuity.

Clause II. No further demand, however small, shall be made on the said Raja or received from him, as *nazzar*, supplies, or otherwise.

Clause III. The Government of the Hon'ble East India Company.....is ever gracious to those Rajas who are always obedient to them, and constant in the impartial administration of justice to all its subjects alike, and therefore in like manner extends the same impartially to the Rajas, such as have been indicated above, and seeks always their prosperity and peace.*

The engagements with Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj, in 1804 and 1829 respectively, as already discussed, are independent of Article 10 of the treaty of Deogaon though the terms of their treaty engagements are almost similar to that summarized above. Only in the case of Mayurbhanj the Raja engaged for himself and his "heirs and successors" with regard to the payment of tribute, whereas there was no such express hereditary obligation in case of the other chiefs. Mayurbhanj did not obtain any *Qaulnama* in return as the other States did, and this seems to have been interpreted by the Calcutta High Court as being favourable to its political status.† It is noteworthy that in the case of Keonjhar there is no obligation to furnish troops nor is there any specific mention in its treaty that Keonjhar would afford facilities for the passage of troops of the Hon'ble Company's

government through its territory, as in the case of the treaties with others.

It is not known if the second group (that is the Sambalpur group of States), which was also included by Wellesley after the treaty of Deogaon, did enter into any independent engagements on lines similar to the above. It was only after their final cession to the Company in 1826 that they received *Kabuliyats* in February, 1827. These *Kabuliyats* appear to have been of a temporary nature as will be apparent from the following specimen :

"Whereas the whole of Khalsa Patna, which is my zamindari, has been settled with me for five years..., at an annual *jumma* of ...rupees..., I, Maharaja Bhoopal Deo of Patna, do freely and voluntarily execute this agreement, in which I promise that I will... punctually pay in my revenue at Sumbulpore every year. I will conciliate my *ryots*, and adopt such measures as shall tend to the improvement of my estate. I will not harbour offenders against public justice...; and should I detect any such persons within my estate I will promptly apprehend and bring them to justice. I will duly report to the authorities all that occurs within my estate.**

It may be noticed, however, that in the treaties with the first group there was no undertaking given as to the nature of internal administration, whereas in the *Kabuliyats* of the second group there has been definite pledges on questions of administration of justice and good government.

Besides all these, the Chota Nagpur State of Singhbhum (Porahat) was treated as "feudal tributary" as its engagement shows :

"Whereas His Excellency the most Noble the Governor-General in Council has been graciously pleased to extend to me the protection of the Hon'ble Company, and to admit me within the list of Feudal Tributaries of the British Empire in India, I hereby engage and bind myself and my posterity to a loyal devotion to the interest of my new Sovereign, and to implicit obedience to such orders as I or they may, from time to time, receive from a competent authority. I further engage for the purpose of marking my feudal dependence in the British Government to pay an annual tribute of 101 *Sicca* rupees..."†

And while executing this engagement, the principal object of Singhbhum is stated

* Aitchison's *Treaties* : Vol. I., p. 316.

† Queen Empress vs. Keshab Mahajan—L. L. R. : Calcutta, 1882, Vol. VIII, p. 985.

* Aitchison's *Treaties*, Vol. I., p. 443.

† Aitchison's *Treaties*, Vol. I. p. 370.

that are 'Feudal' strictly so called, with the Native States of India. The relations were mostly of a tributary nature, though some times, the expression 'Feudal' was used. The position has thus been set forth in the publication *British Crown and Indian States* which was presented to the Indian States Committee :

"Before, however, dismissing the idea of the States being bound to the Empire by the feudal tie, we may point out that the existence of such a tie, which Lord Ellenborough first broaches in his letter to Queen Victoria, and which Lord Dalhousie asserts on several occasions was never asserted in correspondence between the Company and the States. While the Company's Government was recognized by all as the Paramount Power in India, the States were officially held to be in alliance with that power. Even if that Power was on occasions called the Suzerain Power, it was never asserted that the States stood in a feudatory position towards it. The terms of the treaties contained no hint of feudal relations even in the case of the so called 'dependent' States."* The position of the zamindaries in Central Provinces, later recognized as Feudatory States, has been summed up by Sir Richard Temple thus:† "On the one hand, they were not sovereigns being in reality quite dependent on Government, having no fixed power of their own, but exercising more or less of authority by sufferance or by relegation, and being altogether subject to the pleasure of Government as declared from time to time ; yet, on the other hand, they are quite above the rank of ordinary subjects ; their Governmental and administrative authority however undefined and however liable to interruption has always existed and still exists, and such authority ought not and indeed cannot be done away with." He also added : "It is never precisely understood how far they are ordinary subjects destitute of authority, or how far they are more than ordinary subjects possessing authority."

* British Crown and Indian States : an Outline Sketch (Presented to the Indian States Committee on behalf of the Standing Committee to the Chamber of Princes), p. 77.

† Report on the Zamindars and other petty Chieftainships in the Central Provinces—by Sir Richard Temple: quoted from Sir Reginald Craddock's *Note on the Status of the Zamindars of the Central Provinces*, p. 4.

This description covers the case of the Sambalpur group of States which were then in the Central Provinces, and which thus occupied a dubious constitutional position according to Sir Richard Temple.

Presumably, the Cuttack group, which were originally turned tributary *Mehals*, were not, like the chiefs of the Sambalpur group which lay close to the seat of the Nagpur power, very greatly handicapped by the feudal claims of the Maratha power. Their description in the Deogaon treaty as 'Feudatories' of Nagpur is perhaps not quite accurate, since they were in practice only 'Tributaries' (exactions from whom were generally made by the Maratha with the help of arms) ; but it helps to explain what was in the mind of the Company in regard to the relationship of these States with Nagpur before the treaty of Deogaon and with the British after that treaty. Unfortunately, the term 'feudatory' was then either used carelessly or wholly misunderstood. It had been applied on many occasions, though not very accurately, to every Indian State. Even the proclamation of King Edward in 1901 runs—"To all my Feudatories and subjects throughout India..." The proclamation of King George in 1912 is also similar. In the same manner, even the State of Kashmir was called feudatory in the letter from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated April 7th, 1884, about the appointment of a Resident in Kashmir upon the death of the then ruling Maharaja.

As has already been said, the Sambalpur group of States were at first treated as holding almost temporary tenures under British Government as is apparent from the specimen *Kabuliya* of Patna quoted above ; and in the case of the chief of the now defunct Sambalpur State, he was liable to any penalty imposed upon him by the Hon'ble Company for any breach of the conditions of the engagements. Their criminal powers were originally limited to passing up to six months' imprisonment while in the civil and revenue matters, "though non-interference was the prevailing policy" in practice "interference was the principle ; every act or order of the Raja is open to revision by the Governor-General's Agent, however trivial the matter." In contrast to this "with the Gurjhat Mahals of Cuttack, the principle has been to recognize the Rajas as chiefs within their

boundaries; and in all trivial matters, as further, in all matters not of a heinous character, or having no general interest, to regard them as free to act as they pleased.*

Whatever powers the chief of the Sambalpur group wielded including civil justice and police, all had to be authorized by the British officer-in-charge. Their anomalous position did not improve until *sanads* were granted to them in 1867, and even till 1865 their status was left undefined. This will be evident from the fact that the *sanads* of adoption which were conferred on all the Indian Princes "governing their own territories" by Lord Canning in 1862, including the chief of Cuttack Mahals, were withheld from the chiefs of the Sambalpur and Chota Nagpur groups till 1865. And then they were granted to particular State after careful inquires had been made as to the exact political status of each of them. Thus in case of Bonai, Gangpur, Seraikela and Kharswan the adoption *sanads* were granted to them as late as 1915.

It was from 1867, when *sanads* were granted to the Sambalpur group, that we notice a change in the status of many of the States then in the Central Provinces. Some were raised to the position of Feudatory chiefs while others remained as ordinary British subjects with zamindari or landed property. This division was due to Sir Richard Temple's report on the chiefs of the Central Provinces, which was submitted in 1863.† According to him the

chiefs were arranged to be divided into two classes, according to the principles of sovereignty or no sovereignty with a suggestion that there would be an intermediate class of chiefs possessing quasi-sovereign rights. Finally, the Government of India after revising the classification divided the Zamindars of Central Provinces into two Sections only in 1864:—(a) Feudatory, and (b) Ordinary subjects, the expression 'Feudatory' being substituted for quasi-sovereign. In this class were placed among others Kalahandi, Patna, Bamra, Sonepur, to which in 1866 Rehracole was also added. It will be interesting to note however that the rights and privileges granted by *sanads* in 1867 to these States were in many respects superior to those which the Cuttack group of States were for a long time permitted to exercise in spite of their treaties. In the case of the former group, rights of internal sovereignty underwent a process of growth in course of time, whereas in the case of the latter group these rights suffered from a process of gradual attrition.

Such distinctions were at once inconsistent and illogical. This was even recognized by Sir Andrew Fraser as is evinced from his view in the reports on his administration of Bengal, 1903-1908:

"The difference in powers was probably due originally to mere chance at the time when the powers were recognized."

He made an examination of the *sanads* and of the history of their States and found that the distinction was not justified on historical grounds. It appeared to him to be also unsound on other grounds. But it does not seem that he succeeded in applying the remedy according to his own convictions.

* Sir Henry Rickett's Report on Sambalpur States, 1855; para 16.

† Report on the Zamindars and other petty Chieftainships in Central Provinces by Sir Richard Temple; quoted from Sir Reginald Craddock's Note on the Status of the Zamindars of the Central Provinces; Introduction, p. 5.

* Report on the Administration of Bengal under Sir Andrew Fraser, 1903-1908, P. 54.

Hindu Exogamy *

A REVIEW

By PROF. J. C. RAY

I

THERE are three laws regulating marriage among Hindus. These are,—(1) A man desirous of marriage must marry in his own 'jāti,' caste, (2) but the girl must not belong to the 'gotra,' line, of his father; (3) nor must she be a 'sapinda,' blood relation, of either his father or mother within certain specified degrees. Marriage inside a group is endogamy, and outside a group exogamy. The first law may thus be called 'jāti' endogamy, the second gotra exogamy, and the third sapinda exogamy. These three laws are binding upon every Hindu, Brahmin or non-Brahmin, the only difference being in counting sapindas, and in some castes in extending the law of gotra exogamy to include the gotra of the mother also.

The author has given in this book an exhaustive account of the two laws of exogamy. He has diligently ransacked the sastras on the subject, dating to the earliest times down to the present, the Vedas, Brahmanas, Sūtras, Smritis and their commentaries, and Nibandhas. He has examined the texts with great ability and noted the practices obtaining among non-Brahmins by selecting typical examples. In the last chapter he has tested the laws in the light of modern Biology and Eugenics. Such a mass of materials for study of the subject was never collected before. He therefore deserves high praise for his painstaking research, and the Bombay University is to be congratulated upon the publication of this handy and useful volume.

The book is, however, not a chronological history of the two laws of exogamy. It purports to be a criticism of, and a judgment upon their merits. The author writes in the preface that "in consideration of gradual Brahmanization of all Hindu castes, I found it necessary to examine the Brahminical rules of exogamy at some length in the present work." And he ends it with a warning to non-Brahmins in these words:—"With all their laudable zeal for following the Brahminical ideals, they [the non-Brahmins] would be acting in their own interests if they analyse and sift before they embrace any Brahminical dogma." But the ideal is there, and unless the Brahmins relax some of the rules and show the way, it is futile to preach any reform which may be found necessary. The author has appealed to the Brahmins in their interests "to re-examine the restrictions and introduce suitable changes in the rules [of exogamy] just as their forefathers did under similar [altered] circumstances two thousand years before." For, he says that "under the two-fold restrictions of endogamy and exogamy, a Hindu youth's field for selecting a bride has been unnaturally [?] narrowed down." The author has not touched upon endogamy which is, in our opinion, the cause of the trouble, but seeks

remedy by abolishing gotra exogamy and introducing cousin marriage as among Mahomedans and Christians. For, his evidence is that "there is no rational defence for Hindu sept exogamy," (a sept, according to the author, is the same as gotra), and that the evil effects of kin marriage have been unduly exaggerated.

The book is thus a revolt against the time-honoured laws, and the question naturally arises: Is the evidence on which the author relies for his judgment correctly interpreted? It cannot be expected that marriage laws dating back to hoary antiquity and developing among a widely spread population placed in a variety of environments can be all explained to the satisfaction of every kind of inquirer. Nor can they be expected to remain uniform everywhere and for all time to come. It is not surprising that they underwent modification in long course of time and became complex and hardened with age. But it is surprising that the rules differed only in details. One, therefore, naturally wishes to discover the underlying principle. We regret, the author has not attempted to furnish the key, but has felt contented by narrating the changes that happened in successive periods of time. He has viewed the customs like a foreigner from the outside, and his lack of sympathy and unmistakable bias against the institutions dissected by him are, we believe, responsible for his missing the spirit which bound them together into a living whole. We are not opposed to reform, if it is found necessary, but that is no reason why one should not endeavour to view the customs in the way the ancients did. As we have said above, if there be difficulty in finding many eligible girls in any caste, the remedy lies in the mitigation of endogamy, the basis of countless castes and sub-castes. There is a perfectly intelligible and rational principle in exogamy, but none, at least in the present condition of easy communication and the general levelling up of various sections of castes to a common standard, in endogamy save the savage instinct of suspicion against an outsider. It will be therefore useful to survey broadly the general features of the three laws of marriage and to see if there are any rational basis. In this attempt we shall not trouble ourselves with discussion of texts and endless controversies and conflicting opinions regarding the rules.

II

The following scheme of classification of Brahmins will make the present position clear. To illustrate it we take the late Sir Surendranath Banerjee as an example.

Sir Surendranath Banerji. (Bandha-upādhyāya)	
Order	... Varna.—Brahmana
Genus	... Gotra.—Sāndilya
Series	... Sreṇi.—Gaudīya (territorial)

Sub series ... Upasreni.—Rārihya (territorial)
 Species ... Kula.—Bandya-upādhyāya
 Individual ... Nāma.—Surendranatha

It will be seen that the classification is partly based on lineage and partly on the place of abode of the ancestors. The members of a 'kula' have certainly a common ancestor, and since a 'gotra' consists of many 'kulas' it follows that the idea of gotra is based on lineage, only beginning remote in time. The gotras are named after Rishis, who are believed to have been the original founders of the kulas. At one time the name, gotra, was applied to kula, and there were innumerable gotras. There was thus confusion between the old established gotras, the wider groups, and the new, the narrower groups, which were really included in the old. Since marriage cannot take place by the customary law between members of the same gotra it became necessary to define the gotras by naming one or more, up to five, illustrious persons who happened to adorn each. These were called 'pravaras', and the rule of marriage necessarily required the exclusion of gotras having the same pravara. Thus, the gotra Sandilya is that gotra pravara. Thus, Asita and Deyala were members of which Sandilya, Asita and Deyala were members. It is to be noted that this was the only possible way of distinguishing gotras. It is generally held that the pravaras of each gotra were not all descendants of the line. Some were disciples, who in ancient times were regarded as sons of their preceptors who gave them re-birth. The author has examined the point and is of opinion that the pravaras of a gotra were all disciples and not descendants. This can hardly be wholly true. For example, the pravara Sandilya could not but be a descendant of the school of his family. One ordinarily follows the school of his ancestors unless he chooses to abandon the family tradition and ritual for a different school. An examination of the gotras and pravaras shews that such changes did happen; and the ultimate result was what the author has found. It is the business of genealogists to settle disputes in genealogy. But unfortunately they come always too late after any mischief had been done. They have to depend upon tradition for their decision, and it seems the whole work of re-arranging the gotras and pravaras was not done by one man or at one time. For, there are anomalies almost like those in animal and plant names. There are gotra names, e. g. Vatsya and Savarni, which have the same identical pravaras; while there are others, e. g. Ghrita-Kausika, which have sets of pravaras. The whole subject is complicated. Fortunately it is not necessary to enter into it. Since the Brahmins have formed themselves in various parts no groups and are scattered in various parts no practical difficulty arises on account of pravaras. As a matter of fact these have lost their importance and marriages are settled if gotras in the same and marriages are different, provided, of course, other restrictions do not bar them.

Whether one should proceed directly from kula to gotra, from species to genus, or through some intermediate grouping is a matter of convenience. Surendranath belonged to sub-series Rārihi of the series of Rāri (West Bengal) of the series of Gauda, as distinguished from Dravida. These divisions have nothing to do with lineage and are purely artificial. The reason for them arose from

the fact that long residence in an entirely different environment and practically cut off from the "home" country is sure to induce changes both in body and mind and particularly in habits and culture, which are analogous to the characters of races of Biology. The word, jāti, is not usually applied to the srenies of Brahmins. Strictly speaking, they are jātis or castes, the endogamous groups of the Hindu society. As in Bengal, so in every other province, the numerous artificial sub-divisions which were perhaps justifiable in old days have worked as castes, and the first attempt at reform should be to break down these artificial barriers of marriage.

In ancient times when the Aryan population was not large and there was no necessity for leaving the home country, the classification was simpler and more natural. It was like the following:

Varma or colour	Aryans			Non-Aryans
	white	red	yellow	black
	Brah- mana	Kshatriya	Vaisya	Sudra
Gotra	A B C etc.			
Nama	a, b, c, d, e, f etc. x, y, z etc.	a, b, c etc. etc.	a, b, c etc. etc.	a, b, c etc. etc.

Kula is a family, and gotra a larger family. The word gotra has a curious history. In Rigvedic times it meant an enclosure for cows. They were kept in them during the night to prevent depredation by wild animals and thieves. At day-break they were let loose for grazing in fields, goshthas. Naturally the cows belonging to one family used to be kept in one gotra, which thus came to mean a family. The gotra-pati like kulapati, the head of the family, became the gotra Rishi. The grazing ground, goshtha, would on the other hand find room for cows of many families. Hence the word came to mean a number of allied families, or of persons meeting together for a common purpose, a club.

We can imagine that the number of gotras was at first very few. The statement in the Mahabharata (quoted by the author) that there were only four primary gotras, though evidently based on tradition, has nothing improbable in it. The number increased to eight, to ten, and so on by repeated fission in the course of time. When the number was small, kula and gotra were co-extensive, and nāma and gotra, the name and surname, were quite sufficient for identification. Sometimes as a mark of respect the name was omitted, and gotra alone was found sufficient to indicate the person meant. This practice of naming persons by their family names has been a fruitful source of confusion in later times, and every Sanskrit scholar is aware of the difficulty of assigning a date to an author who bears a patronymic. The matter is further complicated by the fact that, as we have seen in the case of many pravara names, disciples sometimes adopted the gotras of their teachers. A confirmation of the ancient custom is curiously preserved in Bengal. One surprised at the conduct of another exclaims and asks the question, "To what gotra does he belong?" Here gotra stands for a school of training or discipleship. The word may mean family also, on which upbringing depends. By analogy Kshatriya and Vaisya 'yajamana', house-holder, borrowed or lay claim to the gotras of their Brahmin priests.

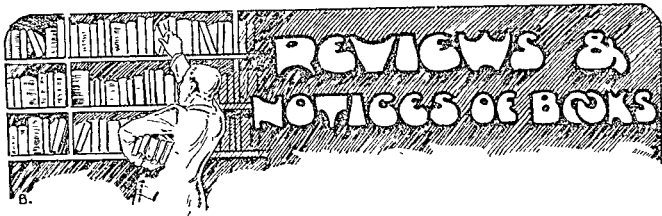
All authorities agree that these two orders have no gotras of their own. Not that the families had no ancestors, all that is meant is that they did not care to remember their names and probably they were not Rishis. The question is beset with difficulties, and the author has devoted pages to reconcile the irreconcilable. To give an instance, Visvamitra was certainly a Vedic Rishi who composed hymns. He was a Kshatriya and also one of the primary gotra Rishis. When a Hindu offers water to the memory of Bhishma of the Mahabharata his gotra and pravara are recited which may be after all those of his spiritual ancestor. For, a Kshatriya son could not have a Brahman father. According to the usage prevailing in ancient times a son of a Brahman father and Kshatriya mother would be taken into the Brahman Varna. There were however, pure Kshatriyas who took the gotras and pravaras of their spiritual ancestors. By analogy the higher class Sudras claim gotras of their priests on the ground that their ancestors served in the families, gotras, of their priests. The lower classes also have gotras, but these are totemistic.

From the outline given above it will be seen that gotras are either ancestral or spiritual and that all are not equally ancient. Among orders other than Brahmins the gotra of a family may be of recent date. For instance, if any family removes to a distant country without taking the family priest, it will have to appoint a new one bearing a new gotra. The effect of the change will be creation of a new line and the object of gotra exogamy may be frustrated by marriage taking place between the old and the new lines. On the other hand, there may be, and are in fact common priests serving separate families, sometimes of different castes, which have no relationship with one another, and are yet liable to be excluded from the circle of marriageable families on account of the mistaken identity of the families from accidental identity of gotras. Barring such cases the assumption of gotra, real or fictitious, has served the purpose of separating families into distinct units, though not for an equal number of generations. A gotra may be compared with a Banyan tree spreading numerous branches which are of various ages, the older ones sending down roots into the soil below and becoming independent trees. The law of gotra exogamy takes no account of their difference in age, recognizes them as branches from one main tree and prohibits marriage between their members, because the same blood runs in all. What is true of one is true of all. The gotras are allied, but each is nourished by its own peculiar sap. The result is gotra exogamy which makes crossing compulsory.

Like all social customs it too had a small beginning in the dim age of the pre-Vedic Indo-Aryans. For, we find in the Rig-Veda that marriage used to take place outside the family, often between strangers. The word, gotra, was perhaps not in use to denote a family. But it is apparent that the Rig-Vedic Aryans had long ago laid down the foundation of marriage outside the gotra. It prohibited marriage between members descended from the same stock, as between brother and sister and between a son and his father's brother's daughter. We do not know for how many generations the kinship was recognized. But considering the fact that the families contracting marriage alliance lived sometimes at considerable distance from one another it appears that they represented

distance in generations also. The families descended from the same stock being few at the time, they probably lived near one another, and the strange families of which the bride was expected to be the mistress represented an entirely different stock. The question of the present day did not arise at the time, and there was neither need for counting generations nor for examining genealogy of families. The difference of the family name which was called gotra later on was enough warrant for difference of blood.

The author thinks that the Rig-Vedic Aryans did not evolve the custom themselves but imitated it from their non-Aryan neighbours who were exogamous "to flatter their tastes and to prove their own social purity" (p. 172). But this novel hypothesis shifts the burden from one shoulder to another and does not explain the origin at all. The difficulty seems to be the author's own creation. For, though he has repeatedly told us that gotra meant a family, he appears to have missed its implications. It is obvious, since a family consists of one or more generations, past or present, gotra meant a male line of descendants as explained by Panini. It was therefore an easy step from marriage outside the family to marriage outside the gotra. No one can have knowledge of actual descent from an ancestor. It is only a belief that one's ancestor was, for instance, Sandhya. He may have been a fiction and may not have lived at all. But his descendants are related to one another as father is to son.



REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

B.

[Books in the following languages will be noticed Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

THE GITA IDEA OF GOD by Bhalmachari Gitanand, Author of *Dialogue Divine and Dramatic*, published by B. G. Paul & Co, Madras, 1930 Price Rs. 5.

The book is a poser. It is impossible to understand what the author wants to convey to his readers. The author seems to be under an obsession of alliteration and he has a curious way of using compound words in describing the simplest thought. "Not 'Deliverance' but veridically righteous and conscientiously conscious *Deed-Accomplishment*—not 'Renunciation' nor even mere 'Regeneration' but the instantaneous *At-One-Ment of Instinct-Intuition-Passion-Interest-Intelligence*, and nothing short of that, is the only true fulfilment of Life's functioning freedom and freedom of function. The living Body-Mind is the dually developing, dividing and coalescing Form-function and Function-form whose sustaining, impelling and ordaining Authority and Impeller is the Psycho-physico-spiritual Suzerainty and Sovereignty of undivided and indivisible Life-Beauty-Love. Pure and perpetually persistent function is what is specifically called *Life*; Form, Fixity-of-Familiarity and Freedom-of-Novelly together constitute *Beauty*; and Fulfilment of the functioning freedom of both Life Hunger and Beauty-pursuing-Enjoyment is *Love*!" and so on and so forth from start to finish.

G. B. S. L.

PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION, Vol. XI, Government of India, Central Publication Branch: pp. 263, Rs. 6-12.

The Indian Historical Records Commission and its useful activity hardly need introduction. Its annual session has now become a sort of Historical Conference which evokes great enthusiasm and where learned papers are read and discussed. Last year the Commission held its sitting at

Nagpur, and judging from the volume of its proceedings under review, the session seems to have been a great success. This volume contains some very learned and suggestive papers and valuable lists of historical manuscripts, paintings and historical relics exhibited at Nagpur on this occasion. Of the twenty-three papers eight deal with various phases of the Maratha history. Those who are eager to traverse unexplored fields and fresh lines of research in the Medieval and Modern periods of Indian history will find many valuable suggestions in these papers. Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his paper on Mahadji Sindha mentions several sources of the history of that great Maratha soldier and statesman still lying unused in the Government archives and in private possession. Mr. Rawlinson's "Visit to the Parasani Museum," comes as a great stimulus. He reports sixty bundles of correspondence of Nana Farnavis still awaiting investigation. There is enough work in the Parasani Museum for the present generation of Marathi scholars. Mr. Rawlinson speaks of a key to secret correspondence carried between Nana's agents and the central government at Poona regarding the British in Bombay. In these news-letters disguised names were used, e.g. Kumbh—England, Ketu—General Hornby, Kanya—Madras. "The Expansion Wars of Venkatappa Nayaka of Ikheri" contributed by Rev. H. Ilers, embodies the result of much patient research and study of topography. He has done a great service by identifying many obscure and curiously spelt place-names in two Portuguese documents translated by him. Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali's paper on the "Commercial and Social intercourse between the Honourable East India Company and the Poona Court in the Eighteenth century" is brilliant and suggestive. It appears from his paper that a very interesting volume on the Social and Economic history of the Maratha State in the Eighteenth century may be compiled from the archives in the Imperial Record Office. Mr. Sadras, the greatest living historian of Maharashtra, has very ably reviewed the relation between the Peshwas and

after him came Prof. Kshitivahan Sen, M. A. of *Visva-Bharati* whose "Spiritual Currents of Mediaeval India" just published by the University of Calcutta should be read along with M. Mansooruddin's book, in order to appreciate fully the value of such documentations.

We congratulate the author and recommend the book to the public for a careful perusal. A spirited sketch of the *Baul* by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore has enriched the volume, which is unfortunately marred by many typographical blemishes, possibly through hurried printing. We hope that these minor defects will be removed in a second edition, and that the author will add a special glossary of rare words at the end, together with short biographical notes of the folk-poets, where available.

KALIDAS NAQ

HINDI

AFGANISTAN : By Pundit Matasevak Pathak. Published by Mr. Vinadatta Sarma. Hindi Sahitya Mandir, 2-3, Chittaranjan Avenue (South), Calcutta. 1929, pp. 276.

Afghanistan has recently been in the limelight and its drama has attracted the attention of people all the world over. The Kabuli who is a weird figure in the planes of Hindustan has been roused to a new life of activities on modern lines by an unfortunate ruler who was denied a place of shelter within the boundaries of his country. This book is surely a timely publication. The geographical and historical background is ably set out, while the modern and current events are given in detail, and are brought down up to the end of the last year. There are twenty-four pictures connected with Modern Afghanistan.

NARAMEDH ! (Dutch Prajatantra La rikas), by Mr. Chandrabhal Juhari. Published by the Sasta Sahitya Mandal, Ajmer. Pp. 476.

This is the Hindi translation of the classic work of Motley on the subject, viz., "The Rise of the Dutch Republic. Those who do not know English should be thankful to the translator who has succeeded in rendering the work as interesting as the original. Mahatma Gandhi has added a note. There is a portrait of William, the Prince of Orange.

RAMES BASU

TAMIL

RAMDASS, A DRAMA. By Swaminadhan, Y. M. L. A. Tanjore. Price Annas 10.

The style is simple and effective; the devotional aspect of the story is well impressed.

R. G. N. PILLAI

GUJARATI

DARBAR-E-AKBARI : By Sadik. Printed at the Bombay Samachar Press, Bombay : Illustrated : Thick cardboard, pp. 308, price Rs. 3-8-0 (1930).

An illustrated history of the times of Akbar. This is how the writer describes his book. A very learned introduction by Prof. Kandar, of the Baroda College, sets out the salient points of Azad's book of which this is a translation and criticizes the attempts made by Vincent A. Smith and others to belittle the great work of Akbar. He was the first to start, both in theory and practice, the doctrine of Hindu-Moslem unity if India is to be governed peacefully, and this feature of Akbar's activity deserves both prominence and accentuation, particularly in these days. It is with this view that "Sadik" has published this translation. It is entirely readable and it is cast more in the form of an interesting narrative told in simple language, than a collection of complicated historical facts and events.

(1) *Buddha and Mahabir*, (2) *Ram and Krishna*; by Kishorlal Ghanshyamlal Mashruvala, printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad, paper cover, pp. iii : 148. Price Annas Eight and Ten, 1929.

These are reprints of the first edition of the two books. Ram and Krishna are coupled together, so are Buddha and Mahabir, as both were preachers of Ahimsa. The writer has made a deep study of the books bearing on the subject and has evolved a picture of the subject matter of his books, which is correct in outline; it also successfully carries out his object, which is to show how and why these heroes of India deserve worship at the hands of their fellow beings; he has tried to avoid every reference to their divinity and presented them merely as human beings, i. e., not common but superior human beings, supermen. He has followed the lines of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, in his Krishna Charitra, and accomplished his work very well.

K. M. J.

and other problems, a philosophic brooder on the mysteries of life, the other also a thinker, but appealing more to the emotions than to the intellect and like Tennyson, more noted for his melodious fluency than for depth of philosophic insight.

Sir Alfred Lyall published only one slender volume with the unpretentious title, *Verses Written in India* but these verses are perfect of their kind. Though I have compared him with Browning by reason of his concern with the problem of the ultimate meaning of Reality and his deep insight into character, yet in form he is a close follower of Swinburne, which is rather a matter for regret in a poet of such original intellectual powers combined with intensity of emotion. The too obvious Swinburnian rhythms in which he indulges are apt to lead him to be classed with the numerous shallow imitators of the pre-Raphaelite poet, whereas he is a profounder thinker than the one whose manner he adopted.

Lyall's masterpiece is the well-known "Siva," a magnificent song to the God of Human Sacrifice, the opening stanza of which runs in lofty strain :

"I am the god of the sensuous fire
That moulds all nature in forms divine.
The symbols of death and of man's desire,
The springs of change in the world, are mine;
The organs of birth and the circlet of bones,
And the light loves carved on the temple stones."

This high level is sustained throughout, and the poem ends with the God's assertion in tones of triumph that though men may probe into his mysteries and lay bare his secrets, yet he holds eternal sway :

"Let my temples fall, they are dark with age,
Let my idols break, they have stood their day;
On their deep-hewn stones the primeval sage
Has figured the spells that endure away;
My presence may vanish from river and grove,
But I rule for ever in Death and Love."

In "The Meditations of a Hindu Prince," Lyall gives expression to the troubles of his own inquiring mind and reveals his agnostic leanings. The prince in despair seeks for the signs and steps of a god. He yearns for the ultimate reality in which all human strife and thought are quenched, and having reached which, man is no longer vexed with the Whence and the Whither. He thinks perhaps that the all-powerful conquerors, the English, may solve the riddle of life for him in their religion. But they, alas, have nothing better to offer him than the world-wide story of the origin of the earth and

the heavens, how the gods are glad and angry, and a Deity once was man. He finds that in the last analysis man must turn from the venture and say that the quest is vain. And he concludes :

"Is there naught in the heaven above, whence
the hail and the levin are hurled,
But the wind that is swept around us by
the rush of the rolling world?
The wind that shall scatter my ashes, and bear
me to silence and sleep
With the dirge, and the sounds of lamenting,
And voices of women who weep."

In "Theology in Extremis," Lyall gives us a very powerful psychological poem, in which an Englishman about to die for not consenting to give up his faith and become a Mohammedan, soliloquizes. As a fact he is an agnostic and the Christian faith to him means no more than the Moslem. He is not perplexed by any terrors of Hell, nor does he look for any reward in the next world. There is no one to bear witness to his recantation should he yield. He weighs the pros and cons of the situation in his mind, then elects to die! He has no faith but his pride of race is unbending.

The poem entitled "Badminton" displays Lyall's insight into character and his gifts for the portrayal of it in a few deft strokes. It also shows his rather sardonic sense of humour.

Sir Edwin Arnold, the Anglo-Indian Tennyson as he might not unaptly be called, is the chief interpreter in English verse of the life and thought of India. No other English poet has succeeded in assimilating so thoroughly its peculiar genius. Certainly no other Westerner has been so deeply imbued with the spirit of Oriental poetry. He had eaten of the lotus-flower of Oriental song and for him the voices of the traditional Muses of Western poesy blended with those of the strange, exotic goddesses and deities from whom he so largely drew inspiration.

His principal poetical works of an Oriental colour are "The Song Celestial," a translation of the *Bhagavadgita*, the famous *Light of Asia*, a life of Buddha in verse together with an exposition of the doctrines of *Nirvana* and *Karma*, "Indian Poetry," containing the celebrated *Gita Gorinda* or "Indian Song of Songs," "With Saadi in the Garden," a translation of the famous *Bostan* or "Book of Love" of the Persian poet Saadi, "The Secret of Death" from the Sanskrit.

could understand his being the object of exaggerated praise as well as of exaggerated blame. But criticism has now had time to sort out its values and arrive at something like a settled verdict. One fact stands out and that is that Kipling has worn well. He was hailed as a genius when he was a young man, and he has gone on steadily from strength to strength since he first came into public notice. He has more than lived up to the promise of those early days. It is true that he is an unequal poet, that some of his work is distinctly inferior in quality, bad in fact; but this proves nothing, for the same is true of Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats and others who sit amongst the throned gods. This statement should not be taken to imply that Kipling belongs to the company of the master-spirits of all time. Such a claim cannot be reasonably made for him. Because he is the poet laureate of Imperialism he is parochial from the wider point of view of humanity, the universal point of view from which alone the world's great poets must be judged.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's position in the history of Anglo-Indian literature is a peculiar one. His less distinguished predecessors in Bengal, Kasi-prasad Ghosh, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, the contributors to the *Dutt Family Album* and others, used English as a medium for the expression of their thought and feeling, but in so doing ceased to be Indian. They wrote verse oriental in theme but English in sentiment and idiom. East and West met but there was no spiritual fusion of the two,—the East simply became converted to the West. In the girl genius, Toru Dutt, we find something of a blending of the two alien cultures, but it was far from complete, for the poetess was a member of a fervently Christian family. In Tagore the East and West meet again but the East keeps aloof. Tagore remains wholly Indian even when using English with a mastery and grace that no other foreigner has ever acquired,—not even Conrad.

Tagore has not written verse directly in English. He is known to us through his own English translations of his original Bengali poems. These renderings, however, are not so much translations as transmuta-

tions, and therefore take their stand in our language as independent English poems. They are written in free, unrhymed rhythms of unusual force and beauty and with a cadence that is truly affecting. It was as a mystical poet and seer that Tagore made his triumphal entry into the English world of letters in 1912 with the publication of his prose translations of his original Bengali lyrics, entitled *Gitanjali* or "Song-Offerings," and it is as a mystical poet that he must be judged in any attempt to estimate his place in the history of English poetry. Those who fail to appreciate the significance of the central tenet of mysticism, namely, the essential oneness of the Individual and the Absolute, those for whom no reality exists that is incapable of purely intellectual apprehension, must needs miss the spirit of Tagore's poetical message. Mystics such as Tagore, whose experience can perforce be translated only into symbolic forms cannot hope to engage their sympathies. But even these cannot but be impressed by the indubitable beauty of his lyrics considered apart from what their symbolism represents. He seeks to reveal to us the meaning of certain spiritual realities, but his road to the sanctuary where these realities lie is through the outer world of love and beauty and it is in treading this path that he discloses himself to be a nature poet of exquisite sensitiveness and one able to express himself in forms of faultless artistry.

This article makes no pretence to being a systematic critical survey of Anglo-Indian poetry. Little more has been done than to mention the names of the principal poets who would figure in such a survey. The most cursory sketch, however, makes apparent the importance of India's contribution to the general heritage of English verse. Australia, Canada, South Africa,—all have their national poets, but from none of the great Dominions has risen a genius to rank with a Tagore or a Kipling. The main stream of English poetry flows nobly down the ages. Not least amongst its many tributaries from all parts of the Empire is that which takes its source a little more than a hundred years ago in this tropical land of strange gods and customs and burning skies.

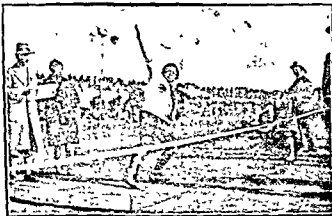
Chinese Athletes

By AGNES SMEDLEY

THE days of foot-bound or mind-bound Chinese women or of long-gowned, elegant Chinese men, is rapidly passing away. This was clear when, at Hangchow, the National Athletic Meet was held from April 1-10, with 1,500 men and women athletes from every part of China. There were thirty-six different units, representing not only the different provinces, but various colleges or universities in the various provinces.

contested for the national championships that will enable them to represent China in the 9th Far Eastern Olympic Games to begin in Tokyo on May 30th.

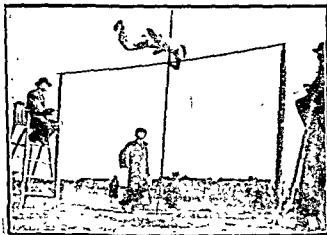
The contestants had been training assiduously for over six months. There had been preliminary city and inter provincial contests. A mid-China meet had been held at Anking a month previously, at which athletes from the Central Yangtze valley attended ; and, incidentally, one coolie, the



A Chinese girl Athlete in action



The high jump—Hangchow

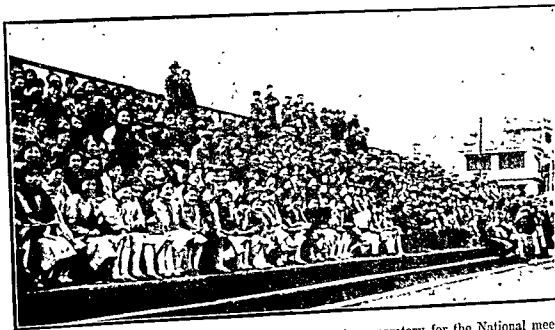


The Champion Pole Vaulter in action
Record—3.28 metres



The Girls finish the 100 metre race, with Miss Sung Kwei-ying, of Harbin, leading.
A Canton girl came second
Miss Sung's record is—50 metres dash, 7 1/4 Sec. ; 100 metres 13 1/2 Sec.

Thousands of interested spectators attended the meet, where young athletes



A part of the Audience in the Shanghai athletic meet, preparatory for the National meet

only working man in the entire athletic gatherings, carried off the laurels in the only event he entered—the 10,000 metre race. There had been a North China meet in Mukden, and Shanghai had held its own meet. Canton and Hongkong had united. The Nanking Government had authorized an expenditure of \$ 100,000 to assist the event.

The most outstanding impression one gained from the final national gathering was the emergence of the new Chinese woman. This daughter of foot-bound women whose sole profession was child-bearing and home-making, is two centuries in advance of her parents. She is graceful and fleet of foot, or she is strong-muscled and sturdy. And to the astonishment of many of the conservative old men and women at the national meet, hundreds of these girl athletes had thrown away the big baggy bloomers that the Christian missionaries introduced into China and stood free and swift in a blouse and shorts, their strong, muscular legs bare from the thigh to the ankle. It was obvious that the youth—both men and women—took this for granted and paid no attention to it, and that only the old and the conservative noticed it. Youth of China has a new standard of values.

Among those who will represent China in the Far Eastern Olympic Games in Tokyo in May will be Liu Chang-tsung, of Mukden,

who is easily the best sprinter China has ever produced. His record at Hangchow was—

100 metres—	11	4-5	sec.
200 "	—23	4-5	"
400 "	—52	3-5	"

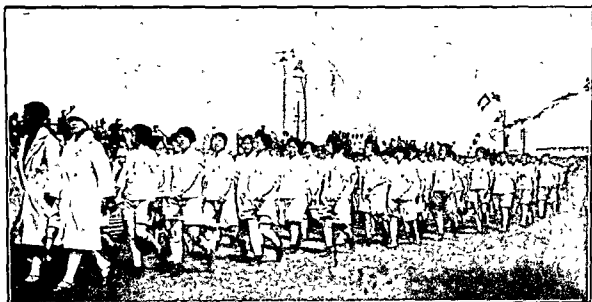
Of course, this is below the world record, but Liu has yet to be trained as a professional, if at all, and with his present record he has hopes of vying with the Japanese and Filipino sprinters for premier honours in the Tokyo meet.

The girl sprinter who will represent China is Miss Sung Kwei Ying, of Harbin, whose record is—

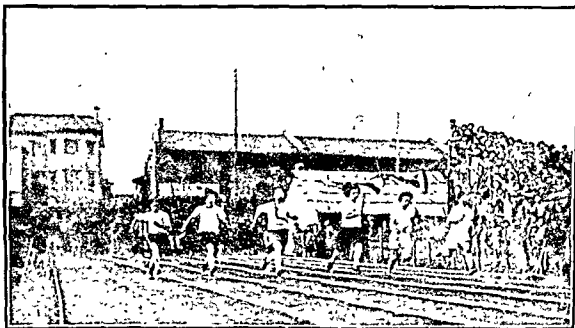
50 metres dash	7	2-5	sec.
100 "	13	4-5	"

This is far below the men, but Miss Sung is only 16 and will improve still further with careful training. Her close second was a Canton girl.

Both sprinters, man and woman, are, characteristically enough, from Manchuria, North China. The champion pole vaulter, also, was from Harbin. In fact, in the Hangchow meet, it was of great interest to see the different types in China. The North Chinese are as tall and long-legged as any European. The southerners are short. But, whereas the north was easily the winner in all contests in which height and long-legs play a part, the south was



Some of the Girl students taking part in the grand Athletic Parade



The Start in the Girls' race

noticeable for its tenacity, its wiriness and its endurance.

It must be remembered that in this meet, only middle and upper-class China was represented. The meet was exclusively a college and university athletic affair. And these classes do not represent China, which is 85 per cent worker and peasant. When the workers and peasants have once come into their own and developed their sports, as has been done in Soviet Russia and as

is being done in Germany and the Scandinavian countries, only then can we know what "China" is capable of. The Far Eastern Olympic also trains for the world Olympiad in Europe. But the annual international gathering of workers' sports, the Spartacade, is held in Moscow or Leningrad. The former represents the international bourgeois athlete, the latter represent the international revolutionary working class athletes.

professional public woman, they are, each in their own way, evolutionary creations, challenges to the conventional ideas current in society; and to say that in these the novelist has not broken a spear with tradition

is, to put it mildly, distorting Saratchandra altogether. For his distinction lies as much in the vivid representation of the Bengali as in his pricking the bubbles of social convention.

Waste Not, Want Not

By G. S. SARDESAI, B.A.

WE are just now passing through a tremendous national awakening. Specialization, action, assertion are the watchwords of all movements of the Indian youth. The days of vague reasoning or of respect for mere age and authority are gone. Therefore, no amount of investigation when dealing such vital topics as the question of India's waste can be too excessive.

Social and religious practices, defective charities, abnormal expenditure on ornaments and frivolities of all description, and similar sources of waste, however deplorable, are always more or less present in all societies and cannot be immediately removed or remedied. We cannot at once change human nature, which is fond of luxury and waste in various spheres of life. We must therefore look for and concentrate our attention on those acute sources of waste, which when properly understood, can be easily remedied. Mahatma Gandhi in his *Young India* has often drawn pointed attention to several items of waste in urban and rural areas. For instance, our agriculture is seriously suffering for want of manure, the most valuable of which, viz., cowdung, is mostly used as fuel and consequently wasted altogether. No arrangement exists at present to utilize human excreta and urine and the heaps of rubbish that accumulate everyday in all places, only to injure the health of the inhabitants. Improved scientific methods ought to be immediately adopted on an extensive scale all round; but this is not possible unless all our life and activities are regulated on a co-operative basis. Fragmentation of farms has proved most detrimental. A whole village could be quickly and cheaply ploughed by motor tractors, thereby saving human labour for more profitable purposes.

Large areas are now suffering for want of cheap labour. If we look more deeply into the problem of waste, we shall find ever so many preventible sources of it. The disposal of dead cattle, and particularly of bones, flesh and hides, is not all that could be desired. In Japan even a blade of grass or a bit of arable ground is put to the utmost use. They use the rushes and the shrubs that grow plentifully along the beds of rivers. In India waste-grass, shrubbery, rice husk, fibre of sugar-cane, shells of innumerable seeds, like those of ground-nuts, and similar articles are, except in a few cases, allowed to waste, often through ignorance or want of proper method of handling. A large number of trees in forests and other places are being carelessly destroyed to supply fuel, when they could be put to a more valuable use; and new trees are not planted as quickly as the old ones are destroyed. There is a terrible waste in all our present dealing with vegetable and animal life in general. We shall have to change our ways and take the help of science, if we would seriously tackle these problems. All rain-water is allowed to waste for want of storage facilities, causing great detriment to agriculture. The denudation of forests has made rainfall scanty; and the little pour that we get is recklessly allowed to run into the sea. Similarly, salt and fish manure along creeks and estuaries of various streams near the sea-coast can be profitably utilized and vast areas reclaimed, provided expert knowledge and sufficient capital combine and come to the rescue of the poor and helpless agriculturist.

But all such items of waste of physical material are nothing compared with the tremendous waste of human energy and

time, caused partly by ignorance but mostly by circumstances, often beyond our control. Let us probe the subject a little more deeply and realize what really is national wealth and how it is produced. Broadly speaking we can say that every individual belonging to a nation utilizing every moment of his working life in producing results having a marketable value, creates wealth and increases it from day to day. Thus we can easily distinguish between useful and wasteful labour. Making speeches in a meeting does not, as a rule, produce wealth; music and poetics do not directly or in all cases produce wealth. Repetition of *Bhagavadgita* or the Vedic hymns, committing to memory facts of history or geography, the observance of birth-days and anniversaries of celebrated saints or heroes, these in themselves do not contribute to national wealth. Going round a temple or an idol so many times daily, visits and pilgrimages to famous shrines on certain sacred days in large multitudes and congregations, the huge *melas* and fairs, the religious sacrifices like the *Koti-linga*, do not produce wealth; nor do congresses and conferences, caste-meetings, and annual gatherings of various societies. It is interesting to compare in this respect some of our present-day activities with similar items of work in European countries. The fairs, exhibitions, labour gatherings and other undertakings in Europe have mainly an industrial or wealth-producing object in them. In India they only fritter away time, energy and money without even the return of proper enjoyment.* The advocate who wins applause in a court of justice by his long and effective oratory does not produce wealth. The university which produces

graduates like a machine does not produce wealth; it, on the contrary, tends to increase unemployment. The stone-breaker who toils all day in the sun preparing hard material for the road, creates wealth; the digger who brings fresh soil for farms and gardens creates wealth. The smith, the carpenter, the tailor the oil-crusher or the weaver plying at his trade from morning till night creates wealth. In fact, it is mainly this class of professional labourers of a nation who are the primary makers of real wealth. And this wealth increases in proportion as the number of real hard labourers preponderates over the idle consumers who simply enjoy and who do not put in useful work of any kind. Thus it will be realized that the most valuable asset of a nation is its able-bodied working population. They produce the wealth and not the weaklings, the beggars, the hangers on or even the able-bodied beggars and ascetics who simply consume what the former have helped to create.

As regards the able-bodied working population of India, we must further note that the labouring capacity, strength and longevity of an average Indian are far lower not only than those of Europeans but many other peoples of the earth and hence the total quantity of wealth-producing labour comes to be far shorter than that of the other countries. India has hardly any men who could compete with the miners or dock-labourers of England. The majority of our population consists of sickly, weak and low-spirited members; and in our present situation we are fast losing our vitality through malaria, plague and other diseases. Child mortality is very heavy. Famine and poverty are fast annihilating the people. And if we bear in mind that our well-to-do class is mostly sunk in sloth and pleasure, not doing any wealth-producing job, the picture of our general debility and helplessness will be complete. In contrast, let us look at the stream of European and American travellers, merchants, scholars or adventurers, who are constantly engaged in finding out new ventures of various kinds all over the world, in China, Australia and Africa, where they tap new sources of wealth or look out for fresh enterprise in which they can invest their surplus money. They have already swamped the world with their motor cars and vehicles and implements of all kinds and established plants for oils, minerals and electricity, all for creating fresh channels

* Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retired), quotes the following in his *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries*, pp. 22-23, from Sir Thomas Munro's evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1813 :

"Question. Are not the natural habits and dispositions of the people of India such as would lead them to engage with great zeal and ardour as well in commercial as in other pursuits, were the means of gain or advantage open to them ?

Answer. The people of India are as much a nation of shopkeepers as we are ourselves; they never lose sight of the shop, they carry it into all their concerns, religious and civil; all their holy places and resorts for pilgrims, are so many fairs for the sale of goods of every kind; religion and trade are in India sister arts, the one is seldom found in any large assembly without the society of the other. . . ."—Editor, *M. R.*

of wealth flowing into their own country. How many of our Indian princes or merchants who annually visit foreign countries in large numbers can boast of having opened new sources of wealth for India? Ostensibly they spend away the hard-earned Indian money in patronizing foreign agencies of travel and residence. Add to this the wonderful political mechanism of the British Indian Government draining away the wealth of India in various ways, and one can realize the tremendous waste.

I am already transgressing the limits I had set before myself at the start, for explaining the various forms of waste that is going on constantly in our present position. The direct causes of waste are often discernible, but there are many forms which are not even ordinarily noticed. Take the simple instance of the Indian railway service, particularly with reference to the timings of the various trains to and from the biggest towns of India, and the abnormal difference existing between the mail and the passenger trains. While a mail train from Bombay to Delhi takes 29 hours for a journey of 950 miles, a passenger train takes 60 hours for the same distance. The proportion of time is nearly the same over all the railway systems of India. The labouring class, *i. e.*, the money-earning section have usually to travel by the passenger trains, thereby involving a loss of their productive capacity. At the lowest computation, let us suppose a wage-earner gets 8 as for 8 hours' work. If the passenger train is supposed to convey 500 passengers from one end to the other, the travellers are compelled to waste more than one day of their working life on the journey between Bombay and Delhi, thus losing their wages for the day, which converted into money would come to $8 \text{ as.} \times 500 = \text{Rs. } 250$. In this way the net daily and yearly loss in money simply on account of the defective railway service can be easily estimated for all

India. When the trains are late, not only do the passengers actually travelling lose their valuable time, but those waiting at the various stations along the line in expectation of the train also their time, involving trouble and vexation in addition to the pecuniary loss they sustain. This is only one of many instances common in Indian life, which is usually so irregular, aimless and troublesome that people have even ceased to think of its abnormal character. Indian dinner parties are another common experience in which irregularity has become such an inveterate habit, that those who try to enforce punctuality of attendance are looked upon with fantastic sneer. Stroll where you like on one of the public thoroughfares of big cities like Bombay or Calcutta any time in the evening, and you will notice huge crowds wandering aimlessly for hours together or squandering money and time in clubs and brothels. It was, I suppose, to cure the nation of its evil ways, that Mahatma Gandhi so pathetically advocates a religious plying of the *Charitra*, in itself a symbol of work, production and industry, a sure and easy remedy against vice, poverty and destitution. Whatever that may be, the nation must quickly realize the tremendous waste of time and energy all round, before the various reforms so ardently advocated by lovers of India in the various departments of life, can produce the good that is expected of them. Every one must begin to think seriously of the constant dropping of water wearing away stones. Let me in conclusion appeal to all thinking souls to turn their careful attention to noticing the tremendous waste of time and energy and at once take steps to prevent it as far as may be possible in our present surroundings. Let us all remember and follow the memorable saying:

Man is as he has made himself;

Man will be as he will make himself.

Poetry and Prose—a few Aspects

By C. L. R. SASTRI, B. SC.

THERE is a universal prejudice in favour of poetry; and it dates back to the beginnings of time. The primitive man, we have reason to think, was a poet to the very marrow of his bone. Probably he even *talked* poetry: it is a matter that can only be surmised. Indeed, if we may place any faith in the theory advanced by Lord Macaulay, the conjecture will seem not highly improbable. That author it will be remembered, laid down the dictum, familiar to all, that as civilization advances, poetry declines: the more we go back in time, the more flourishing we find poetry to have been. Now, whatever Macaulay himself might have had in his mind, we, at any rate, shall do well to take the proposition, not in its entirety, but only in its general implication. The best way to treat generalizations is to interpret them in their widest scope. We should not drive them to their utmost consequences, but should, like Locksley, in *Jeanhoe*, "allow for the wind." Most theories will fall to the ground if we analyse them too minutely: we should take them only in their broadest spirit.

Macaulay's theory, when all is said and done, has, we venture to think, stood the test of time. Refinement, in the sense in which that term is usually understood, does not seem to make for the growth of poetic sentiment. It need not, of course, necessarily retard it. But if we were to judge by results, it would appear to do so. We are now-a-days too much immersed in affairs to have any time for the Muses: we have too much to do to feel. It is another question whether it is for the better, or for the worse. Both views are tenable. The mood is different, that is all.

Now, the comparative decline in the production of poetry, in the technical sense of the term, is one thing; the decline in poetry itself quite another. Poetry is not necessarily that kind of literary composition which goes by the name of versification. There may, we shall do well to point out, be poetry which is not in metrical form, and there may be metrical form which is not

poetry. Poetry in the broadest sense of the term, is not a matter of construction. It is a matter of the spirit. It is not of the earth earthy; it is ethereal: it is a thing of abstraction. The poet breathes.

"An ampler ether, a diviner air," than ours. Poetry, in the last analysis, is what we feel, not what we write; and in this sense most of us may be poets without knowing it. As Hazlitt says: "Poetry is not a branch of authorship: it is the stuff of which our life is made." "A man," says Scott, "may be a poet without measuring spondees or dactyls like the ancients, or clashing the ends of lines into rhyme like the moderns, as one may be an architect though unable to labour like a stone-mason." Or, as Coleridge puts it, "The opposite is not prose but science: the opposite of prose is not poetry but verse."

Poetry connotes the imaginative faculty at its highest pitch. One comes to see that amidst so many visible differences, the hearts of all things beat to a single tune: that there is unity amidst diversity. The whole world is bathed in beauty: whatever ugliness we find in it is only of *our* making. The beautiful is also good. The detection of beauty, of harmony, is the true function of the poet. As the late Mr. Jerome K. Jerome said, "Man must learn beauty that he may understand God." Or, as Keats sang,

"Beauty is truth—truth beauty—that is all,
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know."

The same thing is expressed by Mr. Charles Whitby in the following words:

"O Beauty," cries Gautier, "we have been created to love and worship thee, if we have found thee; to seek thee unceasingly in this world, if that good fortune has not been ours." All true poets feel themselves committed to this Quest; some of the greatest have carried it beyond the limits of the visible world. In so doing they are following the footprints of that Master Musician, whose god-given life and golden accents tamed the fiercest beasts, checked the swiftest rivers, caused flowers to bloom about his feet, and, when he descended to Hades, so charmed its monarch and inmates that Pluto restored his Eurydice, the wheel of Ixion paused.

the stone of Sisyphus stood still, Tantalus forgot his thirst, and even the Furies relented.”*

There should be an undercurrent of sympathy in the poet's composition, it should run through his whole being like a refrain. God in His infinite wisdom created men as well as mountains; microbes as well as men. The right thing for us to do is to regard every created thing with the utmost possible affection; to identify ourselves with it; and to subject all things to the same test. The test is not whether they are useful to us. Our own interest is verily the least part of it. It is the sheerest egoism to think that we are the end of creation. In God's eyes everything is of equal value. To judge things, therefore, by the standard of our own interests is to judge things ill. Herein comes the *raison d'être* of the poetic existence. He detects beauty where others least detect it, finds harmonies where others find only discords, gives himself up to joy wherever he can find it. He, indeed, in a very real sense of the term, “finds tongues in the trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything.”

Not only must the poet, we submit, recognize beauty where it exists and give utterance to the thoughts that it stirs in him: which, after all, are the same thoughts that it stirs in us, too, and of which too we would sing if only we could. The poet, in fact, is not, we fancy, different from the rest of us except in the small (or large) detail of being able to “lisp in numbers, for the numbers come.” He finds the words, and the order of their occurrence, for the identical sensations that convulse us also whereas, in us, they are, for all practical purposes, simply *imprisoned*, simply *hermetically sealed*. Coming back to our point, not only, we repeat, must the poet recognize beauty where it exists; he must also, we feel, *understand*, be able to perceive, that things are inter-related, that, in the words of the poet, they

“To each other linked are,
That thou canst not stir a flower,
Without trembling of a star.”

that, in short, there is a *democracy* of things. Nothing is independent of all else: it *cannot* exist without the others, it finds

its highest fulfilment only *along* with the others. “The world is one; yes, all of it fits.”

There is, really, no department of human activity earmarked, as it were, for poetry: poetry permeates every department of man's life. Not only may the poet draw inspiration from the high-lights of existence, from battles and the lords of battles, from women ravishing in their beauty, from, for example,

“The face that launched a thousand ships,
And burned the top-less towers of Ilium.”

He may, equally legitimately, gather lessons from comparatively lowly things—or, rather, what *seem* to be lowly things—from, say, the “lesser celandine,” or from the poor leech-gatherer “on the lonely moor.” There is an order of precedence in these matters: the wind bloweth where it listeth. As the late Mr. Clutton-Brock says, referring to European and Chinese poets:

European poets have the ambition to make an orchestra out of language: but the Chinese seem to play on a penny-whistle, and then, suddenly, with a shy smile, to draw the most wonderful thin music out of it. Anyone could do it, they seem to say: and they convince us that poetry is not a rare and exotic luxury, but something that happens in life itself, something one needs only to watch for and record. And for them there is no class of poetic events. Nothing is common or unclean to them.

Poetry, in other words, is *immanent* in all things. And, just as poetry is immanent in all things, every man is a potential poet: one has only to set one's senses a-working, and one will detect beauty, or poetry, everywhere. There is a widespread notion that poetry requires background of romance, and that as romance is supposed to be mostly a product of the imagination, the ordinary commonplace things of life are not tinged by poetry. The notion, luckily, is a wrong one. Romance is not the exclusive property of the imagination. Life is full of romances if we only care to record them. To the hearing ear and the understanding heart, it is the greatest romance of all. To quote from the late Mr. Clutton-Brock again:

There are no incongruities and no separation of poetry and prose in life. All life trembles into beauty like leaves stirred by the wind; and it remains itself even while it trembles.*†

We are not blind admirers of poetry: nor are we blind detractors of prose. If anything,

* See Mr. Charles Whitty's article, “The Orphean Path,” in the *Hindustan Review* for October 1925, p. 33.

* *More Essays on Books*—By A. Clutton-Brock. Methuen, 1921, p. 75.

† *Ibid.*, p. 81.

our partiality leans towards the side of prose. We are essentially prosaic; and we are far more enchanted by the subtle rhythms of prose than by the, comparatively, glaring rhythms of poetry. The charm of poetry, if we may generalize, lies on the surface. The charm of prose is more deeply embedded. Good poetry is recognized as such—almost at once; good prose takes a little more time to be so recognized. There are many excellent poets; there are very few excellent prose writers.

Moreover, there are more faults engendered by a too profuse poetical temperament than by a prosaic one. Poetry exaggerates: a poet sees everything larger than it actually is. By soaring into too high regions, we are apt to forget the earthy origin that is ours, and when the fall comes—as, sooner or later, it is bound to—it will be by a terrible crash. We may be poets—some of us, that is—but it is always well to remember that we cannot, for ever, go through "life's fitful fever" by a series of high-jumps, but by honest, painful walking. We have to *foot* it even to Mount Pisgah (as Mr. A. G. Gardiner says somewhere), and the sooner we realize it the better it is for us.

By saying all this we do not imply that we hate poetry: we only imply that we like it—in moderation. We certainly, for instance, are not in the same boat as Mr. Samuel Weller (senior). That worthy gentleman, our readers will recollect, disliked the very word "poetry." It was anathema to him.

"Taint in poetry, is it?" interposed his (Sam's) father.

"No, no," replied Sam. "Wery glad to hear it," said Mr. Weller. "Poetry's unnatral; no man ever talked poetry, 'cept a beadle on boxin' day, or Warren's blackin,' or Rowland's oil, or some o' them low fellows; never let yourself down to talk poetry, my boy..."

It is not, indeed, that we like poetry less, but that we like prose more.

Most people fancy that it is the easiest thing to write a good prose style. It is infinitely more difficult than composing poetry. There is a peculiar beauty that pertains to prose, and though a great many people attempt it, very few really succeed in achieving it. Here, as elsewhere, many are called, but few chosen. A prose style should be seasoned

like a violin; and for that a long and arduous preparation is necessary. Most prose writers found out their calling only late in life. Hazlitt is an example; and Charles Lamb did not come into his *Elia* vein very early, either. It is the case with almost all distinguished writers of prose. As the late Sir Walter Raleigh says of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*:

It ought to be a comfort to men past middle life to find that Johnson, like Dryden, wrote his best prose in his latest years. Good poetry has been written by young, even by very young men; the best prose is out of their reach.... The best prose is rightly called pedestrian; at every step it must find a foot-hold on the ground of experience, firm enough to support its weight. It is more various than poetry, and richer in implied meanings, it assumes in the reader an old acquaintance with the facts of life, and keeps him in touch with them by a hundred quiet devices of irony, reminiscence, and allusion. It is a commentary on the world, not a complete exposition of it. The breadth of the vision of poetry can be attained by one who looks on human life from a distance; only the scarred veterans are fit to write a prose account of the battle.*

A really good prose style is very difficult of cultivation; how difficult one has only to look at the case of Stevenson to realize. Stevenson is in the topmost class of English prose writers. But it is common knowledge how he struggled and struggled and only at long last mastered the problem. According to his own confession he played the part of the "sedulous ape" to many authors. But it paid him in the end: to use an American slang, he "got away with the goods," at last. Writing good prose is one of the most difficult tasks—sometimes enormously more difficult than writing good poetry—and writers of the first class are miserably few. As Thoreau has it:

Great prose of equal elevation commands our respect more than great verse, since it implies a more permanent and level height, and a life pervaded with the grandeur of the thought. The poet only makes an irruption like a Parthian, and is off again, shooting while he retreats; but the prose-writer has conquered, like a Roman, and settled colonies.†

* *Six Lectures on Johnson*, By Sir Walter Raleigh. Oxford University Press.

† Quoted by Mr. Henry S. Salt in his *Life of Henry David Thoreau*, Walter Scott Publishing Company, Ltd. London, 1896. p. 185.

FINANCIAL NOTES

By DR. H. SINHA

Indian Public Finance II

LOAN POLICY OF GOVERNMENT

Unlike last year, the obligations and the assets of the Government of India were not

set out in the budget speech of the Hon'ble the Finance Member. A summary of the debt position is however given below from the figures last published :

SUMMARY OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

In crores of rupees.

Outstanding on 31st March	Liabilities				Assets		Uncovered liability
	Total loans and treasury bills outstanding in India	Total other obligations outstanding in India (postal savings banks, cash certificates, provident funds, depreciation funds and reserve funds and provincial balances)	Total obligations in England converted at the rate of 1s. 6d.	Total interest-bearing obligations	Total productive assets	Gold, bullion and securities held on treasury account	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1923	411'07	65'36	405'31	881'74	633'04	44'80	203'90
1924	410'58	76'38	432'01	919'00	663'58	50'47	204'95
1925	420'03	95'06	454'93	970'02	716'64	57'35	196'03
1926	417'94	121'87	456'55	996'36	749'82	51'96	194'58
1927	415'91	137'80	452'48	1006'19	786'90	37'48	181'81
1928	411'78	155'15	459'44	1026'37	829'45	24'26	172'66
1929	436'71	167'40	470'05	1074'16	872'73	30'57	170'86

The last column shows that there is a considerable unproductive debt even now, in spite of reductions since 1923. commercial departments and provincial loans : funds :

To appreciate the present debt position, three tests may be applied :

NET INTEREST PAID BY GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

- adequacy of assets ;
- their realisability ;
- the rates of interest.

In Rs. Crores

1923-24	15'97
1924-25	14'90
1925-26	13'37
1926-27	11'77
1927-28	10'57
1928-29	10'25
1929-30	9'87

These three are not independent. For instance, if the security is ample, the interest must be necessarily low. In other words, if the uncovered liability shown in column (8) can be gradually wiped out, the burden for the payment of interest will be considerably lightened. From the table below, it will be seen that *pari passu* with the reduction in the dead weight debt effected during the last few years, there has been a steady decline in the net amount paid for interest, i. e., after deducting the amounts charged to

Thus the case for wiping out the unproductive debt as speedily as possible seems to be very strong. But there are portions of it, which can hardly be regarded as a fair charge upon the Indian taxpayer. For instance, it has been estimated that apart from the maintenance and depreciation charges

the amount of interest payable on the amount sunk for the Viceroy's house is many times His Excellency's salary, extravagant as it is in comparison with the *per capita* national income of the people over whom he rules. It would considerably allay public discontent, should the British Government see fit to take over such portions of the unproductive debt of India as were really incurred at their instance without regard to the interests of the Indian taxpayer, e.g., loans raised for financing the earlier wars in China and other theatres unconnected with Indian defence. These should in all fairness be borne by those who profit by the prestige and glory of the British Empire. Economic considerations reinforce these equitable considerations for if there is any impairment of national dividend by raising taxation to an unduly high pitch with a view to the wiping off of the unproductive debt, there will be no effective improvement in security, however much reserves may be piled upon reserves.

The importance of providing for some easily realisable asset is frequently overlooked, but the Government of India should recognize the implications of their banking functions, such as the acceptance of Savings bank deposits and the issue of Cash Certificates and Treasury bills.

The inability of Government to frame a reasonably accurate ways and means budget adds to the urgency of the problem. The comparison below of the budget figures with the revised figures for receipts and disbursements in India during the past few years brings out the inaptitude of Government in this matter:

ESTIMATES OF WAYS AND MEANS IN INDIA In Rs. crores

	Receipts		Disbursements	
	Budget	Revised	Budget	Revised
1925-26	51'90	59'92	79'00	67'27
1926-27	45'56	62'49	74'82	88'86
1927-28	41'99	62'30	81'94	95'91

Obviously when loans are raised at short notice, as has been done lately, owing to the undependability of the ways and means estimate, the rate of interest is bound to be relatively high. The Hon'ble Sir George Schuster has ascribed the onerous rate on the present year's sterling loan to political conditions in India and has claimed that his anticipations about comparative ease in the London money market following the collapse of the New York boom have proved correct.

But his lenders evidently saw farther than he did and in view of further substantial reductions in money rates, which took place shortly after the flotation of the loans, were prepared to oversubscribe the loans many times over. If Government had some liquid assets it need not have rushed to market at an unfavourable moment.

As Government accounts are made upon a cash basis, it seems unnecessary to make any provision for the accrued interest on cash certificates, which is due, but not paid. This is also financially correct, as it may be treated as a set-off against the discount on treasury bills, which is debited, although not due, at the time of issue. The proposal made by Sir George Schuster for separate redemption arrangements seems to be unnecessary, in view of his own opinion expressed elsewhere in the course of the budget speech that he is quite satisfied with the present scheme for the reduction and avoidance of debt and has agreed to credit to general revenues Reparation payments, which were to be applied to the reserve fund for debt redemption according to section 7 of the Indian Finance Act, 1926. Now we come to the third criterion, which is the most important one, viz. rate of interest on loans. It will be necessary to compare the course of prices of Indian Government securities with those of fixed interest stocks elsewhere. For the higher the price, the lower the corresponding interest and *vice versa*. In the table below, the index number of prices of 3½ per cent paper is compared with the *Bankers' Magazine* index number of representative gilt-edged Securities in the London Stock Exchange for the past few years:

INDEX NUMBER OF SECURITY PRICES

		December, 1921=100	
		3½ p.c. rupee paper	<i>Bankers' Magazine</i> Securities
1922-23	Maximum	102	1138
	Minimum	93	1110
1923-24	Maximum	105	1164
	Minimum	102	1096
1924-25	Maximum	114	1136
	Minimum	106	1118
1925-26	Maximum	123	1115
	Minimum	113	1086
1926-27	Maximum	132	1113
	Minimum	121	1093
1927-28	Maximum	132	1124
	Minimum	124	1101
1928-29	Maximum	126	1137
	Minimum	120	1111

If other securities besides $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. paper had been included, the course of prices of Indian securities would have been practically the same. Thus it is clear that deterioration in Indian securities had set in during 1928-29, long before gilt-edged securities fell elsewhere, for both the maximum and the minimum figures of the *Bankers' Magazine* index for 1928-29 were higher than the corresponding figures for 1927-28, whereas the reverse has been the case with Indian securities. It is therefore incorrect to ascribe the fall in the price of Indian securities vaguely to world factors.

The same conclusion is forced on us, when we consider the prices of Indian railway stocks and of British railway stocks during 1929 reproduced below from the *Bankers' Magazine* :—

Securities	Market value Dec. 17, 1928	Change on the year or increase or decrease per cent.
13 British Railway Stocks	£132,125	£149,356 +£16,231 +12.2
5 Indian Railway Stocks	£26,273	£24,670 -£1,603 -6.1

This heavy fall in the price of Indian Railway Stocks as compared with the considerable increase in that of British Railway Stocks took place before the Lahore Congress and political factors pointed out by Sir George Schuster were not then at work. Not that interest paid on sterling obligations of Government is not sufficiently high. For the average rate for external debts is considerably higher than that for internal debts.

The real reason for the deterioration in Indian security prices must be looked for principally in the inefficient management of commercial departments, as the bulk of the public debt was accumulated for financing those departments. Their assets are productive only in name but not in fact. The real nature of the railway contribution will be apparent from the following table comparing the contribution with the provision prescribed for debt redemption by Sir Basil Blackett at $\frac{1}{16}$ th or $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of the loan outstanding at the beginning of each financial year. It should be remembered that railways did not pay their share of the income tax until this anomaly was rectified by Sir George Schuster.

	Railway contribution	$1\frac{1}{4}$ p.c. of loan outstanding at beginning of the year
1923-24 (actual)	6.4	6.4
1924-25	6.8	6.7
1925-26 "	5.5	7.2
1926-27 "	6.0	7.6
1927-28 "	6.3	7.9
1928-29 (Revised estimate)	5.5	8.4

In consequence this deficiency in the proportionate contribution to the amortization fund by the commercial departments, general revenues are called upon to bear a heavier and heavier burden according to Sir Basil Blackett's scheme, as indicated in the table below :

Year	In Rs. Crores	Contribution from general revenues to the Reserve fund for reduction and avoidance of debts
1923-24 (actual)		3.62
1924-25		3.78
1925-26 "		4.97
1926-27 "		4.97
1927-28 "		5.04
1928-29 (revised)		5.38
1929-30 (budget)		5.73

But this has not been able to arrest the deterioration of Indian securities pointed out above. The radical remedy for the present unsatisfactory situation thus appears to be in an overhauling of the commercial departments. Proposals in this direction will be made in a subsequent article.

PROSPERITY AND TRADE

In the last issue it was pointed out that because India's foreign trade had increased, it did not necessarily follow that she was economically prosperous. This fallacious argument has been repeated in a pamphlet recently issued by the Bombay Government in refutation of nationalist speeches and writings about the economic effect of British rule. A few British administrators in the Company's days were honest enough to draw the necessary distinction between trade and prosperity. Thus in his *Topography of Dacca* Taylor points out that its cloth trade reached the maximum value in 1787 and observes that "this appears to have been the most flourishing period of the cloth trade of

Dacca," but he qualifies this statement by saying at the same time that "it was at least the year in which the amount of exports was the greatest," although he does not openly speak of sweated labour as a bounty on exports. Some theoretical economists such as Pierson has gone so far as to state that the growth of trade may be a sign of declining prosperity. For it may only indicate that the country lacks industrial capacity and capital and is therefore compelled to export raw materials and import finished products. Marshall has laid down a better criterion for estimating a country's gains from her trade, viz., "the excess of the cost to which she would be put if she made her imports herself, over that to which she is put by making other things and exporting them in exchange for her imports." Even this is not exhaustive. As pointed out by him, a country's trade exerts many other influences on her well-being; it may develop those qualities which make most for leadership, or it may stifle them. In view of these opinions, not tainted with Congress bias, how can trade and prosperity be regarded as synonymous by official propagandists?

LOYALTY OF INDIAN CLERKS

Some time ago, an Anglo-Indian *views* paper (the Press Ordinance permits the publication in daily papers *views* in support of the present administration but not necessarily *news*, which it regards as inconvenient or irritating) praised the loyalty of Indian Clerks who attended offices on *hartal* days. It also took good care to point out that boycott did not affect the few European officers, who, it was told, could always get a job elsewhere, whereas the many Indian clerks must remain unemployed, if the trade on which they depended for their livelihood was hampered by political propaganda. Two conclusions seem irresistible. One is that Indian clerks are loyal, because they have

no option in the matter,—although we did not know before that loyalty connoted the allegiance of a slave to a slave-driver. Another conclusion is that European and Indian establishments are kept in separate watertight compartments, thus amplifying the meaning of *l'esprit de corps* in the same way as that of loyalty, from which it is supposed to be inseparable. Not that we do not know of this hideous caste system in European business houses. But it is conveniently ignored both by officials and official apologists. At the last prize distribution ceremony of the Government Commercial Institute, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal exhorted the students to exert themselves for self-improvement and spoke eloquently of privates carrying marshal's batons in their knapsacks. It would have been more convincing if he had given many instances of Indian clerks rising to become Senior Partners or Managers of European business houses.

HINDU MUHAMMADAN DIFFERENCES

There was the usual huge congregation of Muhammadans on the Calcutta Maidan on the last *Id* day. In spite of many wild rumours about communal conflicts, there was an impressive gathering of pious devotees rich and poor, high and low,—all were moved by the same impulse. This democracy of Islam gladdened the heart even of a non-Muhammadan Indian nationalist. But there was another and a more pleasing feature. Hindu and Muhammadan beggars sat side by side in expectation of alms, which were distributed without any bias in favour of the *faqir's* cap or any antipathy against the *sadhu's* sacred tuft of hair, not sought to be concealed in any way. We are made to hear so much of Hindu Muhammadan differences that the truth often escapes us unnoticed.



A National Language for India

Swami Madhavananda writes in the *Prabuddha Bharata* on a national language for India. After examining the claims of all the vernaculars of India he goes on to say :

Now let me explain why I claim for Hindi advantages over any other Indian language. Why should we not choose Bengali, which is as easy to learn as Hindi, and much richer in literature, or Marathi which comes next in order? Why not take up Tamil, that great language of Southern India, which is so ancient and so very rich in literature? The answer is, we must choose that language which is easy to learn, easy to pronounce, is widely spoken, is capable of great adaptability, and is rich in literature. If we consider all these five points, we shall see that Hindi's claims are the highest. As regards the first and last points, Bengali scores over Hindi. It is learnt more quickly because of its simpler grammar, and it has a very rich literature. Regarding this last point it yields place, if at all, only to Tamil. But Bengali pronunciation is difficult compared with Hindi, which is phonetic. Students of Northern India who have learnt Bengali through the eye find great difficulties in speaking it correctly. They read and understand, but they cannot speak Bengali. The colloquial forms of expression are different from the literary forms, which makes it so hard for non-Bengalees to speak correct Bengali. In fact they are so conscious of their defects in this matter that they do not often dare to speak it for fear of exciting ridicule. So Bengali cannot be the language we are seeking for. I have conceded that Bengali has a richer literature than Hindi, but let it be remembered that the poetical literature of Hindi is vast and exceedingly rich, although slightly more difficult. Marathi and Gujarati are even more difficult than Hindi, because of their three genders, more or less arbitrary, instead of two, as in Hindi. Tamil is very much more difficult, specially as regards pronunciation, which every outsider can testify to. As regards the second point, Hindi, in common with Marathi and Gujarati, has advantages over Bengali or any Southern language. While as regards the third point, extensivity, it easily has the first place in India, with Bengali following at a distance. With reference to the fourth point, viz. adaptability, Hindi yields to no other Indian language. So taking all things together Hindi fulfils most of the conditions that a national language in India should satisfy.

There is another point to consider. All the great North Indian languages are derived from Sanskrit. This is the reason why anyone of them can be easily acquired by those who speak the cognate languages. All of them open the door to the vast cultural wealth which Sanskrit, the

language of the gods, possesses more than any other language of the world. And it is impossible to overemphasise this point, for we, Indians, must always draw our inspiration from this inexhaustible mine of ancient treasures.

Rehabilitation of the Indian Cotton Industry

It is admitted on all hands that the Indian cotton industry must overhaul its trading and manufacturing methods if it is to compete effectively with foreign textiles without depending on ever more increasing protection which would only harm the interests of the consumers without improving the industry of the country. Sir Jechangir Coyajee writes in *The Indian Review* on this subject and suggests the lines along which this re-organization must be carried out :

It is fortunate that there is a fairly general consensus as regards the main lines upon which the task of rehabilitation of the textile industry is to be carried out. It is generally recognized that among the instrumentalities to be utilised for achieving such progress the chief place has to be given to rationalization of the industry and the improvement of the system of management both upon its financial and technical side. The problems of technical education also do not occupy an unimportant place in our programme. At the same time every effort has to be made to secure the co-operation, efficiency, and contentment of our labour force. On all these matters there is much to be learned from experience, particularly from our present great rival Japan.

In India projects are at present being worked out for the introduction of rationalization. At first sight it would appear as if the large groups of our mills which are under common management could afford the right starting points and sufficient bases for rationalization. But in the opinion of experts a broader basis is required for successful rationalization and that the groups do not by themselves afford an adequately wide basis. The cardinal matter to be seen to is the state of demand in each particular line of textile manufacture and in correspondence to this there will be a specialization of mills in the respective line...

But rationalization is only a part of the process of organization which is necessary for the rehabilitation of the industry. Besides rationalization there are the problems of

Next in importance to the introduction of co-operative buying and selling is that of industrial education and research. Had the Tata Research Institute been located, as some far-sighted people had proposed, in the vicinity of Bombay it would have formed an invaluable part of the equipment of the local industry. What would Bombay give now to possessors conveniently near it such a priceless instrument of progress? But besides such an institution we must make provision not only for the education of future managers and experts but also of the rank and file of employees. It has been well pointed out recently that with the proper type of education we can induce the comparatively educated people of the middle class to enter the mills and to work up from the rank of labour. While this would on the one hand improve considerably the quality, intelligence and enterprize of labour, the movement would on other hand solve in an important measure the problem of middle class unemployment. In that case we should have a quality and mental attitude of labour comparable to the American type—labour not hostile to capital for each unit of labour would look forward to becoming a capital.

The part taken by the womanhood of India in the national cause will be one of the aspects of the Civil Disobedience movement in which we might take legitimate pride. The following editorial note in *Stridharma*, written apparently before Mahatma Gandhi approved of women taking part in the campaign, testifies to the eagerness of India's daughters to serve the motherland :

Notwithstanding that Mr. Gandhi has refused to allow women to participate in his historic march, in the Independence campaign, because he explains, they "would complicate" things, women in different

"I am Chitra. No goddess to be worshipped, nor yet the object of common pity to be brushed aside like a moth with indifference. If you desire to keep me by your side in the path of danger and daring, if you allow me to share the great duties of your life, then you will know my true self."

[As we go to Press news comes that women are now invited to share all phases of the campaign.]

Professor S V. Venkateswara, discusses the significance of the recent finds in the Indus valley in *The Mysore University Journal* :

The archaeological finds of Harappa, Mohenjo Daro and Nal have revolutionized our ideas regarding the antiquity of the culture of India and its origins and affiliations. One school of thought has suggested that the relics are those of an exotic culture, "of the Indus valley" rather than Indian, as pre-Indian and probably Sumerian in character. Another school would consider them Indian and entirely pre-Aryan, and a third as Indian and altogether Aryan. It is necessary to view the evidence with a watchful eye and review it with an open mind.

If the culture of the finds has to be carried back to the 5th millennium B.C. it is interesting that already in that age we seem to have evidence of a blend of Aryan and non-Aryan cultures and of the contact of India with other lands. The similarity of the seals and pictographs to those of the pre-Sumerian period and the use of bitumen in India are clear evidence of the latter. The fish and the female form clearly suggest the non-Aryan, while the brick and the copper implements clearly suggest the Aryan influence. The head forms, the funeral customs, etc. are partly Aryan, partly non-Aryan. Whether the myths of the Aryan and Dravidian 'invasions' of India are exploded or not, here is evidence that already at the

dawn of the world's history both the peoples were existing in India and influencing each other in social and religious life. The antiquities of the Indus valley belong as certainly to Indian culture as the river Indus does to her geography. Geometrical designs on the seals persist not only in the pottery of adjoining villages but far and wide in India. So do the shapes of the bowl (e. g. the *lotā*) and the lotus designs in the ornamentation. Already in this period, India showed no prejudice against foreign contact or influence but assimilated the foreign elements, such as they were, so thoroughly that they became flesh of her flesh and bone of her bone.

The Depressed Classes and Backward Communities

Mr. K. T. Paul makes an appeal in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* for a more scientific approach to the problem of minorities in India. The following extracts from his article illustrate the point of view of the depressed classes :

The Depressed Classes are said to number 50 millions. But they have no solidarity and very few common factors to bring about their solidarity even in one province, or in one district for that matter. They are not a minority. They are orphans in our backyard. What they want is not justice, but more than justice. They need special attention.

Those of them who become Christians have the missionaries as their god-fathers who provide for them special facilities for health, housing, education occupation, etc. But they are relatively very few, possibly one and a half millions out of the fifty. Those who do not become Christians feel that the white man is somehow their god-father. Their great fear is that when the white man goes from effective power they will be entirely neglected. They may not fear oppression. But they do fear they will not get from the advanced communities in power the special facilities and opportunities without which they cannot come up to those elementary conditions of good living which they have now learnt to consider as indispensable. They fear neglect.

By merely giving them a few more seats in this legislature and that, what can they really secure? This or that might be thrown to them now and then, because they shout. What is wanted is a steadily continuous constructive policy to build them up in every way. How is this to be secured?

I venture to suggest that there should be set up in each province a permanent Commission for Backward Communities similar to the "Commission for Native Affairs" in South Africa. From my personal investigation I am led to believe that the problem of the Zulus and other African tribes in that Dominion began to receive something like due attention only after there was set up a Commission whose exclusive business was to vigilantly watch their interests as a missionary does and to see that the facilities necessary for their uplift are effectively provided and are continued disinterestedly. It is not healthy for anyone

concerned that the man in the backyard should have to shout louder and louder to obtain attention from time to time. It is the plain duty of the State to provide adequate means whereby attention will be voluntarily, willingly and abundantly flowing to him.

I lack information to indicate more than this as to how the machinery of such a Commission should be set up and function. I would make that Commission a statutory requirement but intimately connected with the legislature and responsible to it. It should be the pride of a province to work such a Commission with the most handsome liberality, not only in regard to funds, but also in the programme of uplift. I venture to suggest that somebody be asked to study the South African system for possible adaptation to India.

A Central Bank for India

Mr. S. N. Pochkhanawala, managing director Central Bank of India, Bombay, writes in the *Mysore Economic Journal* on the essential requirements of a Central Bank for India :

What is essential for the success of a Central Bank is a constitution that will (1) meet the varying and peculiar conditions of the country, and (2) satisfy the requirements of its commercial, industrial and agricultural interests. For the purpose of giving every province a suitable opportunity to develop its trade and encourage and promote indigenous banking, India should be divided into 5 or 6 districts with due regard to their commerce and business. We suggest that the Reserve Bank be established with its head office at Bombay and branches at Calcutta, Madras, Rangoon, and Lahore. From the constitution of the Reserve Bank of India, detailed hereafter, it will be noticed that offices at Calcutta, Madras, Rangoon and Lahore, will practically be independent, managing their own affairs, without head office control, the only difference being that the latter, unlike the branches, would be invested with note issue powers.

The following would be the advantages of dividing the country into separate independent districts :—(1) The trade requirements and finance of each place would be looked after conveniently by the district office. (2) The branches of foreign and local banks in each district would find it convenient to place their reserves with their district office, and to have their bills rediscounted. (3) The people of each district would get an opportunity of subscribing to the capital of the Reserve Bank, to be issued in debentures. (4) A board of directors, comprising of local members, would be formed at each centre, and they being acquainted with business conditions of the district would be able fully to provide for its requirements. (5) Government treasury work would be greatly simplified by opening sub-branches of the Reserve Bank in each district under the control of the Reserve Bank office of the district. (6) Though the offices of the Reserve Bank at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Rangoon and Lahore would work independently, they would be under the control of a supreme body called the "Central Board" at

Bombay, Delhi or Simla. This would ensure unity of policy in business and would make all the offices of the Reserve Bank work harmoniously and uniformly as one single entity. The several offices would be so connected with one another as to give the best possible results by having an easy access to the surplus funds of one when required by the other, rendering possible a stable rate of interest throughout the country.

The Youth of Germany

The Muslim Opinion has published an address delivered by Herr von Pochhammer, the German Consul at Colombo, on the triumph of democracy in modern Germany. The war has brought about this change, and it is in the youth of Germany, Herr Pochhammer says, that its most characteristic spiritual effects are to be seen :

We must turn to the younger generation if we want to trace the spiritual effects which war and revolution have brought upon the German mind. Youth has always revolted against age, but the revolt of the younger German generation against a regime which spoiled their youth, drove many of their best men to death and has shaken in its fall all faith in existing institutions was a more serious start than the usual opposition of youth against age. And so in post-war Germany the crisis through which the whole nation had to pass has accentuated the gulf which usually separates one generation from another and has made the German Youth-movement an unusual phenomenon.

It is very hard to say what they are striving for, as the movement embraces the youth of all classes and creeds and one naturally receives quite a different impression if one compares a proletarian youth organization with an ex-soldiers' union, a typical Catholic Tugend-Verein and a group of half-pagan Wandervögel.

But what they all have in common is a grudge against the old world, against the older generation, against the mental outlook of—to them—the contemptible 19th century, against the omnipotence of intellect and materialism which reigned over State and Society : it is a revolt of the heart against the head. What they all want, is a general rejuvenation of life, a re-discovery of the true soul of the people which has been—they feel—buried by industrial civilization which has killed individualism under technique, organization and "red-tape."

All that sounds perhaps rather romantic. But the beginning of the Jugend Bewegung was undoubtedly romantic, a "retour à la nature" as Rousseau had preached ; a return to the individualism of the good old time of dreaming and singing ; it started as an experiment in recreation, to bring people out of the class-rooms and factories into the open air, to give them back the sense of individual personality, the assertion of human worthiness, the realization of spiritual freedom and the return to the simple life. At the same time the youth movement was closely connected with the renaissance of German sport, and from Wickersdorf, one of the cells of the movement, arose the famous world-

runner Pellzer whom we will see in Colombo next April.

But soon and necessarily, the movement developed on political lines. It was realized that individual sentiments could not alter unpleasant realities and one set about the task of filling the world and its institutions with the new spirit. The re-discovery of "group life," its intimacy and harmony and rhythm formed the starting point of a new system of corporative comradeship, of common endeavour to reach a common goal. "Let us permeate the State to transmute things from within" became the slogan. And so they put into practice the best fruit of the war, the ideals of human brotherhood, of peaceful co-operation, of serving their country and their ideals.

"Service, self-sacrifices" is the motto of the present youth-movement, in the different form : whether you take the students organizations at the Universities, where future teachers are trained earning their life by practical common work ; or the labour-camps and the popular courses where young Labour attempts to bring a new atmosphere into factory life ; or whether you go to the vast, thinly populated eastern part of Germany where modern young German colonists are trying to build up new walls against Bolshevism ; the ideal is the same.

Bertrand Russell as Philosopher

Mr. T. R. V. Murti writes in the *Banaras Hindu University Magazine* on the philosophy of Bertrand Russell.

Mr. Russell is a modern Berkeley—a Berkeley without his happy inconsistencies, God and Spiritualism. It is the aim of philosophy to reduce everything to a few ultimate entities and if possible to one. Monistic mania is by no means confined to the idealists, materialists and realists have been more vehement protagonists of the monistic dogma than the idealists. It is a matter mostly of temperament which you take to be the ultimate—spirit or matter. In both cases the spirit and matter are not quite the Eros and the material bodies that we come across. They must needs be less pronounced and more neutral, more comprehensive. One can begin with *सिद्धिः स्वतन्त्रा विषयसिद्धिः चैतन्यमात्रा* etc. and proceed to deduce mind and matter. Or one can start with the fiery nebula or neutral events and construct matter and mind as evolutes, as emergent products. It is inexplicable, if not illogical too, to derive matter (the object more or less) from mind ; it is equally so in the other case. With spirit as the ultimate we have at least the satisfaction of having a self-explanatory principle. It cannot be denied that we feel comforted and more at home in a spiritualism than in a materialistic "monism."

An Indian Journalist

"Freelance" contributes to *The Scholar* an entertaining series of sketches of famous

Indian journalists of today, among which occurs the following account of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, who may not unfairly be described as the *doyen* of Indian journalists :

Journalism had marked Mr. Chintamani as her own at a very early age. The editor of *The Leader*, has the reputation of being one of the journalistic giants of India. Like Mr. Pal he also rose from the lowest ranks of journalistic hierarchy to the top of the premier paper in the United Provinces. Bacon once said that reading maketh a full man. Mr. Chintamani believes in the theory that writing maketh a full man. He makes it a point to write a certain area in *The Leader* every day. He has a genius for facts and figures and staggers you with his phenomenal memory. He could quote for prodigious length from big authors and brilliant politicians. He has strong views on many things. He has been carrying on a regular crusade against the civiliahs. In the pre-Bardoli days he attacked the non-cooperation movement and its followers with a vehemence and bitterness unknown to the party politics of India before. But if he did so, it was from a stern sense of conviction. His writings are marked by something of the fulness which a close communion with leaders of political thought must shed on the lonely hours at an editorial desk. In that mysterious temple of daily journalism in which we are not infrequent worshippers, Mr. Chintamani is a priest. If Mr. Pothan Joseph scintillates with epigrams, Mr. Chintamani sparkles with episodes.

Study of Science under the Caliphs

There is a very interesting article on the study of Science under the Caliphs by Mr. Obaidul Huq in *The Muslim Hall Magazine*, Dacca, in which the writer says :

There is a prevalent belief that the Muslims made very little or no contribution to Science. It would be my endeavour to show from the great authorities, that the Muslims, not only studied and cultivated Science with much zeal and fervour, but also were discoverers and pioneers in this department. For instance, in speculative Science the Arabs excelled as much as they did in polite literature. Their acute temperament of mind was well-adapted to the study of Philosophy and Metaphysics. Even Ghazzali applied the doctrines of Metaphysics to Theology and Alkindi was called by way of eminence "the Arabian Philosopher," the great Astrologer, the Phoenix of his age. The 200 different works which he composed testify to the fact that he was well-versed in all the learnings of the Greeks, Persians and Indians. All parties acknowledged his authority and sought his assistance, in all matters of controversy. At the head of all these expounders stood Averroes.

Natural Science was cultivated by the Arabs with great success. The knowledge which they possessed of Medicine is a subject of curious investigation. Ibn-kalwa a contemporary of the prophet Mohammad, who had settled at Mecca was

a renowned practitioner. The learned personage was a private physician to Abu Bakar and a pupil of the Greek school of Jundishapur in Persia founded by Shapur I.

In the schools of Baghdad and Alexandria the study of Physics was encouraged by the usual munificence of the Caliphs. Translation of Hippocrates and Galen issued from the factory that had clothed Plato and Aristotle in an oriental dress. Most of these versions are ascribed to Honain, an eminent physician of the Nestorian sect who died A. D. 576; and Messue, the celebrated preceptor of Al-mamun was the principal of the College of Baghdad. Serapion, Al-kindi, Thabit-ibnu-korra, the friend and astrologer of the Caliph Motaaded, Baktishnu, and his son Gabriel with a host of others are names which adorn the medical annals of the Saracens. The lives of more than 300 physicians consisting of Arabs, Syrians, Persians and Egyptians were recorded by an author named Osailah. To Ali-ibnu-ul-Abbas we are indebted for a real and the earliest account he has given concerning the Arabian Physics. This eminent author was a star of first magnitude in the galaxy of learned men who flourished in the court of Adudud-dawla, Sultan of Aleppo. His book called 'Almeliki' or Royal work which appeared about the year 480. A. H. was intended to be a complete system of medicine.

Indian Poverty and a Suggested Cure

Hilda Wood writes in *The Indian Labour Review* on Indian poverty. After dismissing the cure by the sacrifice of the well-to-do she goes on to say :

Now here comes my rather startling statement. You cannot really help anybody but yourself. And when you are helping yourself you are helping everybody. Now that sounds very selfish. But let me take Henry Ford as an example. He is the richest man in the world, and his mail is so high that he has to have a special post office all to himself. And most of his letters are begging letters. "You have so much money," one man will write, "you would not feel it if you relieve me of this terrible debt of a few pounds and so give me a new start in life." Certainly, but the writer does not realize that Ford has one thousand five hundred of such letters every day which, if he responded to all of them, would soon leave him in a position where he would also have to beg. So he solved his problem in this way. "In order to help as many people as possible," he said, "I will open more work-shops on ideal lines, exact honest and hard work, in return for very high wages and good conditions. I will then be increasing my own income as well as doing good."

And let us follow up Henry Ford's method. It is seen on a small scale as well as on a large. Yet even then it results in immense progress in every way for many families. If I, having some money, spend it on the home to make it beautiful, collect lovely things around me, pay my servants a good living wage, I am helping innumerable

people. To begin with, I am assisting in the moulding of the character of my immediate family by the subtle play on their natures of the beauty they see around me. In these days the effect of environment on the plastic child nature is known to be enormous. I am educating my servants and others by their opportunity to handle and see beauty and a refined environment. I am raising the standard of living, and giving work to artists and workers who produce these things that I am using, and I am making life happier and more profitable for all these people. The good I am doing in buying and surrounding myself with lovely and useful things is, you see, enormous.

Examinations and Education

No one will deny that the importance assigned to examinations is one of the curses of the educational system of India. Can they be made less harmful and more truly conducive to a sound education? In *The Indian Educator*, Mr. F. S. Wilder advances a plea for the introduction of the "new" examination:

American educators are generally impressed by the dominance of the examination in India's system of education; also with the narrow type of education resulting therefrom. If examinations are to continue to occupy so large a place in India, it is important that they be made far more accurate and effective instruments than they are at present. Indian students often pray or make use of good luck charms before sitting for an examination—proof of the importance of, and the large element of chance in, passing examination. University examiners and other thoughtful observers, generally admit the inaccuracy of marks (unless hindered by pride or fear of losing their position). Indeed the results of investigations into the accuracy of marks almost invariably show an inaccuracy averaging over 10 per cent in examination marks given in high schools and colleges. If any reader of this paragraph doubts this statement let him read the references appended to this article, or better yet, let him investigate for himself according to approved scientific methods.

Granted this inaccuracy of examinations, what is to be done about it? We cannot abolish examinations, for efficiency in the educational process requires some means of estimating results achieved. It is really a question of which sort of examination gives the best indication of the student's progress. I believe that the new types of examinations now being developed in the West, especially in America, will enable Indian educators to reduce the cost and will enable the accuracy of examinations; therefore, increase the accuracy of examinations; therefore, I would ask every forward-looking educator to investigate and try out some "new type" examinations.

By "new type" examinations is meant examinations characterized by questions calling for short, exact answers. These include such types as true-false, completion, multiple choice, matching of items, ranking of items

and analogies. Readers not familiar with these types of examinations should consult the appended list of references, as spaces is lacking to describe them here. Standardized new-type examinations can easily be procured from England or America through dealers in educational supplies.

Improving the Calcutta University

In an article entitled "Why America has become so great?" contributed to *The Calcutta Review*, Dr. Taraknath Das draws our attention to the magnificent educational bequests of the wealthy men of America. He makes an appeal for similar generosity to our countrymen:

During the last five years I have made definite suggestion through various channels that the alumni of Calcutta University should make a systematic effort to raise two lakhs of rupees annually, so that this sum may be capitalized to maintain a chair on a special subject. I have particularly emphasized that Calcutta University should create a chair of "International Law," another chair of "International Relations," another chair of "Municipal Government." In fact steps should be taken to create a really efficient department of Political Science, in connection with Calcutta University.

It may be suggested that it cannot be done without financial support. It is well-known that the Government of India has never any want of money to maintain military forces, and C.I.D.s. In Provincial Governments the situation is not different from that of the Central Government. *Did* if the struggle for national regeneration is to be carried on upon a constructive plan then the existing Indian Universities must be supported by the Indian people with the necessary funds. The money spent to strengthen Indian Universities and to raise their standard should be regarded as the soundest of all national investments.

There are many rich men and women in Bengal who can do a great deal to aid the Calcutta University, and thus India as a whole and Bengal in particular. The magnificent gifts of the late Sir Taraknath Palit, the late Sir Rashbehari Ghose the late Maharaja Manindrachandra Nandy and others in the field of national education have brought about a new era of hope in the educational life of Bengal. Of course one should not forget to point out that the European community which has made millions of pounds annually out of Bengal has done practically nothing to aid the cause of education. However the time has come to make a systematic effort to raise "Endowment Funds" in connection with Calcutta University to make it one of the foremost educational institutions of the world. Will the alumni of Calcutta University take the initiative to fulfil their material and moral debt to their Alma Mater? Will they follow the American example and help to make India great? There is no gift higher than the gift of education.



Lancashire in Decay

Whether the depression in trade and industries which is afflicting England today is only a passing phase or the beginning of her permanent economic decline, is a question over which experts still differ. But there is no denying the patent fact that all her industries upon which her commercial greatness rests are in a bad way. This is particularly true of the cotton industry of Lancashire. The industrial correspondent of the *New Statesman* draws a gloomy picture of the state of this great industry for his paper. After referring to the ruin of the coal-mining industry in South Wales he goes on to say :

First South Wales—now Lancashire. In Parliament, and in the press, we are perpetually reminded that trade is bad in Lancashire. The reports have occurred with such clock-like regularity during the past few years that people outside this stricken county have become hardened to them. 'Yes, the cotton trade is in a bad way,' they say. 'Old-fashioned methods, poor marketing, inflation of values due to recapitalization, trade-union interference'—and so on, with dreary iteration. All very true. But does the country realize that its most important industrial centre is rotting, and that in a few years—say five years at the most—Lancashire may be one vast graveyard of derelict buildings? Let it be hammered home that the cotton trade is doomed, and doomed in the immediate future unless something is done now. Surely the warning of South Wales is writ large! Surely we can learn from experience! We know that most manufacturers, like other capitalists (and trade unionists, for that matter) are pig-headed when it comes to making a radical change. We know how reluctant they are to combine, reorganize, devalue, or reconstruct. But can they do anything by themselves? Could the South Wales mine owners do anything by themselves? Have we not yet recognized, irrespective of party, that the Baldwinian policy of allowing things to adjust themselves (which, by the way, appears to be the Thomas policy also) means national suicide? South Wales has gone. Lancashire is going fast. Whose turn next?

Last it be thought that this is mere rhetoric. Let us look at a few facts. One of the best-equipped mills in Burnley—sixteen hundred looms; all 'preparation' machinery for tapping, twisting, beaming, winding; engine and boilers; runways throughout;

buildings and ware-houses; and the whole mill fitted up with leather and healds ready for starting—has just been sold for the price of a villa. At the auction sale the whole concern fetched £1275! The mill could not be built and fitted up today for £80,000.

In Burnley alone 23,000 looms have been scrapped since the decline—scrapped. This is apart, of course, from empty looms in firms still working, which will probably account for a further 23,000. Some idea of the decline may be gathered when one states that three looms will keep one person in full employment—reckoning winders, beamers, tapers, tacklers, and others who do not weave. For the past twelve months over 5,000 people in Burnley (population, 97,000) have been in regular receipt of unemployment pay. Note that a population of 97,000 will have only 40,000 possible workers at a liberal estimate. And this figure of 5,000, bad though it is, does not tell the whole story of the state of trade, because thousands of workers in employment are working short time, or are standing with one, two, or three looms. (Normally a woman runs four looms and a man six).

Last year eight mills closed down in Burnley, and this is typical of all cotton towns. In Nelson (Population, 40,000), a town three miles away, five firms owning 18,000 looms went out of existence in 1929. Blackburn, Darwen, Chorley, Preston, Oldham, Shaw, Todmorden, Accrington, Padiham, Brierfield, Colne, Great Harwood, and dozens of smaller places are affected in like manner.

Will Lancashire Revive?

Reflections on the gloomy prospects of the cotton trade naturally lead to the question: can it by any means be revived? The industrial correspondent of the *New Statesman* suggests a way out. But he is not very hopeful.

The cotton trade will not revive without help, and immediate help. Combines similar to the Lancashire Cotton Corporation may do something, but that something will not be much unless some form of compulsion is adopted. To take hold of firms by agreement, one by one, is disastrous to the industry as a whole. Individual action is useless. Consider a recent instance of individual action in another respect. A Burnley firm threatens to close its doors unless the weavers consent to work on the 'eight-loom system'—that is, to run eight looms instead of four. The looms will run at a slower rate, and help will be given in such

matters as cleaning machinery, pulling of pieces, bringing wet, etc. Further, a much higher wage will be paid. Most of the weavers in the mill agreed to accept the system, but in consequence of the following manifesto, issued by the local Weavers' Union, decided to defer action until their committee should have had an opportunity of discussing the situation with the Employers' Association.

WARNING TO WEAVERS

This firm has offered employment to a number of weavers on an eight-loom-per-weaver system. This Association has rejected the terms and conditions offered by the firm.

Acceptance of employment on the firm's terms and conditions is prohibited by this Association.

Any weaver who accepts this employment will be regarded as a knobstick, like any other weaver in the past who accepted employment at less than the standard prices and conditions established by this Association.

The Committee urge all weavers to keep away from this firm. While this dispute exists the firm is on the Black List.

Who can blame the local union? What else can they do? Undoubtedly weavers will have to accept the eight-loom system, or a shift system, or some radical change of a similar kind, and would probably agree more or less cheerfully to such a change if it were general and provided reasonable conditions. But individual action of this kind will solve nothing. The very fabric of the worker's existence is threatened. How can an industry thrive when one firm has a weaver to eight looms, and next door there are only four looms to a weaver? That the above firm, if it persists, will get weavers is certain—there are too many people starving. That this lead will be followed by other firms is also certain. But what is going to be the condition of an industry where there is no agreement whatever between employers' and employees' associations? South Wales—Lancashire! Whose turn next?

Communists in the United States

Much as we dislike the doctrine of class war in the name of which Marx summoned the workmen of the world to unite in revolt against their masters, there seems to be something inherent in human nature which makes for the oppression of the weak and the poor by those who are powerful and rich. And this is as likely to happen in a democratic country like America as in Czarist Russia devoted to absolutism. A leading article in *The New Republic* discloses how elementary justice is denied in the United States to those who profess Communism:

Unlike the reformers, whose business it is to furnish the principles for which others go to jail, the Communists have principles which they value so highly that they themselves are not only

capable of going to jail for them, but sometimes anxious to do so.

If martyrdom is really what the Communists are after, the situation of Communism in the United States is promising. Whenever a member of the party speaks or acts in such a way as to suggest his willingness to go to jail for his beliefs, policemen and judges are alert to accommodate him. In fact, vindictiveness toward the spirit of martyrdom must be part of the explanation of the practice of judges in imposing stiff sentences on Communists for offences that in themselves seem unimportant. The record of these sentences in respect to their severity, their frequency and their wide geographical distribution is startling.

There is the case of the five young women in California who displayed a red flag in a children's camp which they were running on leased property. One of them is under sentence of from one to ten years; the remaining four got from six months to five years. A man who was convicted with them avoided the penalty by killing himself when sentence was imposed. In Buffalo two men are serving a sentence of 100 days in jail because they were caught in the act of decorating a meeting hall with "Work or Wages" signs. Two men who raised a slogan-placard at the March 6 demonstration at Waterbury, Connecticut, are serving a four months' sentence; another is under sentence of three months. Two of the thirteen arrested at the demonstration of February 21 in Chicago were fined \$60, with an alternative of 120 days in jail; two more had to pay \$35 or go to jail for seventy days.

The most conspicuous of all the recent cases is that of William X. Foster and his four associates in New York City. For ordering a march down Broadway on March 6 in defiance of the orders of the police, Foster and three others—Robert Minor, Israel Amter and Harry Raymond—have been given indeterminate sentences to the penitentiary up to three years, while the fifth man, Robert Leston, has been sentenced to a month in the work-house.

These are only a few of the many recent occurrences that illustrate our point. That point is that the Communists are constantly being treated in such a way as tends to justify their contention that a member of the working class cannot get justice in the "capitalist" courts. When a Communist breaks the law, he should certainly be liable to the same degree of punishment anyone else would get; but *The New Republic* is convinced, that, apart from the consideration of decency and humanity it is bad for the courts themselves, bad for the public morale and bad for the social structure that the authorities should continue to play into the Communists' hands by giving them exceptionally severe treatment merely because they are supposed to want it. We have no enthusiasm for the Communist programme, but we begin to be impressed by the force of arguments daily supplied to them in support of their criticism of the existing order.

The analogy with India will be obvious to every reader of the above extracts.

Codification of International Law

The codification of International Law has been engaging the attention of jurists for a long time past. The founding of the League of Nations naturally gave a great impetus to the project. The results of the first world Conference for the codification of International Law is described in the monthly *News for Overseas* published by the League:

The first world Conference for the Codification of International Law summoned by the League of Nations at The Hague on March 13th lasted a month, reached partial results on two of the three questions before it, and agreed on procedure for continuing the work of codification in the future.

The Conference divided into three committees, each dealing with one subject. The Committee on the Responsibility of State for Damage done to the Person or Property of Foreigners within Their Territory was unable to complete its study, and did not submit any conclusions to the Conference. This question, therefore, has to be further studied and will be dealt with when sufficiently prepared at a future conference.

The Committee on Nationality Laws submitted various proposals to the Conference which resulted in a convention, three protocols and a number of recommendations all based on the principle that everyone should have a nationality and that no one should have more than one nationality. The convention, if and when adopted, will put an end to the situation in which a woman who marries a foreigner or whose husband changes his nationality during marriage, is deprived of her old nationality without acquiring a new. Other provisions deal with the nationality of children, adoption, expatriation permits and general principles. The protocols deals with the relation of people without nationality to the State whose nationality they last possessed with the case of children born of mothers having one nationality and fathers without nationality or of unknown nationality, and with the military obligations of persons possessing two or more nationalities.

The recommendations relate to the establishment of the principle of sex equality in the matter of nationality, taking particularly into consideration the interests of the children and the granting of greater freedom to a woman marrying a foreigner and wishing to retain her original nationality, with the proof of nationality, and with the regulation of the problems of double and no nationality.

This brief summary makes it clear that in this field too much further work remains to be done. But if the existing agreements are adopted by all civilized States and incorporated in their legislation a big step will have been taken towards clearing up a situation whose difficulties and anomalies have been acutely felt since the war.

On the third problem—territorial waters—the Conference decided to substitute the term "territorial sea" and drew up a number of articles defining what were the rights and obligations of States within territorial seas, but it did not succeed in framing a generally recognized rule on the limit of the territorial sea.

The fixing of the breadth of the belt at three

miles was opposed by the countries which maintained that there was no rule of law fixing this breadth, and that their national interests necessitated the adoption of a wider belt. The problem therefore remains, together with that of the way in which the breadth of the belt should be measured.

The articles adopted define and regulate the right of passage through territorial seas, and are intended to form part of a convention or conventions determining the breadth and legal status of the territorial sea. Two recommendations were adopted. One, on the legal status of foreign vessels in inland waters, proposed that the League Convention on the International Regime of Maritime Ports concluded in 1923, should be supplemented by provisions regulating the scope and nature of the judicial powers of States with regard to vessels in their inland waters. The other recommendation related to the supply of fish in the sea and to fishing in general. The Conference drew attention to the desirability of scientific research on the supply of fish and the means of protecting fry in local areas. General agreement in this field would make it easier to solve the problem of the breadth of territorial seas, since many States ask for an extended limit partly on the ground of the necessity for protecting various species of fish. The Conference asked the Council of the League to take up with the Governments the question of preparing and summoning a new conference to frame a general convention settling the whole problem.

The Conference also adopted general recommendations concerning the lines on which its work should be continued: the League work on codification and that undertaken by the Conference of the Pan-American Union should be carried on in complete harmony with each other, International or national institutions should study the fundamental question of international law, particularly principles and rules and their application, with special reference to the points which would be placed on the agenda of codification conferences. Such conferences should be prepared by a small committee which should select subjects suitable for codification by convention, and circulate a brief and clear report to Governments for their opinion. The Council of the League should then draw up a list of subjects to be studied in the light of the opinions expressed by Governments, and an appropriate body would frame a draft convention upon each selected study.

The draft convention should be communicated to the Governments and, in the light of the replies received, the agenda of the conference should be decided. Only such subjects as were formally approved by a very large majority of Powers taking part in the conferences should be included in the agenda.

Printers' Liabilities

Though restrictions on the freedom of the Press in England are trifling compared to the state of things in India, there, too, the law of libel is a serious handicap to the freedom of comment often expected from the Press. And in England too, the printer as well as the writer and the

Dharmashala in the presence of His Excellency Douglas Jones and many important citizens."

'Divide and Rule' in Fiji Islands

The following letter, sent by a correspondent of mine in Fiji Islands, will be read with considerable pain by every well-wisher of Indians abroad :—

I am very sorry to say that I entertain grave doubt as to our success regarding the common franchise. There is a section of our own community that is now working against us.

Soon after the arrival of the new Governor, Sir Murchison Fletcher, a conference was convened at the Govt. House. The Governor invited the following to the Conference, Messrs Vishnu Deo, John Grant, Ramchandra Maharaj, Parmanand Singh, Siwa Bhai Patel, Ambalal Patel, Sahcar Singh, Dr. Sagayam and on representation made by the Muslim League of Fiji, Maulvi Abdul Karim was also invited. Mr. A. D. Patel put the case of the Indians before the Governor and when he was unable to get anything out of them as they stood firm he turned to Maulvi Abdul Karim. First he said that from his experience in Ceylon (where this Governor comes from) he found that the Mohammedans were a very good people etc. and that in Ceylon the Indians had the franchise on religious basis which was now being changed to one roll for the Indians but the Mohammedans were sticking out for a separate roll for the Muslims. He then asked what would Maulvi Abdul Karim like for Fiji. Maulvi Abdul Karim replied that he was not aware of the circumstances there, but for the Governor asked whether he was right or the Mohammedans in Ceylon. But Maulvi Abdul Karim stuck to his point and would not give in so the conference came to an end but the magic has now worked on the Muslim community.

On the conclusion of the conference the Governor requested that the gentlemen attending the conference should submit their views on the question in writing through the Secretary for Indian Affairs.

The following day the memorandum was duly prepared and all signed it except Ramchandra Maharaj, who could not come to attend the conference, and Maulvi Abdul Karim.

The memorandum was sent to Maulvi Abdul Karim for his signature but he refused point blank to sign it and said that he was going to ask for a separate seat for the Mohammedans and was against the common franchise. It appears that soon after the Mohammedans came to know the result of the conference they rebuked Maulvi Sahab and said that when the Governor was favourable to the Mohammedans and was prepared to give separate seats to them why did he say otherwise. However the result is that they are now sending in a contra memo. asking for a subcommunal franchise. It is to be noted that in the beginning of last year the Muslim League of Fiji had passed a motion and asked the Govt. for a separate seat as a minority

community. That was even before the franchise was extended to us.

Dr. Sagayam of Nadi is also working against the common franchise, for reasons best known to himself. He has formed an Association in Nadi and he is condemning what the Congress is doing and is asking for the retention of the communal franchise! What hope have we then to attain our goal?

On account the propaganda of the Mohammedans 11 members out of 16 have resigned from the Suva Congress Committee. They are either Christians or Sanatan Dharmist. Endeavour is being made to hold a re-election of the Congress and thereby set matters right.

The whole thing is very heart-breaking. Our opponents would exploit this opportunity for their own ends and they are looking forward to the breaking up of our and the fight."

We would ask our countrymen in Fiji to stand solidly against this sub-communal franchise. It is much better not to send any representatives to the Council than to send them on a religious basis. If we yield on this vital point we shall be responsible for the disintegration of the whole Indian community into separate compartments and any joint action will then become most difficult if not quite impossible. Let our countrymen in Fiji take lesson from the disastrous consequences of communal franchise in India.

Swami Bhawanidayal's Report

The readers of these notes are already aware of the fact that the first thing that Swami Bhawanu Dayal did after his arrival in India was to make an enquiry into the condition of returned emigrants from South Africa. After travelling some three thousand miles and making a thorough enquiry Swamiji wrote out his report and sent it on to me to give it to the press before he joined the Satyagraha movement.

The report was to be published during this month but on account of an urgent request made by the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivas Sastry, Swami Bhawanu Dayal has sent word to me from Central Jail, Hazaribagh to postpone the publication of the report. It is to be hoped that our compatriots in South Africa, who may have been waiting for the report, will kindly excuse Bhawanu-dayalji who has a great regard for Mr. Sastry and who could not go against his wishes specially when he was told that the publication of the report at this juncture will have a prejudicial effect on the Capetown Agreement.



Dancing in Japan

"The *lagura* is the oldest and purest form of dancing in Japan." Such is the consensus of opinion among Western students of our culture who not infrequently give their opinion on this sacred Shinto dance with a tone of finality, regardless of the fact that it has not been so entirely free from the law of evolution as they imagine. It is true that to this day the *lagura* retains most of the antique, unadulterated nature in small villages far removed from the great centres of modern civilization, while it is equally true that in large cities and towns it shows marked traces of modernization. In short, *lagura* is a comprehensive term for various kinds of dances of ancient origin.

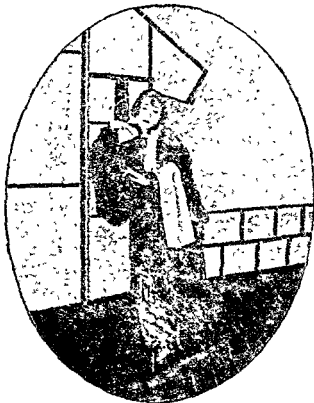
Of rustic dances based on sympathetic magic which has sprung up from some religious faith or other, there are many: invocations to the gods for bumper crops, timely rainfall, and big hauls of fish



Daimon Dance of Matsushiro-Cho, Nagano Prefecture

invariably find expression in dancing. In mourning for relatives or friends and in rejoicing over rich harvests and heavy catches, our peasants and fisher-folk stage performances to express the respective moods of the occasions. By far the most popular of the dances falling under this category is the "Bon Odori," or the dance of the Feast for the Departed. Country dances of this kind have received but scant encouragement during the last half century. And the threat of the eventual disappearance of this single source of merriment for the vast rural population has recently been met by a group of public-minded men and women who some five years ago started with considerable success a campaign to revive this proletarian amusement. With the twofold aim of keeping up the rich native legacy of olden days and of paving the way for a

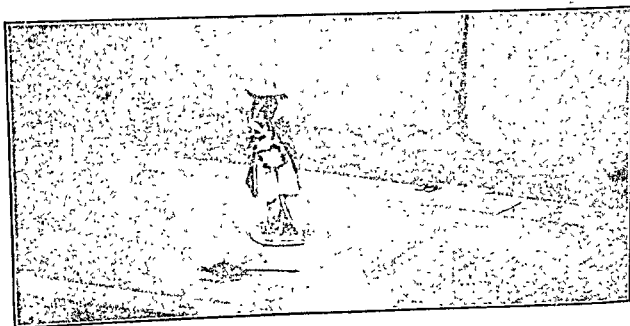
new achievement both in music and dancing for the rural masses, a big annual concert and dancing festival enlisting nation-wide support and participation is held at the Nippon Seinen Kan (the Japanese Young Men's Hall) in Tokyo. The movement has done a great deal for the revival of the sundry folk song and dances in the country where a rich held keenly awaits creations by gifted composers and dance-creators, who are busy trying to meet the demand.



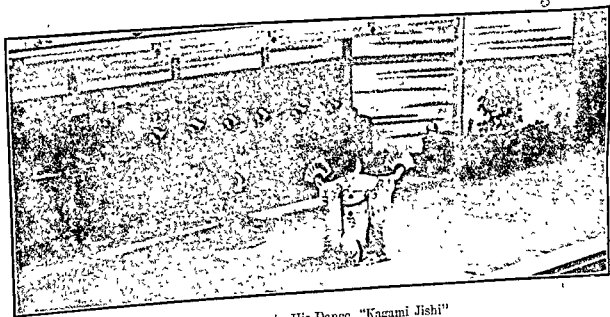
Ishii Konami in her Artistic Dance,
"The Chinese Doll"

The stage dance next engages our attention. In considering this branch of Japanese dancing which has many minor offshoots, it would be wise to single out from the group the most representative of all, the dances that form part of the "kabuki" plays.

The awakening of the professional dancers to the true worth of their art augurs well for Japanese dancers in general. True, they are yet groping in the dark, though their eyes have been opened. Very few among them possess any reliable knowledge as to the basic relation of music and dancing.



Fujima Shizue as Onatsu in the Lovers' Dance, "Onatsu and Seijuro"



Onoe Kikugoro in His Dance, "Kagami Jishi"

And to add to their baffling difficulties we have double currents of music, our native music which is the growth of centuries and the new music from abroad. The former, of necessity, has a large following among elderly lovers of music, while the latter naturally appeals to younger admirers.

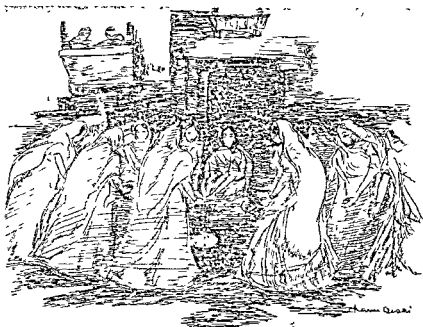
A reviewer of Japanese dancing as a whole would commit a grave sin of omission should he ignore the tremendous impetus given to the art by the recent visits of such prominent Western dancers as Anna Pavlova, Ruth St. Denis, Ted Shawn, La Argentina, and others. Their performances here

came as a great revelation to our experts, who have found their native art in a state of chaos. Some rash dancers have set about fruitless attempts to copy the formula so alluringly put forth by these outstanding masters, while the more sensible of our artists have learnt from them what they judged best and are hiding their time to make a wiser use of the knowledge they have thus acquired. What will come out of the seeds planted is an interesting subject for speculation within our shores, as well as abroad.

Garba Dance of Gujarat

Many of our readers will recall the interesting article on the Garba dance of Gujarat by Mrs.

Saudamini Mehta and Mr. Gaganvihari Mehta which was published in the January issue of *The Modern Review*. The seven illustrations published this month are after the pen-and-ink sketches of



The Start

When the evening falls, young women meet at a street corner, one of them leads with a song while the others beat time and go round and round the "Garba" (a pitcher on which a light has been placed).



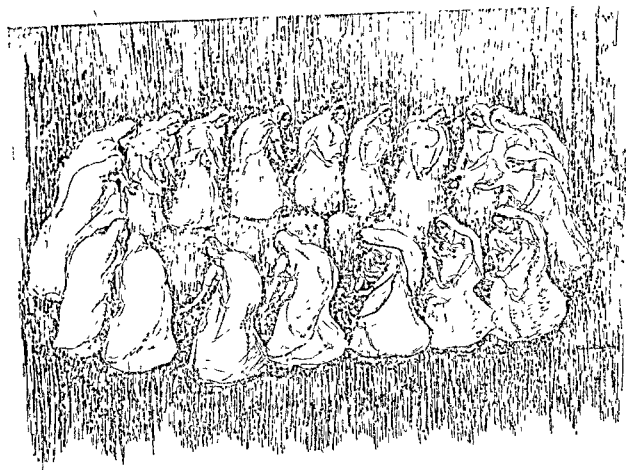
Ladies dancing
High class ladies also join the dance



The Poses

These three drawings illustrate the different poses in dance.

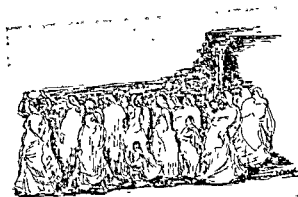
Mr. Kanu Desai. They illustrate the various stages and positions of the dance.



The Dance in full swing



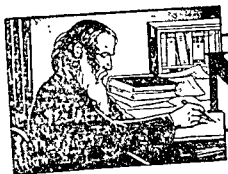
The beginning of the Dance



On their way to the temple
After ten to fifteen days they take the lighted
"Garbi" to a temple and sing some songs for the
last time.



The coming away



NOTES

The Arrest of Jesus and Gandhi

It is said, in the Gospel according to St. Matthew XXI, 46, of those who seized Jesus before his trial that "when they sought to lay hold on him, they feared the multitudes, because they took him for a prophet." Perhaps for a similar reason, those who wanted to arrest Gandhi went stealthily to his camp forty-five minutes after midnight, and, though he is meek and non-violent and physically weak and his companions unarmed and pledged to non-violence, the party of arresters consisted of the District Magistrate of Surat, two Indian police officers armed with pistols and some thirty policemen armed with rifles.

In Matthew XVI, 55 Jesus is recorded as having said: "Are ye come out as against a robber with swords and staves to seize me? I sat daily in the temple teaching, and ye took me not."

Gandhi, too, might have said: "Are ye come out as against a robber with pistols and rifles to seize me? I wrote to the Viceroy what ye hold seditious and I taught the same daily in the villages and made salt, and ye took me not."

"War Against Women"

Writing from Bombay on March 15 to *The Nation* of New York, Mr. Herbert Adolphus Miller, Professor of Sociology at Ohio State University, refers thus to Mahatma Gandhi's original intention not to allow women to take active part in the civil disobedience movement:

"The women were disappointed at not being allowed to go. Mr. Gandhi said the presence of women might embarrass the English and thereby make the fight unfair."

By saying this Gandhi paid a very great compliment to the English people. There is no doubt that there are Englishmen who are chivalrous to a high degree. But all of them are not so.

Neither praise nor dispraise of nations as a whole can be mathematically correct. For instance, when Sir Thomas Munro in his statement made before a Committee of the House of Commons on April 12, 1813, spoke of "the general practice of hospitality and charity among each other, and above all, a treatment of the female sex, full of confidence, respect and delicacy," as being characteristic of the Indian people, he undoubtedly spoke the truth; but he did not mean to convey the impression that there were no brutes among Indians. Nor is Mr. Gandhi unaware that there are brutalized human beings among Englishmen, particularly among those of them who are "birds of passage" in India.

That all Englishmen in India do not deserve Mr. Gandhi's implied compliment was clear from what Mr. K. Natarajan said as president of a meeting held at Bombay on May 16 to protest against the Press Ordinance. Referring to and condemning the imprisonment of Mrs. Rukmini Lakshmi, Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and the keeping of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu surrounded by a cordon of police without food and water for seventeen hours (most of the time under a burning sun), he conveyed to the authorities

the warning "that a war against women was scarcely calculated to enhance the strength and prestige of Government and would, on the contrary, only embitter the struggle." Most probably with reference to preventing people outside the cordon from giving water to Mrs. Naidu and the volunteers, he said he could not trust himself to properly characterize such conduct.

Official apologists may say, "If women, whatever their position and education, will break the law, they must take the consequences." But these consequences must be such as are provided by the law. No law in any civilized country lays it down that, whilst the guardians of law and order forming the cordon continue to have their food and drink by shifts, passive resisters are not to have food and drink for 17 hours.

Day after day, newspapers continue to print news of executive and police excesses and atrocities, most of them uncontradicted. Some of these allegations may be untrue and some exaggerated. A few have been contradicted; though unless and until we know after what kind of enquiries conducted by whom these contradictions were made, we cannot attach due importance to them. However, making every allowance for inaccuracies, exaggerations and a few official contradictions, a very large number of allegations of executive and police barbarities and excesses remain to be accounted for. Their nature may be understood from a few examples. It is unnecessary to select any from the numerous allegations of assaults on men. We shall confine ourselves to the details of such alleged assaults on women as are printable. The following is from *Young India*, dated May 15, 1930.

"On May 8, a number of volunteers who had, as usual, alighted at the Viramgam station with some contraband salt was surrounded by the Police who formed a cordon round them and disallowed any water from being given them. The news that the volunteers confined within the police cordon were fainting for want of water having reached the town, about 200 women rushed to the railway station with pitchers of water after obtaining the permission of the resident Magistrate to offer water to the Satyagrahis. But only a few of them were admitted into the station yard, and the rest had perforce to wait outside in the station compound, and in the third class waiting shed. It was now about 9-30 P. M. and the women were preparing to return to their homes when a force of foot police and mounted police accompanied by a motor car with blinding headlights rushed in their direction from the two entrances from which it was possible to get out of the station compound. A scene of indes-

cribable confusion followed. The horsemen ran their horses indiscriminately among the women in the station compound as also in the third class waiting shed. The police freely used their short lathis and barrels and buttends of their guns on these helpless women. Some women fell down and were injured. The vessels of others were smashed. Sjt. Bhulabhai Desai, Advocate, Sjt. Ambalal Sarabhai and Dr. Harilal Desai, who visited Viramgam on the 11th instant to conduct an enquiry into the happenings there, found distinct marks of their beating on the bodies of several women."

The following medical report by a qualified Lady Doctor, forming part of the report of Miss Jyotirmayi Ganguli, M. A., who held an inquiry on the 10th May into the alleged assaults on the women at Contai by policemen on the 6th May last, is taken from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 24th May:

The following is a list of women Satyagrahis who are said to have been beaten and insulted by the police on Tuesday the 6th of May, 1930, at Kholakhali, a village near the town of Contai, whilst they were protecting the National Flag. I was sent there by the Bangiya Ain Amanyah Parishad on the 10th of May, 1930 to investigate and give a medical report of the wounds received by those women.

1. Padmabati—aged 40.

A bruise just under the right clavicle 4 in. by 3 in. It is said to have been caused by the tread of a booted policeman as she fell down.

2. Durga Dasi—aged 30.

Swelling and tenderness of right wrist. Said to have been caused by a lathi blow.

3. Rajeswari—aged 25.

A lacerated wound at upper part of forehead near the midline about $\frac{1}{2}$ square inch in area and $\frac{1}{8}$ inch deep. Said to have been caused by the pointed end of a 'dao'.

4. Kurani Dasi aged 50.

Two abrasions on the dorsum of the right foot each about 1 square inch in area. An abrasion on the medial side of the big toe of left foot $\frac{1}{4}$ square inch in area. All three abrasions are said to have been caused by the tread of a booted policeman. A bruise on the calf muscles of the right leg 5 in. by 3 in.

A bruise on the left buttock 3 inches long and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch broad. Said to have been caused by a whip.

5. Biraja Dasi—aged 30.

Three linear bruises, running transversely each about 2 in. long and $\frac{1}{4}$ in. broad on the anterior aspect of the right thigh. Said to have been caused by a whip.

(Sd.) Maitreyee Basu, M. B., Contai.

The 10th May, 1930.

Giving water to Satyagrahis, particularly after obtaining the permission of the resident Magistrate, is not an offence under any law or ordinance even in British-ruled India of to-day. Nor is protecting the national flag an offence. But supposing these were offences, legally the police could only arrest

the offenders; they had no legal authority to assault anybody, least of all women. It cannot be said that the alleged police assaults on men, women and children in numerous places in various provinces, were made in obedience to executive orders issued by the Governor-General in Council or the Governors in Council of those provinces. For we have not seen such orders, nor are we aware of such orders. And we do not believe such orders could have been passed.

Do the Governor-General or the Provincial Governors read the accounts of these excesses in the newspapers? We do not know. If they do not, they ought to even at this late hour, and they should institute independent inquiries into all such allegations. If they are false, contradictions should follow in every case and those responsible for the spread of such news suitably dealt with. If they are found to be even partly correct, the policemen concerned should be dismissed and punished like ordinary assailants, and a general order issued in each province that such assaults are illegal and would be severely punished by the Government. But if nothing is done, the heads of the administration must be held responsible for all such excesses and considered guilty of connivance at least.

Though British domination is sure to come to an end some day, efforts to prolong it may be made. Such efforts may be either civilized or barbarous. Civilized efforts need not leave a bitter memory behind, barbarous methods must. The friendship of all countries is valuable, and that of a great and large country like India cannot be valueless to Britain even after British domination has ceased. Therefore, even if considerations of humanity, such as those fittingly laid stress upon by the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, in recent utterances, are left unheeded, political considerations alone should lead to the rejection of barbarous methods. In his recent long speech on India Mr. Wedgwood Benn said:

"For long years our two great countries have been knit together to the undoubted well-being of both. Is it too much to hope that bitterness may be cast out, and that the future may see a re-birth of mutual understanding and respect?"

We would fain join in such a hope. But unless Mr. Benn insists on and makes arrangements for getting all the news from India and puts his foot down on such barbarous methods as he may discover, bitter disappointment must be in store for

all who value future friendship between India and Britain.

"We too are Satyagrahis"

It is said that when the executive and the police formed a cordon round Mrs. Naidu and the volunteers who had gone to take possession of the salt depot at Dharasana, the chief officers said, "We too are satyagrahis." Such words will not be appreciated, if said in jest. And if meant to be taken seriously, their falsity would be patent to all. For, the speakers could not be unaware that they could not emulate the spirit of non-violence under grave provocation and merciless assault displayed by countless satyagrahis.

Violence and Non-Violence

Internationally, the use of force, known as war, is still held to be legitimate, though arbitration as a means of settling disputes between nations or governments is coming into greater use. Force is held justifiable not only in international affairs, but in the last resort the existence of governments is held to depend on it. Consequently, even non-violence on the part of non-officials is sought to be countered by official violence. Therefore policemen are not much to be blamed if they are violent. "If the State can use force, why not they, the servants of the State?" seems to be their unconscious or sub-conscious reasoning. Besides, they are ignorant of any other method for dealing with non-violence.

Moreover, policemen have, until recent years, been accustomed to handle mostly robbers, ruffians and bad characters of all sorts. The technique of such handling—if one may so style it, is not suited to the handling of educated men of good character who break a law on principle. But how can uneducated or half-educated policemen distinguish between different classes of law-breakers and treat them differently? We do not mean to say that the preliminary and *ad interim* rough handling of undetained bad characters, in addition to their punishment after trial, is justifiable; but such treatment of such men being alleged to be rather common, one need not be surprised at reports of similar treatment being accorded to men of

superior education and character who choose to be altruistic law-breakers on principle.

The foundations of the State and penology require to be examined and given a drastic revision in all countries, especially in those which do not enjoy freedom.

Mahatma Gandhi's Second Letter to the Viceroy

In his second letter to the Viceroy released just at the time of his arrest, and published in extenso in many Anglo-Indian and Indian papers, Mahatma Gandhi informs His Excellency of his intention to 'raid' Dharasana salt works and states how "it is possible for you to prevent this raid, as it has been playfully and mischievously called." He proceeds to state why the step has been decided upon. He condemns the manner in which "the rank and file" has been assaulted and gives instances from different provinces. "I ask you to believe the accounts given by men pledged to truth. Repudiation even by high officials has, as in the Bardoli case, often proved false. The officials, I regret to have to say, have not hesitated to publish falsehoods to the people even during the last five weeks." He takes three specimens from Government notices issued from Collectors' offices in Gujarat and contradicts them. He passes on to give instances of official inactivities.

"Liquor dealers have assaulted pickets admitted by officials to have been peaceful and sold liquor in contravention of regulations. The officials have taken no notice either of the assaults or the illegal sales of liquor."

Mahatma Gandhi then condemns the Press Ordinance and another ordinance sprung upon the country.

"Is it any wonder if I call all these official activities and inactivities a veiled form of Martial Law? Yet this is only the fifth week of the struggle!

"Before then the reign of terrorism that has just begun overwhelms India, I feel that I must take a bolder step and if possible divert your wrath in a cleaner if more drastic channel. You may not know the things that I have described. You may not even now believe in them. I can but invite your serious attention to them."

He says he knows the dangers attendant upon the methods adopted by him.

"But the country is not likely to mistake my meaning. I say what I mean and think. And I have been saying for the last fifteen years in India

and outside for twenty years more and repeat now that the only way to conquer violence is through non-violence pure and undefiled. I have said also that every violent act, word and even thought interferes with the progress of non-violent action."

He then repudiates any responsibility for any popular violence.

"If in spite of such repeated warnings people will resort to violence, I must disown responsibility save such as inevitably attaches to every human being for the acts of every other human being. But the question of responsibility apart, I dare not postpone action on any cause whatsoever, if non-violence is the force the seers of the world have claimed it to be and if I am not to belie my own extensive experience of its working."

Mr. Gandhi concludes by saying:

"But I would fain avoid the further step. I would therefore ask you to remove the tax which many of your illustrious countrymen have condemned in unmeasured terms and which, as you could not have failed to observe, has evoked universal protest and resentment expressed in civil disobedience. You may condemn civil disobedience as much as you like. Will you prefer violent revolt to civil disobedience?"

The Mahatma need not have asked this question. Of violent revolt and civil disobedience neither is preferred to the other; for according to the press ordinance newspapers advocating or seeming to advocate either are to be dealt with exactly in the same way.

Mr. Gandhi continues:

"If you say, as you have said, that the civil disobedience must end in violence, history will pronounce the verdict that the British Government not bearing because not understanding non-violence, goaded human nature to violence which it could understand, and deal with.* But in spite of the reading I shall hope that God will give the people of India wisdom and strength to withstand every temptation and provocation to violence."

"If, therefore, you cannot see your way to remove the salt tax, and remove the prohibition on private salt-making, I must reluctantly commence the march adumbrated in the opening paragraph of my letter."

It is not known whether this letter reached Lord Irwin. But whether it reached him or not, it is known that no such action was taken on it as was desired by Mr. Gandhi.

Unconscious Humour or Satire? C

We take the following from *The Leader* of Allahabad:

* "We are not dealing merely with ordinary outbreaks of lawlessness. If we were dealing merely with lawlessness, the task would be a very simple one.—Mr. Wedgwood Benn in the House of Commons, May 16.

From a Bulsar message of May 16 :

"The authorities were uniformly courteous to Mrs. Naidu and her volunteers, except that they did not permit food and water being supplied to them till midnight."

"Mrs. Naidu and her volunteers offered Satyagraha continuously for over 27 hours without moving from the spot."

Mistaken zeal, will it be said? Yes, it is. But what glorious patience and faith and power of endurance in a cause in which they sincerely believe!

We share our contemporary's admiration of the sufferers' patience and faith and power of endurance.

But we have quoted the paragraphs from the Bulsar message in the hope that there may lie embedded therein a gem of unconscious (?) humour or satire. Courtesy there may have been. But there was also the probability of Mrs. Naidu's starvation or humiliating surrender.

Tennyson on a Free Press

Though it is axiomatic that what Englishmen prize must not be prized by Indians, yet it is interesting to know that Tennyson once wrote :

My Lords, we heard you speak : You told us all
That England's honest censure went too far.

That our free press should cease to brawl,
Not sting the fiery Frenchman into war.

It was our ancient privilege, my Lords,
To fling whate'er we felt, not fearing, into words.

It might be safe our censures to withdraw,
And yet, my Lords, not well : there is a higher law.

As long as we remain, we must speak free,
Tho' all the storm of Europe on us break :

No little German state are we,
But the one voice in Europe : we must speak :

That if to-night our greatness were struck dead,
There might be left some record of the things
we said.

Martial Law in Sholapur

Responsible and competent citizens of Bombay have publicly expressed their opinion that it was not at all necessary to place Sholapur under martial law. We share that opinion. In addition to the excesses of the martial law regime brought to light in the public press, there are very ugly rumours afloat in Bombay regarding the number of men who have paid the extreme penalty of that sort of law and about the indignities heaped on others. Though the men who have

died before or in consequence of the proclamation of martial law cannot benefit by any remedy or reparation now, an independent enquiry conducted by competent impartial men ought to be instituted into the whole affair in order that the living may have their grievances redressed and false rumours may be given their quietus.

When will rulers understand the futility of martial law? This is not the first time that in any area in India martial law has been proclaimed. Whenever and wherever it is proclaimed, it strikes terror for a time no doubt. But the fear soon wears off, leaving a bitter memory behind in the race-consciousness. But reasonable reforms—and they ought to be root and branch reforms even of a revolutionary character, if need be—produce a lasting beneficial result.

In 1910 on February 3, John Morley, the then Secretary of State for India, wrote to the Viceroy Lord Minto :

Your mention of Martial Law in your last private letter really makes my flesh creep. I have imagination enough, and sympathy enough, thoroughly to realize the effect on men's minds of the present manifestation of the spirit of murder. But Martial Law, which is only a fine name for the suspension of all Law, would not snuff out murder-clubs in India any more than the same sort of thing snuffed them out in Italy, Russia, or Ireland. The gang of Dublin Invincibles was reorganized when Parnell and the rest were locked up and the Coercion Act in full blast. On the other hand, it would put at once an end to the policy of rallying the Moderates, and would throw the game in the long run wholly into the hands of the Extremists. I say nothing of the effect of such a Proclamation upon public opinion, either in Parliament here or in other countries.—
Morley's Recollections, vol. ii, p. 328

Martial law in Sholapur, a conspiracy case in Calcutta, one each in Meerut and Lahore, two armouries raided in Chittagong, hundreds of civil law-breakers in jail in every province are, to use the words of Lord Morley, "neither more nor less than a gigantic advertisement of national failure." (Recollections, vol. ii, p. 328)

Morley on Press Acts

The present press ordinance is as comprehensive, vague, elastic and repressive as human ingenuity can make it. But we are perfectly sure that this engine of bureaucratic arbitrariness, which might have more fittingly emanated from some unenlightened govern-

ment of bygone days and which cannot be consistently and widely set in operation, will fail to produce the effect desired. What Lord Morley wrote of the Press Act of 1910 applies to the Press Ordinance of 1930, in spite of the 'improvements' introduced into it. That philosophic statesman, who was a failure as regards India, wrote to Lord Minto on February 3 :

"We worked hard at your Press Act, and I hope the result has reached you in plenty of time. I dare say it is as sensible in its way as other Press Acts, or as Press Acts can ever be. But nobody will be more ready than you to agree that the forces with which we are contending are far too subtle, deep and diversified, to be abated by making seditious leading articles expensive."

And these forces are not all evil. The forces of truth and right, whether "subtle, deep and diversified" or not, are invincible.

Administration of the Press Ordinance

The Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay has been assured by the Government of India that "The Press Ordinance is in no way directed against the dissemination of news, and so far as the Government of India is concerned, there is no reason why it should operate to restrict news." But the really relevant question is whether the Ordinance lays down in express terms that the dissemination of any uncensored news, even of those relating to civil disobedience and its direct and indirect results, will not be penalized. The Ordinance does not do so. Therefore, whatever assurance the Viceroy or the Government of India may give is irrelevant and of no consequence. Those who administer the law will be guided by the terms of the Ordinance, not by the assurances given by the highest or high officers. Similar is our comment on the Bombay Home Secretary's statement that "the Ordinance is directed against those writings in the Press which incite openly to violent or revolutionary action or which are encouraging a spirit of lawlessness throughout the country."

Not only are those who administer the Ordinance not bound by such assurances or statements but only by its terms, but there is no means of knowing, when a first deposit is called for, why it has been demanded—whether for the publication of any news, or for writing an inflammatory article, or for encouraging lawlessness, or for any other reason.

We get only a small number of newspapers. The central and local Governments get all. So it is probable that Government officials employed for the purpose come across some undesirable newspapers which we never see. But from the action so far taken, their number, in the opinion of Government, does not seem to be large. They could very easily have been prosecuted under the ordinary laws. Instead of adopting such a reasonable course, Government has chosen to hang a Damocles' sword over the heads of all Indian-owned nationalist journals, except those of the reptile variety.

It cannot be said that most of the 'revolutionary' papers having become cautious after the promulgation of the Ordinance, action has been taken against only a few, and therefore their number seems small. For the fact is, deposits were demanded from many papers almost simultaneously with the publication of the Ordinance, showing that such action was premeditated and prompted by what those papers wrote before, not after, the Ordinance was issued.

Some comments of even *The Times of India* on the Ordinance support our criticism. It says :

There are two points on which we feel criticism of the operation of the Press Ordinance is justified. When the Ordinance was promulgated the authorities in some places did not apparently give the newspapers time to mend their ways ; they were called upon to furnish security at once. We are convinced this was not the intention of the Governor-General, and the chance which the Bombay Government gave to the Press of the Presidency has been amply justified in most cases. Moreover, the authorities do not apparently specify a newspaper's offence before demanding security. This again seems unfair, because the newspaper might wish to avoid similar breaches of the Ordinance in future.

That paper also writes :

It is obvious that a good deal depends on the official interpretation of its objects. It could be a tyrannous weapon in the hands of those making unscrupulous use of its clauses. The Ordinance is to some extent a sword of Damocles hanging over the head of newspapers, and even with the best intentions in the world a paper might easily come within its scope. So wide are the powers of the Ordinance that it is natural for journalists and press-owners to feel restive, and to urge strongly that so Draconian an edict should be repealed.

Such being its opinion, we do not see why it writes :

We do not, however, agree with the view of the President of the Conference, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, that "beneath the plea of 'emergency

there was the settled belief and desire that the Indian Press should be controlled by the Executive Government and the bureaucracy of this country; that the repeal of the Press Act of 1922 was a mistake." Mr. Iyengar's inference is that the Government of India merely wanted a convenient opportunity to put into force a press-gagging measure. This we do not think is a fair view of the situation.

Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar is not a thoughtful reader. He could not possibly know what reasons there were in the minds of the group of men called the Government of India which led them to frame and issue the Ordinance. He could only draw an inference from the facts of the situation. And we think his inference is not illogical and unjustifiable.

Mahatma Gandhi's Imprisonment Without Trial

That so saintly and reasonable a man as Mahatma Gandhi should be detained in a gaol and that for seeking such a good thing as freedom in a non-violent way, is a fact which alone is sufficient to cause dissatisfaction with the political condition and the laws of India and to make them worthy of condemnation in the opinion of all impartial liberty-loving persons all over the world. But the law in India being what it is, the Bombay Government would have been technically right if Mr. Gandhi had been tried in open court according to the ordinary processes of law, whatever the value of such a trial may be. So the fact that he has been imprisoned without trial is an additional grievance of the people.

He has been arrested and kept in confinement under a Regulation of 1827. That such an antiquated and rusty weapon had almost to be dug out from the Executive Armoury must make one think hard.

During the 103 years which have passed since 1827, the weapons of destruction used in armed warfare have increased in number, variety and slaying power. But Gandhi's fight is a non-violent fight, it is not armed revolt. The British Empire has no weapon in its arsenals to fight Gandhi in a non-violent way. So it has had recourse to one of those Regulations which were meant in great part to supplement the military resources of the Empire. That such was the object of Regulation XXV of 1827 will be clear from its preamble:—

"Whereas reasons of State, embracing the due maintenance of the alliances formed by the British Government with foreign powers, the preservation of tranquillity in the territory of Indian Princes entitled to its protection and the security of the British Dominions from foreign hostility and internal commotion, occasionally render it necessary to place under personal restraint individuals against whom there may not be sufficient ground to institute any judicial proceedings or when such proceedings may not be adapted to the nature of the case or may for some other reasons be unadvisable or improper, the following rules have been enacted:—"

The British bureaucracy and those Britishers and (a few) Indians who echo the thoughts of the former seem to hold that India has made great constitutional progress, that Indians have got many real rights of freemen and that, in fact, there is in India "Dominion status in action." But the same British bureaucracy's action shows that in their opinion the political condition of India in 1930 is so similar to that in 1827 that a Regulation framed for conditions existing a century ago just fits the case of 1930. This is un rebuttable evidence indeed of India's increasing liberties under British rule.

Let us see how the reasons stated in the preamble fit the case of Mr. Gandhi. It had nothing to do with the maintenance or otherwise of British alliances with foreign Powers. Nor had it anything to do with the preservation of tranquillity in the Indian States. Gandhi, in fact, has definitely placed these States outside the operation of civil disobedience. The civil disobedience movement has not even the remotest connection with any hostile foreign Power threatening the security of the British Dominions. The most important and urgent reasons have been stated in the preamble first. These have nothing to do with Mr. Gandhi's arrest. There remains to examine only "the security of the British dominion from... internal commotion." In the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* commotion is explained as meaning "physical disturbance; bustle, confusion; tumult, insurrection." Evidently physical disturbance or bustle or confusion cannot be the reason for the arrest of any one and his infinite detention without trial. So tumult or insurrection must have been meant by commotion in the preamble. The juxtaposition of "foreign hostility" and "internal commotion" makes it clear that the Regulation intended that men might be arrested and detained infinitely without trial when there was either the menace of foreign aggression or the danger of an

internal insurrection. Gandhiji has always condemned violence—he has never been in favour of armed revolt. And there has not been any armed revolt since the starting of civil disobedience. The Chittagong raid was a small, isolated affair, and Gandhiji and civil disobedience had nothing to do with it.

For these reasons, we hold that it was by an abuse of the Regulation and probably by twisting its meaning that Mr. Gandhi has been arrested under it.

Further, let us see who are the persons to be arrested under it :—

(i) "Against whom there may not be sufficient ground to institute any judicial proceedings." Mr. Gandhi had been openly (and even in his first letter to the Viceroy) writing and saying things for which many others have been sent to jail. Moreover, he had been breaking the salt-laws repeatedly after reaching Dandi. So there were sufficient grounds to institute judicial proceedings against him. It was unnecessary to detain him without trial. If tried, he would not have attempted to shield himself by denying or concealing anything done by him.

(ii) "When such proceedings may not be adapted to the nature of the case" As judicial proceedings have been instituted against other persons for doing what Mr. Gandhi did, "such judicial proceedings" were certainly "adapted to the nature of the case" of Mr. Gandhi.

(iii) "When such proceedings.... may for some other reasons be undesirable or improper." This clause provides ample scope for executive arbitrariness, often euphemistically called executive discretion. It need not be discussed here whether the servants of the East India Company were justified in arming themselves with such arbitrary powers; but certainly in India under the British Crown, when it is claimed there is "Dominion status in action," not the least remnant of such powers should be left. One cannot definitely say why in Mr. Gandhi's case judicial proceedings were considered undesirable or improper by the Bombay Government; one can only guess.

Even during the trial of ordinary political leaders, there is occasionally noise and sometimes disturbance. The Bombay Government probably "feared the multitude, because they took him for a prophet" (Matthew XXI, 46) But it was not beyond the resources of that Government to make arrangements for keeping the peace during his

trial. The fears or incapacity of administrators ought not to lead to the deprivation of any citizen's rights.

Another probable reason why Mr. Gandhi was not tried may be that, whatever the charges preferred against him, imprisonment for them could be only for a definite period, whether short or long. But it is the intention of the Bombay Government to detain him for as long a period as it desires—the words used in the warrant for his arrest are, "imprisonment during the pleasure of the Government." This may be a valid reason of State, but it is not a legal or equitable justification for depriving a man of his liberty for an indefinite period without regular trial.

There may have been a third reason. If brought to trial in open court, Gandhiji would probably have made a statement setting out his reasons for starting the civil disobedience movement, and this statement might have been an arraignment of the British Government. This statement would have reached the four corners of the earth, soon or late. Whether right or wrong, there would have been many people in the world ready to believe in the Mahatma's arraignment. It is probable that the Bombay Government did not like to be confronted with such an indictment before the tribunal of the world public.

Why Bombay Government Arrested Gandhi

Just as some ruling and titular Maharajas, some landholders, some notabilities and many others have begun to condemn civil disobedience after the Press Ordinance has made it practically penal for newspapers to attempt to refute such condemnation, so the Bombay Government issued its reasons for arresting Mahatma Gandhi after arresting him, and making it impossible for him to attempt to refute its charges against him. Even murderers are allowed an opportunity to exculpate themselves. To deny such opportunity to Mr. Gandhi is not sportsmanlike.

The first charge against Mr. Gandhi is thus stated :

The campaign of civil disobedience, of which Mr. Gandhi has been the chief instigator and leader, has resulted in widespread defiance of law and order and in grave disturbances of the public peace in every part of India. Professedly non-violent, it has inevitably, like every similar movement in the

past, led to acts of violence, which have as the days pass become more frequent. While Mr. Gandhi has continued to deplore these outbreaks of violence, his protests against the conduct of his unruly followers have become weaker and weaker and it is evident that he is no longer able to control them.

It is true that there has been widespread defiance of law. Mahatma Gandhi wanted that the salt laws should be defied and he is responsible for their defiance. But he wanted the satyagrahis to be non-violent, and it has yet to be proved that all of them, or a majority of them or even a small appreciable number of them laid violent hands on anybody or even retaliated after being assaulted in the most brutal manner. We make this guarded statement, as we cannot honestly say that we are in possession of the detailed accounts of the behaviour of all satyagrahis during the last two months. Law and order have been broken, no doubt. But the violent disturbers of the public peace have not been the satyagrahis. It is well known that there is a party in the country outside Congress ranks which does not believe in non-violence. The debate and voting on the last Congress resolution condemning the attempt to wreck the Viceroy's train showed that among Congressmen themselves there is a minority which does not believe in non-violence. Mr. Gandhi has all along been fully aware of the existence of these groups. In his first letter to the Viceroy he wrote:

It is common cause that, however disorganized and, for the time being, insignificant, it may be, the party of violence is gaining ground and making itself felt. Its end is the same as mine. But I am convinced that it cannot bring the desired relief to the dumb millions. And the conviction is growing deeper and deeper in me that nothing but unadulterated non-violence can check the organized violence of the British Government.

Many think that non-violence is not an active force. My experience, limited though it undoubtedly is, shows that non-violence can be an intensely active force. It is my purpose to set in motion that force as well against the organized violent force of British rule as the unorganized violent force of the growing party of violence. To sit still would be to give rein to both the forces, above mentioned. Having an unquestioning and immovable faith in the efficacy of non-violence, as I know it, it would be sinful on my part to wait any longer.

It is not his fault that his attempt to counteract "the unorganized violent force of the growing party of violence" has not been completely successful. There is, moreover, "the organized violent force of the British rule." All who have read the accounts of alleged police and military

excesses in various places and believe at least some of these accounts to be true, think that some of the guardians of law and order have been in those places the disturbers of the public peace. Their behaviour may have naturally provoked all but the strict followers of Gandhi to retaliate.

There are, besides, hooligans whose profession it is to turn any abnormal situation to their own advantage. Agents provocateurs may also be at work. When there are so many groups of probable disturbers of the public peace, it is unfair to hold Mr. Gandhi responsible for the disturbances.

It is illogical to conclude that it is Gandhi-ji's non-violent movement which has led to acts of violence. When there was no civil disobedience in the country, there were grave disturbances of public peace. What led to them? *Post hoc ergo propter hoc* ("After this, therefore on account of it") is a familiar logical fallacy.

We believe there would have been disturbances of the public peace even if Mr. Gandhi had not started his non-violent movement;—probably there would have been more of them. It is probable that the party of violence as a whole has been waiting to see whether Gandhi can win Swaraj by his non-violent methods and that only the more impatient adherents of that party are breaking out into sporadic disorders.

It is not true to say that Mr. Gandhi's followers are "unruly." They are under strict discipline, including self-discipline; so much so that they bear all assaults without retaliation. As his followers are not unruly, their conduct is not generally such as to call for protests. In any case it is news to us that "his protests.....have become weaker and weaker," and "that he is no longer able to control them." Now that he is in prison, even his weak "protests," supposing they were needed, are silenced and he is no longer in a position even to try to control his followers, if they required to be controlled. That is one result of his incarceration, though such a result may have been unintended.

It is not only some officials in Bombay but some officials in other provinces, too, who have tried to prove that Gandhi's followers have become violent, and these officials condemn such violence. If these officials are sincere in this condemnation of violence, they should

also either promptly enquire into and contradict all allegations of police excesses or equally promptly condemn all such excesses. Instead, we find everybody, including Mr. Wedgwood Benn, praising the marvellous restraint and moderation and splendid services of the police. Evidently, all these gentlemen either do not read the unofficial accounts of contemporary events or disbelieve them totally. But whatever the causes of the un-mixed praise of the police, it is to the interest of the Government that the public should not be allowed to believe that the officials want only the non-official public to be non-violent but not their own men. We are far from stating or suggesting that all policemen have behaved in an undesirable manner. Some have not done so.

Some officials may say that though the civil disobedience movement may not have directly led to violence, it has produced an atmosphere which is favourable to acts of violence. With reference to such an argument we should like to point out that when Mr. Gandhi first started the non-violent non-co-operation movement political murders and similar political crimes and attempts at them decreased in number. This is a historical fact. The present civil disobedience movement is also non-violent. It has also counteracted, though not to the full extent, the policy of the parties of violence. It has also to be stated that the bureaucracy will be able to realize by sober thinking the extent of its own responsibility for the creation of the aforesaid atmosphere. If official measures, actions and policy led people to believe that in the opinion of the Government, force was the best and the ultimate remedy and the best and most effective means to be resorted to under various different circumstances, would it be a matter for surprise if some shortsighted and unspiritually-minded members of the public thought that for them also force was the best means for attaining their ends and if they acted accordingly? Is it improbable or incredible that, convinced of the futility of praying, petitioning, memorializing, protesting, exhorting and reasoning, as on the one hand, Mr. Gandhi has started civil disobedience, so on the other hand, the parties of violence have begun to follow their own methods?

Other Reasons for Arresting Mr. Gandhi

Some other reasons for Mr. Gandhi's arrest are stated by the Bombay Government in the following paragraph:

It is naturally in Gujarat, where his personal influence is greatest and through which he marched from Ahmedabad to Dandi, that the effects of his campaign have been most felt. In this area, but chiefly in certain Talukas, his followers have instituted a severe form of social boycott, accompanied by threats of expulsion from caste, by insult and contumely, and even by deprivation of food and water, whereby they have induced a very considerable number of the *patels* (village head-men) to resign, thus causing serious inconvenience to the administration. Even private persons who have remained loyal to Government have been exposed to this boycott, not excluding the members of the depressed classes, of whose interests Mr. Gandhi used to claim to be the protector. At the later stages, finding that neither the breach of the salt laws nor the picketing of liquor shops and the boycott of foreign cloth were producing the results he desired, Mr. Gandhi has on several occasions incited the cultivators to withhold payment of land revenue and still more recently he has declared that he intends to march on the salt works at Dharasana or Chhargwada and to take possession of the salt collected at those places, which is the property not of Government but of the salt manufacturers. Such a raid could not, whatever protestations may be made, be conducted without the use of force and would inevitably be resisted by force by the *agrias* (salt-makers) and the police.

It was shown in *Young India* before Mr. Mahadev Desai's imprisonment and Mr. Gandhi's arrest that the accusation that *patels* had been led to resign by intimidation or indirect force of any kind by Mr. Gandhi's followers was unfounded. That charge has been repeated here.

Generally speaking, we are not in favour of depriving people of food and water, even if those persons were Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and the volunteers led by her! We hope none of those who kept them without food and water for long hours in the burning sun have been imprisoned without trial.

Undoubtedly people should have the liberty to decide with whom they are to have social relations and business transactions. If shopkeepers do not like any particular Government servants and refuse to sell any articles to them, they ought not to be coerced, they should be reasoned with. By the by, what does the Bombay Government say to Mr. V. J. Patel's charge that the officials of the Government of India socially boycotted him when he was President of the Assembly? Has any official been arrested for this offence?

It is a relief to find from the words, "the members of the depressed classes, of whose interests Mr. Gandhi used to claim to be the protector," that official publications can pretend to be humorous and satirical. The official who indited this gibe may rest assured that Mr. Gandhi will, in spite of it, go down to history as the man who has done most to change the attitude of the educated and orthodox public towards the depressed classes and to compel the British bureaucracy to declare themselves as the only friends of those classes.

The Bombay Government has ferreted out from the hidden recesses of Mr. Gandhi's mind the secret of why he incited cultivators to withhold payment of land-revenue and why he wanted to "raid" Dharasana: it is because his other slogans had failed! It is to be presumed, that is correct history.

Non-payment of taxes is a method of civil disobedience which the Press Ordinance has labelled as an offence for journalists and printers to advocate or encourage. But passive resistance, as conducted by Mr. Gandhi in South Africa, was declared to be constitutional by Lord Hardinge. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, the greatest of Indian Liberals, held non-payment of taxes to be a constitutional method, though he advised extreme caution in resorting to it. In all democratically governed countries "grievances before supplies" is a political principle. In a country not democratically governed, if people resort to non-payment of taxes, in indirect resort of that principle, they must of pursuance of that principle, they must of course pay the penalty for such conduct, but the principle will not become a criminal one in democracies. In India, in several places the method of non-payment of taxes was adopted in recent years for obtaining redress of grievances. Those who did not pay taxes were punished in some way or other, but neither Mr. Gandhi nor anybody else who conducted the no-tax campaigns, were then arrested and detained without trial.

As for the Dharasana "raid," Mr. Gandhi has said in his second letter to the Viceroy what he meant by the word "raid" and why he wanted to undertake it. Therein he has also commented on the official statement that Dharasana is private property. Last of all the Bombay Government say:

The Government of Bombay have, ever since Mr. Gandhi left his *ashram* at Ahmedabad, pursued a policy of the utmost toleration. They have been content to risk the accusation of weakness in the firm conviction that the attack on the salt laws,

if violence were excluded from the methods by which it was conducted, must before long come to a peaceful ending. Events have shown that the laws of nature are inexorable and that the history of the earlier non-co-operation movement, with its accompaniments of blood and fire, would repeat itself, if Mr. Gandhi's campaign were allowed to continue unchecked.

The Bombay Government claim that the fact that they had not arrested Mr. Gandhi earlier than they did was due to toleration pure and simple. That they exercised toleration *in his case*, though not in the case of other leaders, is true. That toleration may have been real toleration and it may be that Mr. Gandhi was arrested by mandate of the Home Government, who in their turn were compelled to take this step to stop the yells of the Die-hards. But it may also have been due to many causes of a different character. At first British and Anglo-Indian papers looked upon contraband salt-making as something comic and farcical which would be shortlived. Probably officials also thought so, and hence they did not want to give it a long lease of life by arresting the chief "instigator." When it was found that Mr. Gandhi's troupe of comic actors was not insignificant in numbers and was daily receiving new recruits, the official policy probably changed into that of arresting the other leaders and thus isolating him and leaving him without lieutenants. Perhaps it is probable that in view of Mr. Gandhi's reputation and position in the world, it was thought inadvisable to arrest him and thereby offend world public opinion, before any serious disturbances had taken place. All these are mere guesses, to be taken for what they are worth.

The Bombay Government say that they had "the firm conviction that the attack on the salt laws, if violence were excluded from the methods by which it was conducted, must before long come to a peaceful ending." We think the conviction would have been more reasonable if it had been said that "the attack on the salt laws, if violence were excluded *both* from the methods by which it was conducted *as well as from the official methods by which it was sought to be baffled*, must before long come to a peaceful ending." But violence was not excluded from the official methods.

It would be out of place to discuss here "the history of the earlier non-co-operation movement" and to what extent it was accompanied with blood and fire, and why.

Private individuals of high character like Mahatma Gandhi unreservedly admit their faults and shortcomings and blunders. But officials in no country, even when they are thoroughly honest, admit even their partial responsibility for any untoward event or situation—groups of officials in their collective capacity certainly never do so. They are infallible and impeccable. Therefore, it would be futile to try to produce in official minds even the disposition to suspect that perhaps there might be a very remote possibility that they and their agents might have something to do, directly or indirectly, with the genesis of disorders, disturbances and unrest. So we must leave them in the quiet enjoyment of the conviction that Mahatma Gandhi, whose creed is *ahimsa* and whose conduct is in accordance with it, is the direct or indirect cause and source of all violence and the bureaucracy whose creed and conduct are not based on *ahimsa* are not in the least directly or indirectly responsible for any outbreak of violence.

"The Statesman's" Accuracy

The *Statesman* writes :

"All the excesses at Sholapur have been on the side of the mob...."

On the other hand, the Bombay Government's *communiqué*, describing why and how troops were sent to Sholapur and martial law was proclaimed there, contains the following paragraph :

"Nearly all the rumours of hideous brutalities by the mob which have been freely circulated are without foundation. It is not true that policemen were tied together and burnt alive, nor that one had his eyes gouged out, nor is there any suspicion whatever that two were thrown into a well. It is hoped that all the 8 missing men will yet be found."

The Premier on Labour's Indian Policy

Speaking the other day at Seaham, Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald said that when the Labour Government was in office they wanted to appoint a commission "which would have advanced Indian self-government very substantially."

"Just at that moment a majority (of what nationality? Ed. M. R.) decided that something (what thing? Ed. M. R.) should be done in India which made it absolutely impossible for us to take that step."

"In 1929, we came in determined to carry out the pledges given again and again by this country to India that she was going (when? Ed., M. R.) to enjoy Dominion Status."

But "just at that moment,.....the whole thing was put into the melting pot by" the civil disobedience movement, the Premier said. But this movement would not have been started if Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Wedgwood Benn or Lord Irwin had told Mr. Gandhi the definite early date on which India "was going to enjoy Dominion Status." Why did the Premier ignore this fact? A vague promise is no promise at all.

The Premier concluded by saying :

We are going through unchanged in our conception of what the [undated] Indian goal is, but will never yield to forces which are contrary to democratic Government and representative responsibility."

A less brave utterance was not expected. But a sentence in Mr. Wedgwood Benn's speech in the Commons on May 26 would appear to show that the British people did yield to such alleged undemocratic and unrepresentative forces. Speaking of the growth of self-government in the British Commonwealth of Nations, Mr. Benn said that "sometimes it has come after clash and conflict." However, that is merely of academic historical interest to us Indians. Mahatma Gandhi wants to convert Englishmen by the force of his and his countrymen's sufferings, not by physical force or violence. He and his countrymen want that the British people should yield to the forces of humanity, justice, truth and righteousness. It is to be hoped that the Premier, the Labour Government and the British people are not determined not to yield to these forces.

Tributes to the Indian Police

In the course of the recent Indian debate in the British House of Commons, many members, including Mr. Benn, paid handsome tributes to the efficiency, restraint and moderation with which Indian policemen have been doing their duty in these difficult times. Some of them undoubtedly deserve such praise. But what of the numerous allegations of excesses and brutalities made against many of them, in many cases by eye-witnesses of unquestionable veracity, in newspapers all over India? Do these news never reach England? Or are they all dismissed as mere fiction?

From what Mr. Benn has said in the Commons it is probable that such news sent by telegraph are stopped on the ground that they are "intended to further civil disobedience."

What Happened at Peshawar ?

There is a popular political demonstration ; the excited mob jeer and throw stones at the police who show exemplary moderation and patience ; this encourages the mob still more, and the attack grows more furious ; at last in sheer self-defence the police or the military are compelled to fire ; dozens of men are wounded and a few killed ; exaggerated rumours about the number of men killed and wounded are not to be believed ; this has been the happy official formula which has covered all the shooting incidents that have luridly punctuated the political movement of the last few weeks. And this was also the formula which formed the basis of the official *communiqué* on the happenings at Peshawar. Questions in the House of Commons, repeated demands in India for an independent enquiry or an uncensored news service have not succeeded in eliciting new facts from either the Secretary of State for India or the India Government. The Congress enquiry committee has been refused entry into the Frontier Province, and the reply to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's appeal to be allowed to take relief to the sufferers from the disturbances, though less curt, has not been less decisive.

The upshot of it all is that for some time to come yet, we shall not know the full details of the Peshawar incident. Meanwhile there is no want of stories which profess to give eye-witnesses' account of it. It is wise not to place too much reliance on them. Yet there is one point on which the stories circulating in Congress and military circles agree to such an extent as to give a *prima facie* impression of probability. We are referring to the actual shooting at Peshawar. The following circumstantial account of this incident is taken from the statement circulated by Mr. M. Abdul Qadir Kasuri, President, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee and published in *Young India*, *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* and some Punjab papers. It says :

By this time, however, a troop of English soldiers had reached the spot and without any

warning began firing into the crowd in which there were women and children also present. Now the crowd gave a good example of the lesson of non-violence that had been instilled into them. When those in front fell down wounded by the shots, those behind came forward with their breasts bared and exposed themselves to the fire, so much so that some people got as many as 21 bullet wounds in their bodies and all the people stood their ground without getting into a panic. A young Sikh boy came and stood in front of a soldier and asked him to fire at him, which the soldier unhesitatingly did, killing him. Similarly an old woman seeing her relatives and friends being wounded came forward, was shot and fell down wounded. An old man with a four year old child on his shoulders, unable to brook this brutal slaughter advanced, asking the soldier to fire at him. He was taken at his word, and he also fell down wounded. Scores of such instances will come out on further enquiry. The crowd kept standing at the spot facing the soldiers and were fired at from time to time, until there were heaps of wounded and dying lying about. The Anglo-Indian paper of Lahore, which represents the official view, itself wrote to the effect that the people came forward one after another to face the firing and when they fell wounded they were dragged back and others came forward to be shot at. This state of things continued from 11 till 5 o'clock in the evening. When the number of corpses became too many the ambulance cars of the Government took them away.

Now for what purports to be a military version of the same affair. It is given by "Scrutator" of the *Indian Daily Mail*. "Scrutator," we understand, is the editor, Mr Wilson himself, who was formerly the editor of the *Pioneer*. We shall quote the whole passage from the *Indian Daily Mail* for May 10, 1930 :

A fairly senior military officer told me yesterday, with undisguised joy, some completely new details about the shooting at Peshawar. "You can take it from me," he said, "that the shooting went on for very much longer than has been stated in the newspapers. We taught the blighters a lesson which they won't forget and if we were only allowed to repeat this, there will be no more trouble. Our fellows stood there shooting down the agitators and leaders who were pointed out to them by the Police. It was not a case of a few volleys, it was a case of continual shooting."

"Scrutator" does not "pretend to believe for one moment that this bloodthirsty fellow really knows what happened at Peshawar." This scepticism, unreasonable as it seems to us, is no more than natural in him. An Englishman should at least have some qualms of conscience before he ceased to believe in the chivalry of those who wear the British uniform. So far as our reading goes, such anecdotes only too the line unconsciously, with stories heard during the

great war, when a British Corps Commander would be saying cheerfully after a battle: "I fancy our fellows were not taking many prisoners this morning," and when a British General would be enthusiastically relating how in a captured trench British soldiers had been killing off German appellants for quarter, and how when another German appeared with his hands up one of them called out, "Ere! where's 'Arry? 'E aint 'ad one yet," and concluded with the explanatory remark that that was the "fighting spirit." (*Disenchantment*—Montague, pp. 145-46).

According to what one's predilection may be, one may wait for the report of the official Peshawar enquiry committee and another for that of the non-official, and a third for those of both before forming his final conclusions about many things relating to the Peshawar disturbances. But in the meanwhile one may without prejudice admire the cool courage displayed by numbers of Peshawaris. In the statement circulated by M. Abdul Qadir Kasuri and published in many newspapers, we read:

"Two facts are noteworthy in this connection. One is that of all the dead collected by the Congressmen there was not one single instance even where there was the mark of the bullet at the back—in spite of the presence of the British troops patrolling the city the picketing went on without a break and the batches of volunteers were sent according to the programme."

Official and Non-official Peshawar Enquiry Committees

Comments on the genesis of the Peshawar disturbances, on what actually took place during the disturbances and on allied matters, must be reserved, now that two committees of enquiry, one official and the other non-official, are in session taking evidence. It need only be observed now that the refusal of entry to the N.-W. Frontier Province to such men as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. V. J. Patel, etc., cannot but make the public suspect that officialdom in that province is afraid of the full facts being known, and may also prejudice the public mind beforehand against the conclusions of the official committee, though both members of the official committee are High Court judges.

But the terms of reference of this committee are not sufficiently comprehensive. It has been asked only to enquire into and report on the disturbances which took place in Peshawar City on April 23 and the measures taken on that day to deal with them. But no correct conclusions can be arrived at without considering the events of a prior date which led to the incidents of April 23 and also without considering what happened subsequently. It is well known that the refusal of the Government of the N.-W. E. Province to allow a Punjab Congress deputation to proceed to the former province to enquire into certain grievances of the Frontier Province people led to the events of April 23.

The two High Court judges cannot find out the truth if people cannot freely and fearlessly come before them and tell them all that they know unreservedly. Peshawar having been under military and police control and hence terrorized, it is not very probable that people will freely come forward to give evidence and fearlessly tell all they know. Nay, it is not unlikely that many who were eye-witnesses of the incidents would be frightened away by the police, as happened during the Hunter Committee's sittings in the Punjab a decade ago.

At present the local Congress leaders are under arrest, and, as the *Sind Observer* rightly says, "there is nobody to marshal the non-official evidence. In the present condition of Peshawar, very few local lawyers will dare to appear for the Congress people and their sympathizers." So the Karachi paper suggests that

"If this enquiry is to be a full and complete one, the Congress leaders who are either under arrest or have been jailed, should be released temporarily to marshal evidence and to engage the necessary legal help."

The Government of India's Press communique says: "Subject to the exercise by the Chief Commissioner under the N.-W. F. P. Security Regulation (1922) of his powers of exclusion from the Province—any person injured in the riots and the next of kin of any person who was killed or has died from the injuries received during the riots may be represented before the committee by counsel." It is quite clear from this that no helpers of the people of Peshawar outside the North-Western Frontier Province will be permitted by the Chief Commissioner to go there to take a hand in the presentation of their case before the two judges. Under such circumstances, and the disorganized condition of Peshawar, which is under military rule, we should be surprised if the enquiry would be as complete, thorough and exhaustive as it ought to be. The Court is, no doubt, a highly

This is splendid ! But, unfortunately, the Secretary of State for India himself gave the whole game away when in reply to a question put by Sir William Davison (C. South Kensington) told the House of Commons that :

"There was no evidence that Communist agents were responsible for any of the recent disturbances in India, although the use of red uniform and the carrying of the hammer and sickle as badges were mentioned in some of the official telegrams."

But as communications to the Frontier are strictly censored and the whole area effectually insulated, we daresay this indiscretion of Mr. Bann's will cause no embarrassment to the publicity experts of the Frontier Province.

The Duty of Lying

It was samples of official or officially inspired propaganda of this kind perhaps which prompted Mahatma Gandhi to write to Lord Irwin that :

"The officials, I regret to have to say, have not hesitated to publish falsehoods to the people even during the last five weeks."

The soul of truth that he is, (though incidentally it must be mentioned that the *Morning Post* called him a crafty *Bania**), he does not understand that there are times when lying becomes a duty. There is no more witty exposition of this duty than a chapter in C. E. Montague's famous book, *Disenchantment*. It was a melancholy lesson that war propaganda taught. At the end of the war one of his comrades in the trenches came and told him :

"They tell me we've pulled through at last all right because our propagandist dished out better lies than what the Germans did. So I say to myself, 'If tellin' lies is all that bloody good in war, what bloody good is tellin' truth in peace.'"

Yet, as Mr. Montague writes,

Most of the fibs that we used in the war were mere nothings, and clumsy at that. When the enemy raided our trenches in the dead winter season, took fifty prisoners, and did as he liked for a while—so much as he liked that a court of inquiry was afterwards held and a colonel deprived of his command—we said in our official *communiqué* that a hostile raiding party had entered our trenches but was "speedily driven out, leaving a number of dead."

But Mr. Montague hoped for better things for the future. Then, he wondered, whether they would

"mobilize our whole Press, conscribe it for

* But pace the *Morning Post* the English are a nation of *Banias*.

active service under a single control, a—let us be frank—a Father-General of Lies, the unshaming strategic and tactical lies of the 'the great wars' which 'make ambition virtue,' and sometimes make mendacity a virtue too?"

In any case,

"Under the new dispensation we should have to appoint on the declaration of war, if we had not done it already, a large Staff Department of Press Camouflage. Everything is done best by those who have practised it longest. The best inventors and disseminators of what was untrue in our hour of need would be those who had made its manufacture and sale their trade in our hours of ease. The most disreputable of successful journalists and 'publicity experts' would naturally man the upper grades of the war staff. The reputable journalists would labour under them, trying their best to conform, as you say in drill, to the movements of the front rank. For in this new warfare the journalist untruthful from previous habit and training would have just that advantage over the journalist of character which the Regular soldier had over the New Army officer or man in the old."

The author of *Disenchantment* would probably be for recruiting only British journalists for the suggested Staff Department of Press Camouflage. But the claims of Anglo-Indian (old style) journalists should not be overlooked. And, were it not for the colour bar, one might even commend to his notice the qualifications of a very few Liberal and Swarajist journalists in India.

But probably Mr. Montague or some other British humorist will himself find out all this in course of time. For, he would be a bold man who would say that all the lessons of the great war and all that can be garnered from Britain's far-flung empire have been fully assimilated and utilized by the British people !

The Duty of Christians

There is an editorial note on the present political crisis in India in *The National Christian Council Review*, the organ of the National Christian Council of India, Burma, and Ceylon, in which it is stated :

"...there has come into being a campaign of civil disobedience that, however non-violent in principle, tends inevitably to stir the passions of men. We gladly pay tribute to Government and Mr. Gandhi for the admirable restraint that has marked the campaign so far ; but recognize that the strain imposed, particularly on the police and the more adventuresome devotees of disobedience, is one not easy to be borne. As Christians our duty is clear : We must uphold at all hazards the law of the land, and at the same time see that it is administered with equity." (Italics ours).

We wish the editors had not added the last clause. For lip service to high principles, convenient as it is for politicians, leaves a very disagreeable impression when it comes from the mouth of a missionary. Let Christians uphold the law of the land by all means, but why drag in equity? Is every law of every land equitable? Is every law of British-ruled India equitable? "If Christ came to" India today, he would at least be imprisoned without trial.

Perhaps, Christian missionaries have not yet forgotten the lesson taught by the early history of the Christian Church, when the non-violent determination of their co-religionists to assert their freedom of conscience led inevitably to popular riots, sedition and offences against the majesty of the Roman Empire, and in order to save the social fabric from the attacks of these dangerous "revolutionaries", persecution had to be sanctioned not only by the Neros and the Domitians, but even by great and noble emperors like Trajan, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, and Diocletian.

The Roman Emperors were wrong, but they had their point of view, just as in our opinion the British rulers of India are at present in the wrong but have their intelligible point of view. This is our consistent position. But does the editor of the *National Christian Council Review* uphold both the law of the ancient Roman Empire and the law of the modern British Empire in India? It is noteworthy that he gives equal praise to Government and Gandhi for admirable restraint. Is it because, as Shakespeare's Fluellen would say, both Government and Gandhi begin with the same letter?

For Law and Order and—Booze.

We have spoken above of the Roman Emperors who persecuted the Christians. Yet we do not remember that any emperor sanctioned the persecution of the Christians for the sake of excise revenue. Law and Order not likely to inspire much respect or fear when they parade the land in the company of booze. And that was what happened at Mymensingh, where as a result of the police shooting on May 11, nearly one hundred and fifty people were wounded more or less seriously, and one Muhammadan volunteer, who was severely wounded,

died in hospital. What is written below is based on an account furnished by an eyewitness who holds a responsible position and is a competent observer:

The shooting at Mymensingh took place as a result of the picketing of the Government country-liquor and intoxicating drugs depôt by the Congress volunteers. All the country-liquor and other intoxicants required by the dealers of the district are delivered from three depôts, one at Mymensingh, and the other two at Bhairab Bazar and Tangail respectively. Of these that at Mymensingh is by far the largest. Congress picketing at this depôt, therefore, was particularly affecting the excise revenue of the district. For about a fortnight before the day of shooting the volunteers had been picketing at the gates of the depôt and dissuading the vendors who came to buy their stores by entreaty and persuasion. In every case the dealers complied with their request and went away without making any purchases. There was moral pressure certainly, but no one complained of intimidation or violence.

On the 14th, the last day on which delivery had to be given of a large consignment of country-liquor and *ganja* upon the indent of a number of excise vendors who had deposited the money at the treasury, failing which the orders would be cancelled, the authorities took more energetic steps. At about 2-30 p.m. the District Magistrate, Mr. G. S. Dutt, the founder of the Saroj Nalini Dutt Memorial Association of Calcutta and an ardent professed advocate of social reform, accompanied by his subordinate officers, motored down to the warehouse to see about the safe delivery of country-liquor and *ganja* for the consumption of the people of the district. He, we understand, told the volunteers that they might picket at the gate, but if there were any violence the consequences would be serious, and then left the place. Soon after, a large force of police constables and thirty men of the Armed Police arrived upon the scene. All of them fell in within the compound of the warehouse, which was fenced in by wire, while the volunteers and the public waited outside.

At about 3 p.m. a cart laden with two barrels and sixteen tins of country-liquor, and about thirty-six scers of *ganja* came out of the compound escorted by the police. The volunteers at once threw themselves on the ground and the cart could not advance.

The officer-in-charge gave orders to the police to remove the volunteers. The policemen caught hold of them one by one and began to throw them away from in front of the cart. But as soon as some volunteers were thrown away others rushed in and took their place. This went on for some time, and when it was seen that the volunteers could not be removed by this method order was given to beat them. Then began a continuous use of *lathis* on the prostrate bodies of the volunteers, who neither stirred nor offered any resistance. They were beaten, trampled upon, kicked and poked by the policemen. Their behaviour, we are assured, provoked the admiration—strange as it may seem—even of the officials present, one of whom, it is alleged, said that "the volunteers were doing very well and were non-violent."

By this time about three thousand people had gathered round. They were naturally excited by the sight of inoffensive and unresisting men being beaten in this manner. Some of them, swept off their feet by emotion, rushed in and joined the volunteers on the ground, while others began to throw brickbats at the police. This was the signal for the firing, the order for which was given by the Additional District Magistrate, Mr. S. C. Ghatak.

While the firing was going on on one side of the warehouse compound, the excited crowd on the other fell upon the liquor cart, which had made some progress, broke open the barrels and the tins and set fire to the cart. During the firing some of the crowd ran away but the volunteers and the greater majority remained where they were and took their chance of getting wounded.

When the firing stopped a still greater crowd gathered round the place. Their attitude was very threatening, but the volunteers entreated them to remain non-violent. In any case, no attack was made upon the police. After some time Mr. Dutt, the Magistrate, came down and himself escorted back the police and the officials to their lines.

The number of wounded in this particular incident was about one hundred and fifty, of whom about 87 were admitted into the hospital. Picketing is being carried on as before, and no liquor is being taken out from this depôt.

"Gandhi On His Campaign."

The following has appeared in the *Sunday Times* of London, dated April 27, 1930 :

We are indebted to the Associated Press of America for the full text of the following message, which Mr. Gandhi has addressed to the people of the United States :—

The national demand is not for immediate establishment of Independence, but is a preliminary step to a Conference, that must take place if independence is to be established peacefully, to remove certain prime grievances, chiefly economic and moral. These are set forth in the clearest possible terms in my letter, mis-called an ultimatum to the Viceroy. Those grievances include the Salt Tax, which in its incidence, falls with equal pressure upon rich as well as poor and is over 1000 per cent. of the cost price. Having been made a monopoly, it has deprived tens of thousands of people of their supplementary occupation and the artificially heavy cost of salt has made it very difficult, if not impossible, for poor people to give enough salt to their cattle and to their land.

This unnatural monopoly is sustained by laws, which are only so-called, but which are a denial of law. They give arbitrary powers to police, known to be corrupt, to lay their hands without warrant on innocent people, to confiscate their property and otherwise molest them in a hundred ways. Civil-resistance against the laws has caught the popular imagination as nothing else has within my experience. Hundreds of thousands of people, including women or children from many villages, have participated in the open manufacture and sale of contraband salt.

ALLEGED ASSAULTS

This resistance has been answered by barbarous and unmanly repressions. Instead of arresting people the authorities have violated the persons of people who have refused to part with salt, held generally in their fists. To open their fists, their knuckles have been broken, their necks have been pressed, they have been even indecently assaulted till they have been rendered senseless. Some of these assaults have taken place in the presence of hundreds and thousands of people, who, although well able to protect the victims and retaliate, being under a pledge of non-violence, have not done so. It is true, that violence has broken out in Calcutta, Karachi, Chittagong, and now Peshawar. The Calcutta and Karachi events should be isolated from those at Chittagong and Peshawar. The Calcutta and Karachi incidents were an impulsive outburst on the arrest of popular leaders. The Chittagong and Peshawar incidents, though also caused for the same reason, seem to have been serious and well-planned affairs, though wholly unconnected with each other Chittagong being in the extreme east and Peshawar being in the north-west border of India.

These disturbances have so far not affected other parts of India, where civil disobedience has been going on in organized fashion and on a mass scale since the 6th instant. People in other parts have remained non-violent in spite of great provocation.

At the same time, I admit that there is need for caution but I can say 'without the least hesitation that, consistently with the plan of civil disobedience, every precaution conceivable is being taken to prevent civil disobedience from being used as an occasion for doing violence. It should be noted that in Karachi, 7 wounded persons, of whom 2 have died of their wounds, were volunteers engaged in keeping the peace and restraining mob fury. It is the opinion of eye-witnesses that the firing in Karachi was wholly unjustified and that there was no firing in the air or at the legs in the first instance.

INCENSING PEOPLE

In fact, the Government have lost no opportunity of incensing people. Many of the best and purest and the most self-sacrificing leaders have been arrested and imprisoned, in many instances with mock trials. Sentences, though, for the same offence, have varied with the idiosyncrasies of the magistrates. In several instances they have been for more than 12 months with hard labour on well-known citizens. The enthusiasm of the people has up to now increased with every conviction. Thousands of people regard the manufacture of contraband salt as part of their daily routine. In any other part of the world with a Government at all responsible to public opinion, the Salt Tax would have been repealed long since, but whether now or later, repealed it will be, if the present existing atmosphere of resistance abides as it promises to do.

That this is a movement of self-purification is abundantly proved by the fact that women have come into it in large numbers and are organizing the picketing of liquor-shops. Thousands have taken vows to abstain from intoxicating liquor. In Ahmedabad, a strong labour contra-receipts of canteens have dropped to a 19th per cent and are still dropping. A similar manifestation is taking place in the district of Surat. Women have also taken up the question of a boycott of foreign cloth. It is spreading all over India. People are making bonfires of foreign cloth in their possession. Khadi, hand-spun cloth, is so much in demand that the existing stock is well-nigh exhausted. The spinning wheel is much in demand and people are beginning to reweave more and more the necessaries of reviving hand-spinning in the cottages of 700,000 villages of India. In my humble opinion, a struggle so free from violence has a message far beyond the borders of India. I have no manner of doubt that after all the sacrifice that has already been made since April 6, the spirit of the people will be sustained throughout till India has become independent and free to make her contribution to the progress of humanity.

(Sd.) M. K. GANNI

Mr. Benn on Press Censorship

In his statement on Press censorship, made in the Commons, Mr. Benn said in part:

"There was no censorship of the air mail, nor any form of censorship other than that derived from the Indian Telegraphs Act and the rules

framed thereunder. He had now ascertained that, except for the time in Peshawar when conditions were exceptional, interference with telegraph messages was confined to those intended to further civil disobedience."

The opinions of two Anglo-Indian editors on this subject are quoted below. *The Statesman* observes:

Much of the news from Sholapur that we are now able to publish has been held up in transmission. The purpose of the censorship is not plain, since little harm could have been done by the public knowing the truth about Sholapur and much harm has been done by the rumours that have been rife. There is no purpose in ruling against this kind of thing: censorship has never been intelligent since the world began, and it would be ridiculous to suppose that it would be more so in India than elsewhere. We will only say that people in India can stand being told the truth, and that if it is officially withheld the Government will speedily find that none of its communications, however truthful they may be, will be regarded as trustworthy."

Again:

The Home newspapers were able to publish tidings of Mr. Gandhi's arrest before any public report of it had reached this part of India. The news was being printed in England at about nine o'clock by Indian time on the morning of the arrest, it first reached this office four hours later.

'Scrutator' (Mr. F. J. Wilson, editor of *The Indian Daily Mail*) writes in his paper:

A friend of mine went down to Dharamsana, and described, not only exactly what he saw, but also his reactions to the scenes, which made up Wednesday's battle. Another friend of mine attended the raids on the salt pans on Sunday at Wadala. He also described exactly what he saw. Both these men thoroughly reliable, world-famous correspondents, after their messages had been held up, were told that much of what they were sending was objectionable. In one case it was argued that the message was distinctly unfriendly in tone, and objection was taken to the statement that the seeming indifference of the native police made the occasion practically a racial conflict. In the other case, a description of the beating with lathis of unwelcome men was objected to and the correspondent in order to get something through to his paper rewrote his message. [Italics ours, Ed., M. R.]

ENGLAND MUST NOT KNOW

On both these occasions the censor, or the ultimate authority in Government, was not present at the scenes described, and had nothing to bring against the direct eye-witness story of both these correspondents except second-hand reports. When it came to an argument on facts, both my friends emerged triumphant, but both of them came away with the distinct impression that Government does not know the full facts of such raids, that Government wishes to conceal the details of these occurrences, and, especially, does not wish the British public to know what is happening. For these facts I can give chapter and verse, and I am sure that there will be, and can be, no denial from Government.

A CONSPIRACY

This amounts to nothing more or less than a deliberate conspiracy to conceal the truth about the Indian situation from the British public. The press in India has been muzzled, and an attempt is now being made to muzzle the press in Great Britain.

It is well known that a cable relating to assaults on Red Cross ambulance men and the damaging of the ambulance and destruction of their medical equipment in Kalikapur was sent among others to the Secretary of State for India and that it was stopped. Was that cable "intended to further civil disobedience"? And is there legal authority to stop a telegram to the Secretary of State for India?

Contradictory Statements in the Commons

During the recent debate in the Commons, it was sought to be made out that the Gandhi movement had only a small number of adherents and they were mostly urban people, with which fact, if fact it be, one need not quarrel. If stay-at-home Britishers want to live in a fool's paradise, let them. Earl Winterton opined that, except in certain districts, the extremists "had no real contact with the peasants. Therefore, even though the movement was based on Sinn Fein, there was not so much substance behind it." Sir Samuel Hoare "commented that taking full account of the gravity of all incidents, the trouble was confined to certain definite centres, mostly urban, which seemed to show that there was no general movement against the British-raj." Mr. Wedgwood Benn himself seemed to imply some such thing when he said that "the vast majority of the people in India, even in urban areas and certainly in rural areas, pursue day by day their avocations under the benevolence of settled and ordered government."

With these opinions, explicit or implicit, contrast the following views of Mr. Wedgwood Benn, expressed on the same day and occasion:

"We are not dealing merely with ordinary outbreaks of lawlessness. If we were dealing merely with lawlessness, the task would be a very simple one. We are dealing (I do not know whether it is fully realized in this Committee) with an insurgence of national and racial aspirations."

The population of India is a predominantly rural population. If our village people have no or little part in the aspirations voiced from a thousand platforms and through numerous newspapers, how can these

be called *national* and *racial* aspirations with whose "insurgence"—mark the word—the British people have to deal?

The fact is there are more villages than towns affected by the Gandhi movement. No complete census has been taken of the villages to which the movement has spread. From certain figures published in *Young India* of May 8, we find that contraband salt is manufactured in more than 500 villages in district Champaran alone and in about 500 more villages in district Saran, both in Bihar, which is not a seaside province.

Indians do not believe in official or British estimates of the strength of popular movements in India. As for the British people, it is worse than useless to keep them in ignorance or deceive them. They are sure to have a rude awakening some day. And then?—

"To Use Weapons When Necessary"

During the Indian debate "General Knox (C) considered that the police were asked to do too much. He forecast more trouble unless the military authorities were allowed to use weapons when necessary for the maintenance of order." It is a known fact that the military authorities do use weapons. Did the worthy General then mean to suggest that they were allowed to use weapons when not necessary for the maintenance of order, and that they should be allowed to do so only when necessary for the maintenance of order?

Mr. Wedgwood Benn's Speech on India

It would require a biggish pamphlet to expose all the fallacies, inaccuracies, half-truths, and instances of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* contained in Mr. Wedgwood Benn's long, rambling and unimpressive speech in the House of Commons during the Indian debate. There is not a topic dealt with in it which Indian publicists have not discussed in detail repeatedly. Even the platitudes relating to British aims and methods in India with which he concluded his oration have no novelty in them. They are trite, stale and well-worn, and will fall flat on nationalist India.

He has drawn a roseate picture of India's trade and finance, on which subjects the

reader is requested to peruse Dr. H. Sinha's notes in this issue. Mr. Benn has not told the world that most of India's trade is in foreign hands, and that the sterling loans, including the recent £ 7 million one at a high rate of interest, mean not only an economic loss to India, but are methods of draining away wealth from India and keeping her in economic and political bondage. It is untrue to say that 80 per cent. of the public debt in India is represented by productive assets, such as railways. Not to speak of previous years, even now railways are not paying concerns in the business sense, as has been shown by Dr. Sinha elsewhere in the present issue. Why is it that the price of Indian Railway stocks has fallen heavily, as shown by Dr. Sinha?

Railways are certainly a great facility. But it ought not to be ignored that they are indirectly responsible for the decay of our indigenous industries, for the exploitation of India and for the spread of diseases like malaria. In the zeal to spread railways, partly in the interests of British merchants in general and of iron-mongers in particular, our waterways have been neglected, resulting in the decay of the indigenous waterborne traffic, great damage to agriculture and marked decline in public health. Why did Mr. Benn have nothing to say on our water-ways? And on agriculture?

It would not be possible to discuss irrigation or any other large topic in the course of this note. Suffice it to say that big irrigation projects are not generally undertaken in response to popular demands. Some cotton-growing and wheat-growing tracts are irrigated, mainly or partly because Britain wants India's cotton and wheat. But Sir William Willcocks' ideas for irrigating Bengal are not looked upon with favour by British officials concerned.

"The number of jute mills have doubled," but Mr. Benn does not say that most of them belong to non-Indians.

It is a travesty of truth to suggest that the increase of duty on cotton is an example of recognition of the 'liberty' of the Government of India. Similar accuracy marks Mr. Benn's statement that "everybody has been willing to co-operate with" the Whitley Commission. Speaking on our Medical Degrees, he entirely ignores the great resentment to which the action of the British General Medical Council has given rise among Indian medical men and the lay public.

The impression which the following sentence conveys is far from the truth and will not deceive Indians, though others may be misled thereby:

"...The Government of India is looking more and more for approval and support to the Legislature and Indian public opinion, and though it may be embodied in no clauses and no schedules, that itself is a real, effective and, I believe, lasting growth in the measure of self-government which India even under the present constitution possesses."

Undoubtedly! And that is why we are now living under Ordinace-rule and why India's greatest political leader is detained in jail without trial for seeking a real measure of self-government"—to mention only two facts.

Mr. Benn has said nothing definite as to when and how Indianization of the Army is coming, that is, he is silent on a topic in which Indians are most interested. The passage devoted to the toy Royal Indian Marine contains some praise of "the present boys under training," which would have had some value if thousands of such boys were under training. "Already there is one officer, an Indian engineer sub-lieutenant." What astounding generosity! And one must be overwhelmed with a feeling of gratitude to read further that, in India inhabited by only 320 millions of people, such a large number as "two have passed for the engineer's branch and are now under training, and three appointments have been offered for competition among Indian boys on the Mercantile Marine training ship *Dufferin*!"

"The Goal is Accepted"

Repeating some words from the Viceroy's announcement, Mr. Benn said: "That policy stands. The goal is accepted," and similar words, which have been repeated *ad nauseam*. But he gave no indication as to when India was to be allowed to reach the goal. He added: "I will make bold to say that if in this Conference substantial agreement is reached, no Government would be likely to ignore its work when it came to present its proposals to Parliament." That is beautifully vague and non-committal. The representatives to the conference are to be chosen by the Government. They can be easily so chosen as to make substantial agreement impossible, or only such an agreement possible as Indian nationalists would repudiate. If, however,

even under such circumstances, a substantial agreement of an acceptable character were reached, the British Government may literally keep its promise not "to ignore it" by simply examining and rejecting it or its most important portions.

At present even the leading Liberals in India are agreed that the Round Table Conference can be of no use unless Mahatma Gandhi attends it, and that no constitution can be smoothly worked unless it had the approval of him and his party. Without him no one can deliver the goods. But Mr. Bann could not spare even a passing notice to Mr. Gandhi's gesture from jail as conveyed in the interview given to Mr. Slocombe, the *Daily Herald* correspondent. On the contrary, questioned in the Commons on May 26 regarding that interview, Mr. Bann said he gathered that the granting of permission for the interview was to some extent due to a misunderstanding that would not recur. This is cryptic to a high degree. It has been surmised that, as the *Daily Herald* is a semi-official Labour organ, the interview was meant to ascertain whether Mr. Gandhi's views had undergone any change owing to his incarceration; but seeing that he has practically laid down his old terms, the interview has been diplomatically characterized as due to a misunderstanding and treated as of no importance. But if it had indicated any weakening in Mr. Gandhi's attitude, probably it would have been exploited to the full and the interview would not have been said to be due to a misunderstanding.

"The Future Position of the Minorities"

Great anxiety was professed for the future position of the minorities. The difficulties arising out of the existence of minority communities have been aggravated during British rule. In pre-British days, Hindus and Musalmans did not burn one another and exclude one another from education and office as Protestants and Roman Catholics did, and as both persecuted and excluded the Jews. Yet the British constitution never made any provision for the representation of minority communities. Still England is free and independent. Evidently present-day Englishmen are greater well-wishers of Indian Musalmans, non-Brahmans, etc., than their ancestors were of British Jews and Roman Catholics.

"Divide and Rule"

According to Mr. Bann :

"There are some who rely on the archaic maxim 'Divide and rule.' That is not the principle on which our Commonwealth has been built up. It is of no interest to us that these difficulties should persist."

It may be that the speaker was a sincere opponent of the *divide et impera* policy. But his speech laid great stress on the fact, as he believed it to be, that Musalmans have held aloof from the Gandhi movement almost in a body, which is not true. And Mr. Bann's personal dislike of that maxim would not prove that it was not used in building up the British Empire and did not even now claim a very large number of adherents. For instance, in the course of the very debate during which the Secretary of State spoke,

"Sir Samuel Hoare considered the situation to be more favourable than it was ten years ago, because then the Moslems were solidly against us and the depressed classes had little of their present influence. He said that our duty was to take advantage of such favourable conditions and press steadily forward with a programme on which all three parties were agreed." (*Times*, ours. Ed., M. R.)

"What More Can We Do ?"

Mr. Bann concluded :

"We have put forward a policy of which we are not ashamed. We have invited responsible representatives of India to come and confer. What more can we do?"

A suggested answer is : "You can definitely declare that the Round Table Conference is for framing a Dominion constitution for India, giving her the same political rights as Canada enjoys—a constitution which will begin to be worked in the course of, say, two years. And you can and should make a whole-hearted attempt to exorcise from the minds of all Conservative, Liberal and Labour Imperialists the secret desire to exploit the existence of different parties and sects in India for the purpose of indefinitely postponing the attainment of self-rule by India."

After Mr. Wedgwood had concluded,

"Mr. Fenner Brockway said that he had done his utmost to get Indian representatives to the Round Table Conference, but its conditions and the refusal of an amnesty had doomed the Conference."

British Parliamentary Minority Views

The vast majority of Members of Parliament of all British political parties support the present repressive policy in India. That need not discourage or daunt any Indian. However, that is not what we wanted to stress. Britishers in these days profess to attach greater importance to the views and interests, or what are supposed to be the views and interests, of minorities in India than to the views of the majority. Following that fashion to a slight extent, may we be allowed to transcribe below what a small minority group said during the recent Commons debate on Indian affairs?

Colonel J. C. Wedgwood (Lab. Newcastle) expressed the opinion that the real trouble was due to the exclusion of Indians from the Simon Commission. He said it was difficult to see how Lord Irwin could have acted differently under the present circumstances, but he feared it would be impossible for the Round-Table Conference to put matters right.

He also feared that the Report of the Simon Commission would not go to the length expected by the Indian people, and everybody in India would consider that he had been let down.

Col. Wedgwood urged steps being taken to restore the feeling among Indians that justice was still possible and that the House of Commons could still be regarded as a place where Indian grievances could be remedied.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn: Here you have a force (the Royal Indian Marine) in which the British Admiral in command finds ready use for Indian talent and that is a matter on which I think we might find common ground for rejoicing.

Mr. Fenner Brockway: But under British control to be used for British purposes.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn: It will be observed also that, generally speaking, although it is not universally hundred per cent the case, Mohammedans have held aloof.

Mr. J. Marley: Is not Peshawar a 90 per cent. Mohammedan province?

Mr. Wedgwood Benn: That's true, but generally speaking Mohammedans have held aloof, and it would be far to say that the disturbances may be described accurately as sporadic rather than general.

One of the armaments in the propaganda of Communist speakers in this district was this: They went among Mohammedans and wilfully perverted the purpose of the Sarda Act or Early Marriage Act.

Mr. Fenner Brockway: Has the Right Hon. gentleman seen a very strong denial of that report on behalf of the Indian National Congress?

Mr. Wedgwood Benn: I can only give the Committee information which is supplied to me. I have not seen that denial but I would be glad if the Hon. gentleman will bring it to my notice and we will weigh it.

Information officially supplied is gospel truth and requires no weighing and verifica-

tion. But non-official information deserves only to be condescendingly weighed.

Mr. W. J. Brown: What is the duty of a Labour Government?

Mr. Wedgwood Benn: The duty of a Labour Government is to carry on Government. (Cheers.)

Mr. Brown: I do not know what the Hon. gentleman means. If I might reply, I would say that the last thing a Labour Government ought to do in India is to carry on the dirty work of British Imperialism (Hon. Members: "Shame").

Mr. Benn: The Hon. gentlemen, speaking in a rhetorical way, spoke about this work which is being carried on. Is peace being maintained in the interests of some external agency? Is not peace being maintained in the interests of India itself? I do look forward to the day when Indian liberties shall be enlarged and when India shall take her place as a fully self-governing Dominion among other Dominions of the Empire. Is it for us to hand over to her a legacy of anarchy and chaos?

Mr. W. J. Brown: You are creating one.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn: We shall see about that.

In the last foregoing extract Mr. Wedgwood Benn states that peace is being maintained in India and also states and suggests that it is being maintained in the interests of India, not in the interests of some external agency. It is true that some servants of the British Government are maintaining peace in India and that it is being done partly in the interests of India. But it is also true that some Government servants are doing things which are causing breaches of the peace and producing disturbances and disorder. It is further true that Britain tries to maintain peace in India mainly or at least partly in her own interests, because India is a valuable estate of hers. She does not try to maintain peace in Spain or Mexico or the Balkans, when there are sanguinary outbreaks there, because these disturbances do not affect her trade to any appreciable extent and because she is not in a position to play the philanthropic rôle of peacemaker there.

Major Graham Pole expressed the opinion that the great mass of Britons desired to do justly by India. But Indians were sceptical and demanded some tangible sign. He did not think there was the least chance of the success of the Round-Table Conference unless leading men were induced to come. They would not do so unless they felt that they could take back some kind of self-government. Indians should be invited to come to Britain to frame their own constitution which would provide for a greater safe-guard than we ever dare put in.

Mr. Fenner Brockway said that the Conservatives were in complete accord with the Government's policy. Apparently their reason for raising the debate was to point out the danger of Communist propaganda in India.

Discontent in India had deeper roots than Moscow.

He most strongly opposed the present policy and said that any system of Government which required the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi, one of the finest and noblest souls in the world, was itself condemned.

Mr. Fenner Brockway read a statement on the incidents in Peshawar by the president of the Punjab Congress Committee.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn pointed out that it was serious to read such a statement in Parliament and asked if Mr. Brockway thought it true.

Mr. Brockway said that he did not know, but he thought Parliament and the country should know the Indian account, in addition to the British official view. He urged an impartial inquiry and appealed to Mr. Benn to make a settlement by agreement possible by accerting full self-government with a round-table conference to work out the details of the transition period and a generous amnesty for political offenders.

Mrs Rathbone considered it mischievous that Mr. Fenner Brockway should read a statement without investigating its truth.

Mr. J. Marley (Lab.) hoped that before Labour left office they would show India that she did not look to them in vain. He hoped that Mr. Benn would throw out a gesture to India and not await the Simon Commission's report.

Mr. W. J. Bell (Lab.) maintained that the British were in India because it paid them to be there. He warned the Government that unless they could carry Gandhi with them they must face the alternative of organized violence and revolutionary effort. He urged them to accede to Mr. Brockway's appeal before it was too late.

Mr. Beckett defended Mr. Brockway's reading the statement and said that Mr. Benn was no more able to vouch personally for the accuracy of official statements than Mr. Brockway for the statement he had read. He expressed bitter disappointment with Mr. Benn's speech, for he had not hoped to hear a fresh excuse for the policy of repression.

India Government and Tear Gas

On May 27 Mr. Wedgwood Benn in a written reply to Sir Alfred Knox stated that the Government had considered the use of tear gas to control the riots in India, but had declined to make use of it. On what grounds? By the use of tear gas many mobs can be dispersed without resort to shooting and killing. Its use is, therefore, more humane than shooting, and equally effective in very many cases.

Suspension of Publication of Newspapers

The temporary suspension of publication of newspapers, as in Delhi and Calcutta for

example, soon after the promulgation of the Press Ordinance can be understood. It was a sort of journalistic hartal by way of protest against the ordinance. But it is difficult to understand the reasons or advantages of the mandate of the Congress Working Committee, calling upon all nationalist papers to suspend publication for an indefinite period and upon the public to boycott all newspapers which would continue to come out. If the Committee had consulted the journalists and communicated to them the reasons why stoppage of publication was desired, they could have in their turn informed the Committee what they wanted to do and why. The Committee knew that journalists were going to meet in Bombay on the 15th May, and yet they considered it both courteous and right to issue the mandate on the previous day.

Some people think that the ordinance has made it impossible for journalists to do their work properly. That is true. It has placed newspapers and presses entirely at the mercy of the executive authorities. But even before the promulgation of the ordinance, we were at the mercy of those authorities, though not to the same extent. To work under such conditions is humiliating; but it is only part of the humiliation of not being self-ruling. We should try to be as useful as we can under the circumstances. If any newspaper thinks that it cannot be useful, adequately or in the least, under such circumstances, it has the option not to come out.

There is a difference between the cases of lawyers and students, and of newspaper men. We are not concerned here with the reptile press. The proper work of lawyers and students is not directly concerned with any movement for winning freedom or political rights, or for effecting social, educational, moral, religious, economic or other reform, and improvement. But reputable journals exist for furthering the cause of such advancement and for the dissemination of news, which last is one of the means of informing and enlightening the public mind. So, though it may be thought necessary in times of national crises for lawyers and students to give up their proper pursuits in order to devote all their energies to the promotion of public movements, it is not necessary for journalists to give up their proper work in order to do so. On the contrary, it is their duty to go on in order that open public movements may be directly or indirectly

helped thereby. Even if they feel absolutely unable to write on politics, they can write on other topics, giving their reasons for giving a wide berth to politics, or they may stop the publication of their papers.

Seeing that some papers still continue publication and continue to discuss politics (without subservience) and also seeing that Mahatma Gandhi's *Nava Jivan* and *Young India* continue to be published and to write with as much truthfulness and vigour as ever, we think no case can be made out for stopping the publication of all nationalist papers by Congress mandate. Incidentally, it may be observed that it is not merely the few papers of the Congress party which are nationalist. There are many other nationalist papers. Nationalism and nationalist papers existed before the Swarajya regime and continue to exist.

Efforts made to stop the publication of papers by non-violent picketing cannot be approved, and the methods of violence adopted for the same purpose are reprehensible.

In free countries even in war time there are men who have resisted conscription. Mr. Gandhi, being against coercion of any sort, has never sought to have conscripts from among lawyers, merchants, students or any other class of men. Are only nationalist journalists to be conscripted? Are they to be dragged into acceptance of the dictates of a few dictators or one dictator?

Secret societies may flourish without the aid of newspapers. But no open movement can go on without their help. This has been practically recognized by the Congress party itself, by the publication of Congress bulletins of news and views. They are practically small newspapers. If it be necessary to publish them and if such publication be allowable, why should there be a ban on the publication of nationalist newspapers?

We have come across a letter addressed to advertisers by a group of papers which have suspended or been obliged to suspend publication for well-known reasons. The letter seeks in effect the patronage of the advertisers with a view to resumption of publication. The men who conduct this group of papers are also active in efforts to stop the publication of or the boycott of other papers which have resumed publication. Probably a double game is being played owing to trade jealousy, in order to gain ulterior economic ends.

Not that we consider economic ends necessarily unworthy. But they ought to be pursued openly and honestly.

This leads us to the consideration of the economic aspect of the work of presses and newspapers. Printers and journalists are mostly householders. That their work brings them money does not derogate from its value. The economic consequences of the stoppage of presses and papers are not negligible. If the biggest lawyer gives up his practice, only he and his family and a few clerks with their families are financially affected. And the big lawyers can fall back upon their previous savings. But the stoppage of the work of even a small press or a small paper means unemployment for a larger number of men of small means than is involved in the giving up of practice by the biggest lawyers. The stoppage of presses and newspapers are calculated to affect also the business of paper-merchants, ink-merchants, type-foundries, etc.

Unemployment, financial loss, decrease or total loss of income, all these classes of men could have been asked to bear, if the national cause were served thereby. But, as we have said before, we do not understand what advantage would accrue to the national cause from the stoppage of presses and newspapers.

Whether, after being called upon to deposit security, a press or a newspaper should deposit the sum demanded and then carry on, depends on the inclination and the financial position of the owner. But if a proprietor does not pay because he is unable to pay, he should not pose as a heroic champion of national honour and self-respect. The action, however, of those who can pay but do not, cannot but be thought of with respect.

have an economic value. Therefore, to cut down date palm trees in order to put a stop to toddy-drinking would be too drastic a remedy, perhaps rarely adopted in Bengal. Moreover, those who are unconverted to teetotalism might, in the absence of toddy, take to other intoxicating liquors and drugs. Therefore, we are for the total prohibition of the manufacture, sale and consumption of all intoxicating liquors and drugs by State action. In the meantime, of course, preaching and non-violent picketing should be resorted to. If owners of date palm and palmyra trees voluntarily cut them down in the interests of prohibition and bear the loss cheerfully, they should be free to do so.

In Bengal the kernel within the thin seed-cases of the unripe palmyra palm fruit is much relished and fetches a moderate price. The kernel within the seed of the ripe fruit when the sprout is about to come out, is also relished. The pulp of the ripe fruit is eaten raw or used for making cakes by mixing with powdered rice. Palm-leaves are not much used in these days for writing. But they are still used for matting, and the young branches with leaves for making fans. Palmyra palm sugar has a medicinal use. In West Bengal the trunk of the palmyra trees are valued for making the framework of the roofs of thatched houses by sawing them into long thin strips, as they are tough and white-ant-proof. We do not know whether in Gujarat the palmyra palm is used only for making toddy. In that case there can be no objection to felling them with the free consent of the owners.

Congress and the Minorities

There is much profession of anxiety for the interests of the minority communities in India on the part of Britishers in and out of Parliament and in India, and much effort to prove that India cannot yet do without a third party, namely, the "altruistic Britishers." If that be so, after nearly two centuries of British rule, it is a poor testimony to either its inclination or its power to compose the differences between different classes and religious communities. That is the least that can be said. However, the history of the United States of America, for example, shows that a free country can do without the permanent or temporary services of a third

party. There have been and still are race riots and religious riots in that country, directed against Negroes, Jews and Roman Catholics, and sometimes against Japanese. These are not less but more savage and sanguinary than Hindu-Moslem riots. Yet the Americans have always been quelling these riots without the help of the Britishers, and the number of such riots bids fair to diminish and be reduced to zero at no distant day. And the United States is still free and independent, and is the most prosperous country in the world—probably the most powerful, too. We know India is not America. But what is an accomplished fact in one country cannot be an impossibility in another, as human nature is fundamentally the same everywhere.

An impression has all along been sought to be created that it is only the Britisher who cares for the minorities and that the majority is seeking to establish an exclusively Hindu raj, of which there is no proof. The prolonged and painstaking efforts of the various All Parties conventions, Conferences and Committees, give the lie to such an impression: The "third party" has not done anything to make the task of these national bodies easy or simple. For a succinct account of this work, the reader is referred to *India's Political Crisis* by William Hall, Ph. D. (The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, U. S. A.)

That Congress has never ceased to think of the problem of the minorities will also appear from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's note on the subject. This note of the prisoner-President has been published in *Young India*. Almost the whole of it is reproduced below.

But even when the fight is fiercest and consumes all our energies, we must remember that the true solution of our difficulties can come only when we have won over and given satisfaction to our minorities. To-day it is unfortunately the fact that some of them fear the majority and for fear of it keep apart from the struggle for freedom. It is sad that some who were our comrades in arms ten years ago are not with us today. None of us who had the privilege of marching shoulder to shoulder with them then can forget the brave part they took and the sacrifices they made. We cherish that memory and we are assured that when the fight thickens they must take their rightful place in the forefront.

FREEDOM FOR ALL

The history of India and of the countries of Europe has demonstrated that there can be no stable equilibrium in any country so long as an attempt is made to crush a minority or to

force it to conform to the ways of the majority. There is no surer method of rousing the resentment of the minority and keeping it apart from the rest of the nation than to make it feel that it has not got the freedom to stick to its own ways. Repression and coercion can never succeed in coercing a minority. They but make it more self-conscious and more determined to value and hold fast to what it considers its very own. It matters little whether logic is on its side or whether its own particular brand of culture is worth while or not. The mere fear of losing it makes it dear. Freedom to keep it would itself lessen its value. The new Russia has gone a long way in solving its minorities' problem by giving each one of them the fullest cultural, educational and linguistic freedom.

Therefore we in India must make it clear to all that our policy is based on granting this freedom to the minorities and that under no circumstances will any coercion or repression of them be tolerated. There is hardly any likelihood of economic questions affecting the minorities as such, but should they do so we can also lay down as our deliberate policy that there shall be no unfair treatment of any minority. Indeed we should go further and state that it will be the business of the State to give favoured treatment to minority and backward communities.

In a free India political representation can only be on national lines. I would like this representation to be on an economic basis, which would fit in with modern conditions far more than territorial representation and would also automatically do away with the line of demarcation along communal lines. With religious and cultural and linguistic freedom granted, the principal questions that will arise in our legislatures will be economic ones and divisions on them cannot be on communal lines. But whatever the method of representation adopted may be, it must be such as to carry the goodwill of the minorities.

If these principles are accepted and adhered to, I do not think any minority can have a grievance or feel that it is ignored. It is possible however that, while agreeing to these principles, the minority may doubt the *bona fides* of the majority in giving effect to them. To that the only effective answer can be the translation of these principles into action. Unfortunately the ability to translate them into action can only come with the conquest of power in the State. If the *bona fides* of the majority are doubted, as they might well be, then even pacts and agreements are of little value. A general and country-wide adoption of certain broad principles can create a public opinion strong enough to prevent even an aggressive and evil-intentioned majority from going astray. But temporary pacts between individuals or even representatives cannot have the same value.

These principles should apply to all minority groups: To the Muslims, who really are in such large numbers in India, that it is inconceivable that any majority can coerce them; to the Sikhs, who, although small in number, are a powerful well-knit group; to the Parsis; to the Anglo-

Indians or Eurasians, who are gradually drifting to nationalism; and to all other minorities.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

What is the present position of the Congress on this vital question? The Nehru Report has lapsed, but surely the non-controversial parts of the report remain. The Fundamental Rights, as stated there, included religious, cultural, linguistic and educational freedom. This declaration must remain, and it removes at once the major fears of a minority. So far as other matters are concerned, minorities as such will hardly be affected, and the Lahore Congress has declared that in an Independent India such questions should be solved on strictly national lines. It has gone further. It has assured the Muslims, Sikhs and other minorities that, if any solution of any communal problem is proposed in future, it will not be accepted by the Congress unless it gives full satisfaction to the parties concerned. A more complete guarantee could not have been given, and if the Congress remains true to its word no minority need have the least fear.

Thus the Congress has endeavoured to give effect to the principles that should govern the treatment of minorities. If in the eyes of some it is still suspect, it is not because of what it has done but because of want of trust and unjustified fear. The Congress, I trust, will remain true to these principles and will demonstrate to the country that in communal matters it will not deviate to the right or the left and will hold the centre impartially. It will, I hope, prove to the minority communities that in Independent India, for which we strive, theirs will be an honoured and a favoured place. And by its sacrifice and its determined courage in the fight for freedom, it will convince all of its *bona fides*.

16-3-30

Our Social Problems

India's problems are many. If people were asked, what is the most important among them, perhaps most of the answers will mention the pressing political problem of the day. But, without meaning to assign to it its place in order of importance, we may draw attention to the problem presented by the place given in our society to the 'depressed' and so-called 'untouchable' classes. India's social problems are not less important or pressing than her political problems. They are, no doubt, interdependent for their solution. But no one should think or say that either the social or the political problems can wait.

Such being our opinion, it has given us much pleasure to read the following in *The Indian Social Reformer*:

The women of Munshiganj (Bengal) have solved the question of temple entry of untouchables in their own decisive way, which, we trust, will be followed in other parts of the country. A Press message of the 18th instant from Dacca reported

that the Munshiganj Kali temple "satyagraha," which was being continued for over nine months, had a happy termination, on the previous day. About 200 high-caste women, in order to save the lives of the hunger-striking "satyagrahis," removed the barriers to the temple with saws, axes and hammers—they being helped in this by members of the Young Men's Association—and thus threw the doors of the temple open to all classes of Hindus. About 2,000 people witnessed the incident. The women and all the Hindus present made offerings to the deity. The oppositionists kept aloof and offered no obstruction.

We have often thought, why, when there is so much zeal among "the excluded" to enter temples where the images of some gods or goddesses are kept for worship by Brahmans and for being seen from a distance by other Hindus, the Brahmo places of worship of God, to which all have access as, a matter of course, are not full of worshippers. Why does not the Brahmo Samaj carry its message to the humblest in the land?

There is a Self-respect Movement in the South. We do not see why the advocates and followers of this movement should not be drawn to the Brahmo Samaj, which is casteless, which does not give any precedence to men sprung from any caste, which has no priesthood, and in which men and women have both in theory and practice equal rights.

Communal Murders, Loot and Arson at Dacca

All murders are heinous. They are not less heinous when one man kills another for no other reason than that the two profess different religions. Treacherous and secret murders of this communal character are as cowardly and diabolical as they are the most difficult to prevent. Rioting attended with loot, arson and murder is also difficult but not impossible to prevent. We have to record with sorrow that in Dacca all these crimes have been going on. All this is ostensibly the result of a petty squabble between some Hindu and Musalman boys. But that was perhaps only the spark applied to the "powder magazine." Preparations must have been going on behind the scenes under the instigation or direction of wicked men. Many refugees have come to Calcutta from Dacca. It is the bounden duty of every one to help to relieve their distress.

It is a matter of profound sorrow and shame that though Hindus and Musalmans have been neighbours for so many centuries

and though the culture of either community has enriched the other and both have benefited by the friendly acts of one another, still there should be such diabolical acts of cruelty and cowardice. It is also a matter of great shame that the leading men of the two communities have not sufficient hold on their respective co-religionists to be able to bring about reconciliation, but have to telegraph to Viceroy and Governor for protection. It is in no carping spirit that we write. We share all our countrymen's shame.

The *Sanjibani*, the Moderate Bengali weekly per excellence, after narrating some of the shameful and horrible incidents of the Dacca riots, arson, murders, etc., in a leading article headed, "*Not Rioting but Anarchy in Dacca*," observes:

"What else is anarchy, if not this? Dacca is not more than three miles long and two miles broad. In this small area, during the day and at night murder, grievous assault, looting and the burning down of houses are taking place. Yet the officers of the State are unable to prevent and bring under control such lawlessness. What can be more surprising than this?" [Translation].

In order to give our readers some idea of the condition of Dacca we give below a slightly abridged translation of a Bengali private letter written to us on the 28th May last from Dacca:

"The situation at Dacca is fearful and critical. One inhabited area in front of (a certain hostel) has been devastated. There were only two unmarried girls in a house. Their father was absent from Dacca. Their brother had fallen victim to the Bengal Ordinance two days ago. Hooligans attacked this house for the brother's offence was that he conducted an *akhada* for physical culture and taught girls also the arts of self-defence. The two girls defended their house and their honour against a mob of hooligans numbering more than two hundred for more than two hours. At this stage three teachers, who were neighbours, protested against the cowardice of the mob and came out of their houses to thwart their evil designs. They caught the mob, leaving the girls unmolested, ran towards these three teachers. On this they shut the entrances of their houses. Not being able to enter these houses, the mob poured petrol all around and set fire to them. The mob of hooligans contained even boys of 8 to ten and old men. But in the whole neighbourhood, none but these three teachers made any attempt to protect the two girls. After setting fire to the houses of these three gentlemen, the hooligans began to set fire to other houses. Seizing this opportunity, these teachers jumped down from their burning two-storied houses, hurting themselves thereby, and taking the two heroic girls with them lodged them in the aforesaid hostel. The Police made their appearance two hours and a half after this attack.

Then about 500 men, women and children of this neighbourhood took course to leave their houses and take shelter in the hostel. At present it is Vacation time. There are only 40 examinees in the hostel. They have taken upon themselves the onerous duty of extending hospitality to these 500 refugees. The hooligans are picketing all shops near the hostel, threatening to kill the shopkeepers if they sell even a pice worth of things to the hostel people. Rice, pulses, coal—there is nothing of these in store. To the face of the hostel people, the coal shop was burnt down and the rice shop looted. The hostel boys are serving their refugee guests in every way, themselves almost fasting; feeding them, nursing the wounded, making all sanitary arrangements, and keeping watch at night at every approach to the hostel. The hooligans are infuriated against it: "Why did it give shelter to so many people?" They have assumed a menacing attitude, challenging the hostel to a trial of strength. Jeopardizing their own lives, the hostel lads are smuggling rice, coal, etc., in carrying the loads themselves. They never give a thought to where so much money would come from. They are spending their cash to the last pie in the service of the frightened refugees.

"One further episode has to be recorded. When the hooligans attacked the house which had only two girls for its occupants and defenders, the latter blew a bugle as a signal of distress. The hostel boys were ready to go out to face certain death at the hands of the hooligans, though their elders were preventing them from doing so. At this juncture, the wife of a teacher told her son: "Go my child, go." The lad ran out, but was prevented by others from going out. The father remonstrated with the mother for sending her son to meet almost certain death. She calmly replied, "The women in distress are also mothers; they too have sons."

"The hostel people are living in a sort of besieged fortress."

The population of Dacca is 1,19,450 and that of Sholapur 1,19,581—almost equal. And, so, it is equally easy or difficult to deal with disturbances in either town. At Sholapur, on the 23rd May, "three Congressmen were arrested for displaying 'prohibited emblems' and a man with the intention of hoisting the National Flag was arrested with his companions." Evidently these things done at Sholapur are more heinous and more necessary to prevent or punish than murder, loot, arson, etc., at Dacca. And evidently the empire can spare sufficient resources to attend even to these trifles at Sholapur but cannot quickly put a stop to anarchy at Dacca.

Are such trifling political 'offences', if offences they be, more necessary to stamp out promptly than serious and diabolical crimes having a communal tinge?

Swadeshi in England

Miss Margaret Bondfield, the British Cabinet Minister, has got a cotton dress made and has been using it. The London correspondent of an Anglo-Indian paper writes:

One result of National Cotton Week will possibly be that this year's Ascot will be a "Cotton Ascot" owing to the success which promises to attend the efforts to render cotton garments not only popular but fashionable.

Lancashire's efforts to direct attention to cotton goods are being well seconded by leading stores, and one lady is giving a cotton frock tea party during cotton week to mark her approval of Lancashire's "exquisite efforts."

Moreover, the cause of Lancashire's complaint that women have been using too little material in their dresses will shortly be removed if the present trend of fashion, as revealed at the opening of the opera season at Covent Garden, continues: for not one wholly cotton dress was to be seen, while at the drapery exhibition opened at the Royal Agricultural Hall by the Lord Mayor, mannequins were confronted with the difficult task to prevent laces and flowered chiffons from sweeping the stairs as they made their way down to the hall.

Even sports frocks and costumes are longer, and many afternoon frocks were of ankle length.

Britishers, and we also, admire these patriotic efforts to help Lancashire.

Swadeshi in India

But Swadeshi in India is another matter. Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary of State for India, has been reminded in Parliament that he is a British citizen, and must see that all necessary steps are taken to maintain and promote the sale of Lancashire cotton goods in India. Britishers are angry with the Indian boycott of foreign goods. They forget that they fought and defeated Indian cottons with the weapons of various kinds of legislative boycott, and that the Indian boycott is only a social weapon. They forget, too, that swadeshi and boycott are only the two sides of the medal. To ask a man to buy Indian cottons is to tell him to eschew Lancashire and other foreign fabrics. We cannot buy both Indian and British goods, as Britishers during their cotton week did not buy both Lancashire and foreign cottons.

The principal Indian mill-owners of Bombay have been trying to keep prices at the normal level. They are trying also to increase production. These points have to be always borne in mind. Britishers are hoping that

the supply of Indian goods would fall short of the demand and then there would be an increased demand for British goods. An Anglo-Indian paper has already reported that in Madras the boycott of Lancashire has collapsed and orders are being sent to England. We do not know whether that is true.

Many well-to-do people buy and use more swadeshi cloth than is necessary. They should be more economical, so that enough swadeshi cloth may be left for those who are urgently in need of it. Cloth-dealers who have stocks of foreign cloth on hand may be quite naturally unwilling to sell Indian cloth. Hence, where necessary, swadeshi cloth shops should be opened at suitable centres. During the days of the swadeshi agitation in Bengal, educated young men, many of them graduates, took to hawking Indian cloth from house to house. House to house visitation for popularizing Indian cloth by preaching and supply should be widely resorted to.

The Patiala Enquiry

Almost in every respect the Patiala enquiry is going to be what it ought not to be. The single individual who has been entrusted with it is the nominee of the Maharaja of Patiala, who is the accused. The person nominated is not a High Court or lower grade judge, but Political Agent to the Governor-General for the Punjab States, and as such had probably dealt with many of the things to be enquired into. Is it the law or the practice in any civilized country for the accused to choose his own judge and that, not from the ranks of judicial officers, but from among one's friends or acquaintances? Then, the enquiry is to be held *in camera*. Those who drew up the *Patiala Indictment* did so after making open enquiries. An enquiry held *in camera* cannot but be looked upon with distrust. Another disadvantage which the accusers of the Maharaja will labour under is that the hill station of Dalhousie has been chosen by Mr. Fitzpatrick as the place where he will conduct the enquiry. This place is 30 miles from the nearest railway station. The accusers of the Maharaja and their witnesses are not as wealthy as he. How can they go to and live in Dalhousie easily with all their witnesses? Why was not Lahore or Delhi or some other place in the plains chosen, where good lawyers can be had for moderate fees? For the Maharaja has engaged Sir Tej

Bahadur Sapru, etc., as his lawyers, and if accusers, if they wanted to have a square deal, would have required the services of lawyers.

Considering all these circumstances, I think the Indian States' Peoples' Conference Committee have been rightly advised in deciding not to have anything to do with the enquiry.

As laymen we do not know the law conventions and etiquette which govern the acceptance of briefs by lawyers. We are curious to know, however, is whether it is usual for lawyers who are not merely lawyers but also leaders of the people, to consider whether an improved "court" of enquiry before which they are to appear is properly constituted and the procedure to be adopted is likely to meet the ends of justice.

Conflicting Evidence at Peshawar Enquiry

Before the official Peshawar Riots Inquiry Committee there has been conflicting official evidence.

"I realized that nothing but firing could save situation," said Mr. Fookes, Senior Superintendent of Police, concluding his evidence on Monday.

"If the authorities had not taken the action, did, there would have been much more serious damage," said Mr. Metcalfe, Commissioner.

But,

Mr. Saadullah Khan, City Magistrate, examined, stated that the crowd was perfectly non-violent in the beginning. He repeatedly warned the authorities against employment of military.

Mr. Saadullah Khan, City Magistrate, continued, that he had warned the authorities employment of the military would create trouble. He did not see if the Assistant Superintendent of Police was pelted with stones, and immediately latter had gone to the rantonment, he (witness) "to get into touch with the Deputy Commissioner to tell him not to be prejudiced with statement of the Assistant Superintendent of Police as there was no need of the military. The latter, he said, had no sticks and was melting away; the surrender of two Congressmen who were wanted by the Police.

Purdah Women's Public Activity

Noakhali is a small town in Bengal, a population of 7,715 persons, of which 2,839 are women. It is interesting to note that in this out of the way place, when Gandhi's arrest became known on the 5th May,

A large number of purdah women voluntarily picketed the gates of the civil and criminal courts. The District Magistrate, the District Judge, Superintendent of Police and other officials

helpless, the roads being blocked against them by the pickets.

After about three hours the mob was cleared with the help of constables who, arriving on information, placed a cordon round the volunteers and kept them under detention in the Kutchery compound. The women pickets were removed at about 2 p.m., when the officers entered the court rooms.

"Foreign Affairs" Suffering from Hysteria

Foreign Affairs, edited by Norman Angell, M.P., has been evidently suffering from hysteria. An article in its May number, entitled "The Revolution in India: From Non-violence to Killing," begins with the highly sensational paragraph:

"The storm so long brewing in India has broken into armed revolution. The stage of war was reached on April 18 at Chittagong, when a large party of revolutionaries, fully equipped with modern arms, raided the police armouries and destroyed the ammunition. Nine persons were killed."

The sober fact is that the raid was a small isolated outbreak, having nothing to do with the widespread civil disobedience movement. Therefore, the sub-heading, "From Non-violence to Killing," is entirely misleading. No group or party has proceeded from non-violence to killing.

R. D. Banerji

The greatest Indian scholar of Indian history passed away after a prolonged illness on the 23rd May, 1930, at his residence in Calcutta. Prof. Rakhal Das Banerji, Nandi Professor, Hindu University, who opened a line of research for the next hundred years, by discovering and recognizing the civilization of the Sindh valley, was the greatest epigraphist and the greatest numismatist in India. He was equally the greatest devotee to Indian history to my knowledge. He went on working with a re-doubled energy as he knew that he was to die soon. He never expected to reach the age of even 48. Probably for a long time such a worker would not be born. Ten men of first-rate ability together may or may not do the amount of work which Mr. Banerji did alone. He was a genius and a prodigy.

The country loses her greatest historical scholar and the greatest archaeologist. The personal loss of his friends is no less terrible. Mr. Banerji had a loving heart.

The Vice-Chancellor of the Hindu University deserves the highest gratitude

of the country for having maintained the eminent scholar and for granting him every facility up to his last day. —K. P. JAYASWAL.

Though on matters of Indian archaeology and history we cannot speak with any authority—certainly not with the authority of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, our estimate of the position and worth of Prof. Banerji as an archaeological discoverer, numismatist and historical scholar was very high. As a linguist, too, he occupied a distinguished position. Besides Sanskrit and some allied ancient Indian tongues, he knew Persian and some four or five modern Indian vernaculars in addition to Bengali. He is the author of several Bengali novels and historical works. He had an almost unerring instinct for spotting mounds which on excavation would yield up archaeological finds of great value lying hidden underground for centuries. Our sense of personal loss prevents us from writing all that we would otherwise have liked to do. His career prematurely cut short in the full maturity of his powers, with so much of its promise unfulfilled, is a mournful tragedy. It would have gladdened his soul, if he had lived to see the publication of his *magnum opus*, his *History of Orissa* finished in manuscript but only half yet printed. But it was not to be.

Stricken Burma

Our heart goes out in sympathy to the people of Burma. They have recently suffered from a destructive earthquake. And now there is another sore affliction in the shape of the sanguinary fights between the Madras and Burmese dock labourers.

New Ordinances Again!

As we go to press, news comes of two fresh ordinances promulgated by the Viceroy "to protect shopkeepers from picketing, to stop the movement for non-payment of taxes and to deal with attempts to tamper with the loyalty of soldiers, police and Government servants." It is also anticipated by an Anglo-Indian newspaper correspondent that, if these measures are not successful, Government will declare Congress an unlawful body.

There is no time to comment on these fresh measures, which will apply immediately to the Bombay Presidency but may be extended to any other part of the country, if thought necessary by officialdom.



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On the Influence of History in the Development of Modern India

By SISTER NIVEDITA

THE problem which confronts India today is that of passing completely into the modern age. The present is an age of world-consciousness. Owing to the discovery of steam and electricity it is now possible for the least adventurous of us to explore the world. Modern trade has already done so. Modern science is struggling to follow suit. The very drawing-room contains trophies from every country and every era. In fact, by each individual human mind, as by Humanity as a whole, the planet earth in its entirety is being visualized, geographically and historically.

This modern age is also an age of exploitation. For the most precious things, Europe has to go back to other eras, or to communities not yet modernized. The rugs of Persia and Turkey, the needle-work of Bokhara, beautiful porcelain and the metal work of the Chinese, and all other things are demanded, but they have to be found like flowers growing in old-world gardens, secluded and apart. No sooner do the suburbs of the city extend themselves to include these gardens than they are straightway trodden down and ruined. Even the industries of Kashmir are growing vulgar, under the footsteps of the passing tourist. London is

teaching drawing to the children in her board-schools, but why? In order that they may *understand* the works of Botticelli and of Michael Angelo. The dreams and faiths that made such work possible, *these* she cannot give. Everyone today can read Shakespeare, but where is a new Shakespeare to be looked for? Even the prayers that satisfy us most deeply, are they not the utterances of rapturous lives lived long ago in workshop or in cloister? In an hour, maybe, we can patter off all the prayers of Chrysostom and Teresa and Ignatius Loyola put together, but it would have taken years of concentration to have been the first utterer of one such word as theirs. The modern age is an age of exploitation, not of creation.

The modern age is an age of organization. In the case of the machine, a screw here or a wheel there enables us to avail ourselves of vast areas of force, otherwise inaccessible. Similarly, the crowning temptation of the modern world is to treat human areas from the same point of view. We are apt to think of whole populations, as if the only question to be considered were of their usefulness to ourselves, to our comfort, our luxury, our culture. We have learnt to organize life and masses of men with the

regularity and precision of machinery. We see this in shops and offices and factories, and we also see it in the government of empires, and in the constant annexing of slices of one country by the official classes of another.

The modern age is an age of the people. We are all familiar today with questions of expediency and of responsibility which were hitherto the preserves of monarchs and of cabinets. Our habits are those of kings. Yet we are not kings. Our education also is of a kind which was once open only to the privileged. The exploitation of the people leads to the criticism of the people, the thought, the responsibility, ultimately to the organization of the people. The genius of Toussaint L'Ouverture announced and that of Napoleon Bonaparte echoed "all careers are open to talent," but had they failed to proclaim it, the decree must have gone forth sooner or later, for it is one of the master-notes of the modern world. Such then are a few of the characteristics of the modern age. India is to a large extent mediaeval still. What does this imply? The middle ages were ages of production, rather than exploitation. The strenuous dreamers dreamt by the light of more or less childlike beliefs. The masses of the nation were less widely-informed than now, and vastly simpler in their aims and habits. Political responsibility was somewhat of a monopoly—each life and each group was more concentrated in its activities than is the case today. Science is the characteristic product of the modern world. Art was the characteristic product of the mediaeval. Work was performed by hand, not by machinery. Hence it was slow, and productions could only be accumulated very gradually. Generation followed generation therefore in the attempt to furnish, or in the work of using a single room, and for this reason an old farmhouse kitchen, in any part of the world, is universally admitted to be more beautiful than a modern drawing-room.

Most of us will feel that wherever it is possible to retain the mediaeval and refuse the modern, it is desirable to do so. But in India, the possibility is not open to us. The mediaeval suffers here from a mortal wound. It has been wounded, in the first place, by the touch of trade. The mechanical productions of the West, quickly created, quickly worn out, rapidly succeeding each other, have driven out of mind the patient accumulations of succes-

sive generations. Squalor and vulgarities, the two horns of the modern dilemma in taste, are now threatening the lovely old simplicity of India, with increasing force. And this means that the crafts themselves are passing out of being,—the men of the crafts-guilds, or castes, being starved or turned into work for which they have neither desire nor aptitude.

Mediaeval India has been wounded to the death also, by Christian proselytism. "The simple faith of strenuous dreamers" persists to some extent, but it is more individual and less congregational, than it was. The women's lives are of the old world, and the men's, touched, but not inspired by modernism, are out of all relation to them. The situation would already have been fatal to a people less profoundly moralized. As it is, it strains unduly even that character which is the organic upgrowth of three thousand years of faith and works. And finally, mediaeval India is under sentence of death, through the existence of those political connections which make the country an English-speaking territory. For good or for evil, the work of modernizing has gone too far to be undone. India is now a figure in the twentieth-century mart of the world. As proud as ever, and as sensitive as ever, she is no longer isolated, no longer sure of herself, no longer satisfied with her specific achievements. Every country has a right to a scheme of things which shall not only provide incentive and ambition to her noble children, but shall also tend increasingly to call her meanest to higher aims. In India today however, the meanest are frankly and revoltingly imitative. The noblest work against incredible difficulties towards ends that the society around can hardly comprehend. And the majority stand between, uncertain in what direction to bestow their efforts. Spiritually, morally, intellectually, and socially, we shall best understand the India of the present moment, if we conceive of her as bewildered and in doubt.

In order, then, to co-ordinate her efforts, it is clear that she has to face and carry through vast changes, which we may designate conveniently as the assimilation of the modern consciousness. That is to say, accepting the modern method of thought and expression, she has so to increase the content of the existing expression, as to prove herself equal, if not superior, to those other nations with whom she will thus be competing on equal terms.

Instead of merely learning modern science, she has to prove herself able to apply the methods of modern science, to the solution of some of its unsolved problems. Instead of merely accepting other men's steamships and mechanical contrivances, she has to produce great inventors, who will add to the convenience and potentiality of life. Instead of enjoying a foreign literature, she has to pour into that literature masterpieces of a new type. Instead of admiring national evolutions and heroic leaders in other countries, she has to consolidate her own forces and bring forth her own heroes, to constitute an army of nationality on her own soil.

Perhaps in nothing is it so easy to understand this, as in the matter of art. The old Indian school of painting produced very beautiful works of art. But the method and its continuity of effort have suffered destruction in the modern catastrophe. Thousands of young art-students today are simply toiling along, in the struggle to put colour on canvas in the European way in order to express thoughts and illustrate poems, in a fashion only would-be European and not genuinely anything. It is clear that what we want here is workers who after a training in technique, can catch and express a great inspiration of their own, in any manner whatsoever, that they feel to be adequate. It is clear that, acquiring mastery of materials, what we really want is a great Indian school of artists, a national art-movement. And here it must not be method of work, but the message which is sought to be conveyed, that constitutes nationality.

In other words, all for which that country is precious will vanish out of the world, unless the children of the land can grasp the thought of India as India, and learn to live and work in expression of this idea alone.

There can be no doubt that one of the most important features of such an awakening would lie in a movement towards the study of Indian history. A man's face contains, for the seeing eye, his whole past. A national character is the resumé of a national history. If we would know what we are, or whither we tend, we must be made aware of our own antecedents, and the study of Indian history ought to possess unusual attractions for the Indian people, inasmuch as it is a history which has never yet been written, which is even, as yet, unknown.

Nothing, if well understood, can be more beautiful as a historic spectacle, than the process of the Indian evolution. The orderly sequence of consolidation and individuation by which new elements are worked into the nationality in each age, is something that could never have been so perfect, had the Himalayas and a forbidding coast-line not combined to isolate the experimental field. Already there have been two Indias,—Hindu India, under the Asokan Empire, and Mogul India, under the House of Babar, and it remains for the people themselves to produce a third, the National India. All preceding or intervening periods are to be regarded as preparatory to these, as periods merely of the incorporation and elaboration of new elements. We are able to understand and state this, because it is today clear that history is dynamic, it never dies. If a nation at any period reaches great spiritual or intellectual achievements, these do not exhaust, they conserve and heighten the national vigour. The strength spent in physical orgy of any kind is indeed spent, but the energy that shone forth as Vikramaditya and his brilliant court, represents so much gained for eternity by the nation as a whole. In this respect there is a polar difference between attainment and enjoyment. The effort to produce a great art, great science, or a world-religion, never exhausts a people. If they subsequently show exhaustion, we may be certain that a close search will discover forms of luxury and excess which, occurring simultaneously, sowed the actual seeds of premature decay. Water will always rise to the level it has once reached. Similarly, the height that a people have once captured, they can always achieve again.

For one thing, the past in this way patterns the future. It is not by imitation of foreigners, but by renewed apprehension of their own intention, renewed effort at self-expression,—in other words, by movements of national revival,—that nations rise. History is *ashirbad*,—the promise that the nationality makes to each one of its children. This is so deeply understood by the human mind that a church will be formed round any single character—Ali, "The Lion of God," for instance, or Martin Luther, or Ignatius Loyola, or Chaitanya,—that is felt to mark an epoch of the race. It remains for India to show that the passion which the past has seen men give to churches, with their

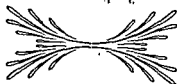
are we to understand the growth and significance of Benares, if we have never studied Cologne, Chartres, Durham, or Milan? What will the history of Hinduism mean to us, if we have never considered that of Christianity, or of Islam?

Even in the study of the prehistoric, then, the comparative method is essential. If we should rebuild the India of early ages, we must be prepared also to build up and place beside it, Phoenicia, Egypt, Chaldaea, and the rest. Degenerate moderns, we cannot explore the world without the aid of railways, but we need not think that our ancestors were like us. The international consciousness of early periods is one of the most fascinating subjects that could be offered to a student, and certainly would well repay whatever labour he might spend upon it. Thus it is not only necessary that the Indian historian should have a grasp of sociological method, and of such facts as are known in regard to the development of civilization, it is also requisite that he should be thoroughly abreast of the research of his time as to the formation and movement of ancient empires. Here we enter upon something more like the firm ground of history. Archaeology is every day revealing more and more of the part in Egypt, in Chaldaea, in the old Empire of Hittites, in Crete and Knossos. India, whether pre-Aryan and Dravidian, or post-Dravidian and Aryan, was an integral part of the world and the epochs to which these belonged. Asoka himself was a modern in his day, the heir of a universe unrecorded, but not perhaps at that time unremembered, history. What has India herself to tell us of this past?

The idler may be satisfied to answer that already European scholars are at work upon these problems. They are not. But if they were, what answer would that be, for the son of India to offer? European scholars are blind and deaf to many of the problems and many of the lines of work that Indian history opens up in abundance. But even

if it were not so, he who answers thus, or puts forward the ability of an alien scholarship to write a true history of India, proves himself ignorant of the first conditions of higher research. The first and highest necessity of such work is *a heart, a passionate love, the insight of a child*. These things no foreigner can boast. Nor does the foreigner live in the world where constant brooding would enable him to catch those loose ends of the threads of history that lie blown by the winds of the common life. Half the history of India lies written in religious and domestic custom. What does the alien know of these? What does he know of tradition, of the proverbs of the race, of its etiquette, of its theology? Or, if all these were open to him, where would be the burning hope to teach him unerringly the road by which to grasp the significance of the past in the future?

The tale of her own past that the motherland awaits must combine the critical acumen of the modern, with the epic enthusiasm of the ancient writer. Remorseless in its rejection of legend, it must nevertheless know how to seize the core of truth that legend so often conveys. Supported and adorned by a knowledge of the external world, it must for its own part be the poem, the psalm, of the Indian country. And above all, it must not end with the past, but must know how to point the finger onwards to the future. It must be not only reminiscent, but also suggestive. It must not only chant the word 'Remember!' but also find ways to utter the whisper 'Determine!' It must be critical, but also fiery, proud, constructive. The foreign scholar writes annals, memoirs, chronicles, but can this song of the Land be sung by any not of her own blood?*



The Austro-German Customs Union

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., PH.D.

The proposal of Austria and Germany to conclude a customs union is one of the most important developments in the history of post-war Europe. And yet, so encouraging an effort has raised a political storm which throws Europe into two antagonistic groups of nations.—France and her allies on one side and Germany and her sympathizers on the other. While France is struggling for military and financial supremacy, Germany is fighting her way to a place of equality among nations. Such being the conflict between the aims of the two greatest continental powers, the German and Austrian proposal is looked upon by France as a step towards *Anschluss* (political union) between the two Teutonic peoples. This attitude on the part of the French is natural enough, for during the past decade the habit has been formed in France to regard every move towards the uniting of Central Europe with suspicion, if France herself was a non-participant in it.

THE BERLIN-VIENNA PACT

Soon after the failure of the European tariff truce proposed by the League of Nations, the Germans and Austrians got together to arrange between themselves a customs union, and about the end of last March they informed London, Paris and Rome of the intention of the two Germanic Governments to create an agreement of a unified customs and trade practices. It was further notified that, the Austro-German move being designed only as a first step towards a European customs union as envisaged in M. Briand's memorandum on pan-Europe, other nations, if they so desired, are invited to join the customs pact. The removal of the burdensome tariff walls in Europe is what the British Government and M. Briand have been eloquently advocating, and yet the Austro-German proposal for the achievement of the same end has called forth indignant and bitter protests from France and her allies.

According to the Berlin-Vienna pact the independence of each of the two countries

is to remain unimpaired; tariff administration is to be maintained separately, each retaining the right to make trade agreements with other States so long as they do not infringe on the well-being of the other. An arbitration court with equal representation is to be formed for settlement of disputes. No duties are to be imposed on traffic between the two countries, and their total customs receipts are to be pooled and divided on a scale to be determined later. Further, it is proposed to bring the tariff laws and rates of Austria and Germany into complete harmony with one another. On some such lines the Austrian and German Governments decided to begin negotiations towards a treaty to harmonize trade regulations between them.

The Austro-German plan, by inviting other countries also to join this scheme, links itself pretty well with the Briand conception of pan-Europe. And there can be little doubt that this point was stressed to forestall as far as possible the objection that the Berlin-Vienna pact involves a violation of the treaty provisions. The sections of the peace treaties governing Austro-German sovereignty and political relations are as follows:

TREATY OF VERSAILLES SIGNED JUNE 28, 1919 SECTION VI, ARTICLE 80

Germany acknowledges and will respect strictly the independence of Austria within the frontiers which may be fixed in a treaty between that State and the principal Allied and Associated Powers; she agrees that this independence shall be inalienable except with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations.

TREATY OF ST. GERMAIN-EN-LAYE SIGNED SEPT. 10, 1919 SECTION VIII, ARTICLE 88

The independence of Austria is inalienable otherwise than with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations. Consequently Austria undertakes in the absence of the consent of the said Council to abstain from any act which might directly or indirectly or by any means whatever compromise her independence, particularly, and until her admission to membership of the League of Nations, by participation in the affairs of another Power.

It is clear therefore that according to the terms of these treaties a political union between Austria and Germany is forbidden, and safe-guards are provided for the maintenance of Austria's political independence.

The Germans, however, point out that, while a political union is forbidden, a customs union of the type described above, which tends to knit the two countries into a close economic unity, is not expressly mentioned in these treaties. The immediate problem forced to a head by the present economic situation is the creation of a single economic unit out of the two German-speaking peoples. The Austro-German accord certainly amends the spirit of the peace treaties. But the French regard it as the first instalment of the union between the two countries which the war victors thought they had prohibited in the treaty of St. Germain, and safe-guarded by a clause in the Geneva convention of 1922. The Berlin-Vienna pact has been so skilfully manoeuvred and so cautiously framed as to evade successfully not only the hindrances arising from the treaty terms, but also the barrier of the most-favoured nation clause, upon which many a promising Central European preference scheme has been wrecked. Since the European tariff truce failed, and the realization of the pan-European scheme in its entirety is far distant, the attempt is made, so the Germans say, to begin with regional agreements between two or more European States with reciprocal necessity, and prepare an economic union to improve trade relations between them.

BASIS OF FRENCH FEARS

It is not any danger seen in reciprocal benefits between the Reich and her small Teutonic neighbour which arouses the storm of protest from France. Indeed, from this standpoint alone France would perhaps have little objection to an arrangement which would improve the trade prospects of little Austria. But Paris sees something more. She sees in the project a development of a plan,—about which the Germans have talked so much in previous years,—for the political union of Germany and Austria. Such a union would mean in itself a considerable strengthening of the Teutonic political position on the Continent. And if that alliance were to result in the formation of a *Mittel Europa* bloc, it might easily mean a force which could challenge French hege-

mony in Europe much more effectively than could Germany single-handed. Hence the French are opposed to the removal of tariff barriers under the leadership or to the advantage of Germany. They favour, of course, an economic partnership among Austria, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia, but a customs union between Austria and Germany is quite another thing.

Just to avoid giving rise to suspicion that the customs pact is a political union, the Austrians and the Germans extended an invitation to other States to join the combination if they so wished. But this general invitation does not seem to have helped in any way to clear the suspicions of the French. They still persist that the Berlin-Vienna pact is nothing but a move towards political union. The Germans, on the other hand, declare that all they are trying to do is only to apply the principle of M. Briand's European Federation proposal. Since European economic co-operation could not be achieved by the methods hitherto followed, they have adopted, say the Germans, a new line of approach to the same problem. M. Briand, on the other hand, asserts that the Austro-German pact is illegal as it violates the treaty terms. But Germany replies that she is quite within her rights as limited by the peace treaties, and that she does not propose to be bluffed out of her plan of resuscitating Central Europe, and as much of the Continent as cares to join the proposed union.

It is interesting to note that at present the French are not basing their protests on the terms of the treaty of Versailles but on the protocols signed at Geneva in 1922, when the League undertook to float a loan for Austria, when she was almost on the brink of a financial disaster. Those protocols stated more or less that Austria would not only give fair treatment in the economic field to other nations, but would not involve herself economically without the knowledge and consent of the League powers floating the loan. Perhaps the Quai d'Orsay thinks it more feasible to make out a case against the proposed economic union on this basis than on the terms of the peace treaties, since there seems to be no danger to Austrian political independence in the Berlin-Vienna project.

It would, of course, be quite impossible now or in the near future for Germany and Austria to obtain from the Council of the

League of Nations authorization for their political union. Nevertheless when the announcement of the Austro-German customs union was made, France took the position that Austria and Germany should be told emphatically that they must abandon completely, and for all time, any such attempt at unification of their interests. Fortunately however wiser counsel prevailed. Arthur Henderson, the British Foreign Secretary, seeing the dangerous situation, started at once to make the classic opening in the diplomatic chess game of trying to gain time. It is perhaps the strength, and sometimes also the weakness, of the English that they always play this move in diplomacy. Informing himself of exactly what was proposed, he gathered together all the texts and engagements involved, and submitted them to the legal section of the Foreign Office. His second move was to avoid the direct opposition of one country to the plans of another. The Council of the League of Nations supplies that impersonal intermediary to meet such situations. France and her allies agreed to the proposal of the British Foreign Secretary that the Council of the League should be asked to examine this situation in the month of May, and that nothing should be done until after the Council had said its word. Certain aspects of the proposal have now been referred by the Council to the International Court of Justice for opinion.

AUSTRIAN VIEW OF THE UNION

Dr. Richard Riedl, the former Austrian Ambassador to Germany and Austria's leading authority on foreign trade, says that he was requested as far back as 1912 to submit an expert report on a customs union of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy with Rumania and Serbia. Careful investigation revealed that a union of essentially agrarian countries would result in such an over-production of farm products as to ruin the farmers themselves. The committee of experts then observed that partners to an effective customs union must be industrial and agrarian countries; in other words, it was suggested that Austria should look to the west to a country like Germany for a partner to absorb her agricultural surplus. By 1914 matters had advanced so far that Dr. Riedl was expected in the week of the Kiel regatta to discuss the subject with responsible

Germans. But Sarajevo and the outbreak of the war, says he, frustrated the plan. From Dr. Riedl's account one gathers that this Austro-German Customs Union was not a new idea. It is not right therefore to accuse Germany and Austria of having suddenly sprung upon an innocent world a cunning scheme. This old scheme was not taken up earlier because of the hope that the Briand plan for an economic union of all Europe would be realized or at least some group of nations, more inclusive than Austria and Germany, would create a unified economic area.

As to the fears that the customs union merely represents some deep hidden plot for imperialistic expansion of Germany, it could be refuted no better, so the Austrians maintain, than by tracing the history of the customs union idea. Besides, inasmuch as the initiative came from the Austrian side, it could not be said that the Austro-German accord is a German expansionist plot. The truth of the matter is, the new method of mass production and the competition of the United States and Soviet Russia are forcing Europe more and more to the necessity of organizing larger economic units, and it is but natural that the movement towards union should find ready response between countries speaking the same language. Treaties may hold this movement in check for some time or to some extent, but it is obvious that they cannot prevent it for ever without a war. The only peaceful way for small States to rob the Austro-German customs union of the danger of German domination would seem to be in their acceptance of the invitation to enter the combination. In other words, a safe cure for pan-German union is pan-European union.

Indeed, there is good reason to believe that one of the aims of M. Briand in fathering the European federation scheme was to forestall the German political union. He started the pendulum swinging towards a European customs union with the tariff truce, but his own country, along with others, thought that there was no need to hurry. Hence his attempt ended in failure. Now, thanks to the Germans and Austrians that fear, which has always been the chief driving force in the European union movement, has been revived once again. The basic problem in uniting Europe is the problem of uniting France and Germany.

France strengthened her position by the naval agreement with Italy, and Germany was sore. Now the Germans are strengthening their economic position by the tariff agreement with Austria, and the French are furious. Meanwhile the equilibrium is restored, and those, who believe that such equilibrium is *sine qua non* of any real union or understanding between the two proud powers, are inclined to rejoice at the indications of a better future.

UNION WILL BENEFIT EUROPE

Even if the Austro-German customs union is not actuated by purely economic motives,—especially on the part of Germany,—it would nevertheless be as advantageous in the long run as commercial agreement. Considered simply as an economic undertaking, leaving the political aspects out of it, the Austro-German proposal should be received warmly, since any lowering or removal of tariffs in Europe is something that all economists would look upon with favour. The greatest obstacles to Europe's prosperity are tariffs and armaments. In fact, M. Briand has been one of the most powerful critics of this situation and the most earnest advocates of a general arrangement for cutting down customs in the interest of a freer flow of trade and a better standard of living. The Austro-German customs union holds out many advantages to the countries involved. While there were 52,000,000 inhabitants in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, the peace treaties reduced Austria's inland market to a population of 6,500,000. But the proposed customs treaty would open up for Austria a wide market in Germany with a population of 70,000,000. These Austrian farmers would find ready market for their cattle, butter and cheese. In fact, Germany alone imports, in spite of tariff barriers, some Rs. 225,000,000 worth of these dairy products.

However, the readjustment would work hardship on small Austrian industries. Most of the factories in Austria were created on the basis of protection against Germany and other industrial nations. With the tariff knocked off many manufacturers would be unable to compete with their German rivals. Though an interim tariff is envisaged to protect small industries from being swamped, yet some industries are bound to suffer in the readjustment. Nevertheless,

a market ten times as large as Austria's present domestic market cannot but be beneficial in the long run to a production limited by the shrinkage of Austria's market after the war. Anything in fact would be better than the present situation in which Europe is split up by too many frontiers, and trade movements are hampered by too many tariffs.

Similarly, the customs union would open up for Germany also a wider market. And what is more, it would give her a greatly increased supply of tariff-free iron; this is exactly what she wants as Germany has been short of iron since the Lorraine ore deposits were given over to France after the war. Further, in 1929 Austria consumed some Rs. 330,000,000 worth of German products, and with the tariff off she would provide even a better market for Germany. Besides these benefits in the field of economics, the customs union would serve Germany as a salve to her pride. It would be a step towards that equality among the powers, of which the peace treaty deprived her, and which she is determined to regain. The proposed union would increase her population by nearly that much as was decreased by the peace treaty. It would also partly make up for the loss of the Polish Corridor and Alsace-Lorraine. Apart from political advantages, such regional agreements for tariff reduction and economic co-operation are widely recognized as not only sound but essential if the handicap of too many frontiers are to be overcome.

We are witnessing in Europe a general increase in tariffs and a steady closing down of markets as a result of the economic isolation of all nations. Unless a different policy prevails in Europe, the European nations are heading straight for acute problems of unemployment and class conflicts. The shortest way out of her economic problems is undoubtedly that offered by a European federation. But, after the failure of all efforts to achieve a tariff truce, the Austro-German free trade agreement is the first practical step towards the reduction of customs barriers in Europe. By inviting other States to enter into similar regional agreements, Germany and Austria have opened the door to new trade parleys. It is to be hoped that the era of fruitless conferences is ended and that the Council of the League of Nations would now move in the

direction of encouraging definite action in bringing about closer economic co-operation in Europe. The Austro-German customs union marks the first independent and constructive step Germany has taken since the war in the field of foreign policy. The

Austrians and Germans must be given credit for having made through this proposed scheme the first practical attempt to rehabilitate the theory of free trade and larger markets as the salvation of the distressed Continent.

Rammohun Roy as a Journalist

(A SUPPLEMENT)

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

In the April and May numbers of this *Review* I published an article under the above heading, in which, among others, an account was given of the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, a weekly journal in Persian—edited by Rammohun. The account was necessarily brief, as details on certain points were not available, by reason of the Calcutta libraries not having complete files of the newspapers of that time, particularly Silk Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal*.^{*} I have since been able to obtain from the British Museum transcripts of an editorial which the *Calcutta Journal*, in its issue of 10th April 1823, translated from the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*. These are reproduced below and will furnish the grounds which led Rammohun to terminate the career of his Persian paper so untimely and so abruptly :

MIRAT-UL-UKHBAR
Friday, April 4, 1823.—(Not included
in the Regular Numbers)

It was previously intimated, that a Rule and Ordinance was promulgated by His

^{*} For want of newspaper files for 1822, I was obliged to lay under contribution certain extracts from an article on "Ireland ; the Causes of its Distress and Discontents," as reproduced by Miss Collet in her biography of Rammohun Roy. Though she mentions the fact that this article appeared in the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, dated 11 Oct. 1822, Miss Collet is silent on the source from which she derived its English translation, as quoted by her. I have since been able to ascertain that the English translation of the article in question first appeared in the columns of the *Bengal Hurkaru*, dated Tuesday, Oct. 15, 1822, the files of which are in the possession of the India Office Library, London. Miss Collet's version of the article, which was reproduced by me, suffers from at least two misprints which require correction, viz. :
Modern Review, May 1931 :
P. 511, col. 1, line 29 for "royal" read "kings"
"Ireland" read "England"

Excellency the Honourable the Governor General in Council, enacting, that a Daily, Weekly, or any Periodical Paper should not be published in this City, without an Affidavit being made by its Proprietor in the Police Office, and without a License being procured for such publication from the Chief Secretary to Government ; and that after such License being obtained, it is optional with the Governor General to recall the same, whenever His Excellency may be dissatisfied with any part of the Paper. Be it known, that on the 31st of March, the Honourable Sir Francis Macnaghten, Judge of the Supreme Court, expressed his approbation of the Rule and Ordinance so passed. Under these circumstances, I, the least of all the human race, in consideration of several difficulties, have, with much regret and reluctance, relinquished the publication of this Paper (*Mirat-ool-Ukhbar*). The difficulties are these :—

First—Although it is very easy for those European Gentlemen, who have the honour to be acquainted with the Chief Secretary to Government, to obtain a License according to the prescribed form ; yet to a humble individual like myself, it is very hard to make his way through the porters and attendants of a great Personage ; or to enter the doors of the Police Court, crowded with people of all classes, for the purpose of obtaining what is in fact, already [? unnecessary] in my own opinion. As it is written—

Abrooe lih ba-sad khoon i jigar dast dihad
Ba-oomed-i karam-e, kha'jah, ba-darban
ma-sar-oh.

The respect which is purchased with a hundred drops of heart's blood
Do not thou, in the hope of a favor, commit to the mercy of a porter.
Secondly—To make Affidavit voluntarily

in an open Court, in presence of respectable Magistrates, is looked upon as very mean and censurable by those who watch the conduct of their neighbours. Besides, the publication of a newspaper is not incumbent upon every person, so that he must resort to the evasion of establishing fictitious Proprietors, which is contrary to Law, and repugnant to Conscience.

Thirdly—After incurring the disrepute of solicitation and suffering the dishonour of making Affidavit, the constant apprehension of the License being recalled by Government which would disgrace the person in the eyes of the world, must create such anxiety as entirely to destroy his peace of mind, because a man, by nature liable to err, in telling the real truth cannot help sometimes making use of words and selecting phrases that might be unpleasant to Government. I, however, here prefer silence to speaking out :

*Gada-e goshah nasheene to Hafiza
makharosh*

*Roomooz maslabat-i khash khoosrovan
danand.*

Thou O Hafiz, art a poor retired man,
be silent :

Princes know the secrets of their own
Policy.

I now entreat those kind and liberal gentlemen of Persia and Hindoostan, who have honoured the *Mirat-ool-Ukhbar* with their patronage, that in consideration of the reasons above stated, they will excuse the non-fulfilment of my promise to make them acquainted with passing events, as stated in the introductory remarks in the first number ; and I earnestly hope from their liberality, that wherever and however I may be situated, they will always consider me, the humblest of the human race, as devoted to their service.*

* The *Calcutta Journal*, Thursday, April 10, 1823. Asiatic Department. p. 557.

Salt in Bengal

By HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE

THE decision endorsed by the Indian Legislative Assembly that an additional duty should be imposed on salt imported into Bengal from foreign salt works other than those situated in Aden has drawn the attention of the inhabitants of this penalized Presidency to the question of the possibility of Bengal providing her own supply of salt. The decay and ultimate disappearance of the industry in Bengal is due to the competition of foreign salt, the preference of the people for white salt and their neglect of improved methods of manufacture.

In 1894 the Government of India had a memorandum prepared, as a conspectus of the system and methods of the administration of the Indian salt revenue in all its branches and in all provinces. In that memorandum we have the following :

Bengal and the greater part of Burma obtain their salt by importation. Under the Mohammadan

rule a tax was levied on salt by means of imposts on the privilege of manufacture, and by duties on the transport of salt from the places of manufacture to the interior of the country. Later on a system was gradually matured which provide for the control, the manufacture, and the sale at the agency of the Company's servants. It was introduced by Clive and perfected by Warren Hastings in 1765 to 1780, and it survived in a modified form till 1862.

The trade in Cheshire salt rose to importance about the year 1835 and thenceforth imported salt gradually ousted the native product in Bengal proper, until by 1873-74 local manufacture had ceased and the accumulated stocks had become exhausted. The dampness of the climate and the large amount of fresh water discharged into the Bay of Bengal by the Ganges and the Brahmaputra tell against efficient salt-manufacture on the Bengal coast, but the manufacture of salt was not finally abandoned in Orissa 1898.

But the sea-coast was not the only place where salt was manufactured in Bengal. In Sir George Watt's monumental work—*A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India* (1893), we read:

Formerly salt was manufactured in Midnapore and Jessore, but at the present day only a small quantity is made at Behar, Bhagalpore, Monghyr, and the neighbourhood of Calcutta as a by-product in the salt-petre manufacture. In Orissa, however, salt is still manufactured from sea-water by solar evaporation. Formerly, it was also made by artificial heat (*ganga salt*), but this has recently been prohibited.

The importance of this industry will be apparent from Grant's *Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal* (1786). In this *Analysis* pages are devoted to the industry under the head "Salt Lands, Ceded and Dewany" and we quote the following extracts from it:

The woody inhospitable tract of country, which, for the sake of distinction, may be henceforth termed Noondeep, bordering the sea-coast in a curve, stretching across the mouths of the Ganges, about 330 British miles from Jellapore West, on the frontiers of the Chukleh of Midnapore in Orissa, to Islamabad, the port and capital of Chittagong, near the S. E. extremity of Bengal, and comprehending (inclusive of the Sunderbunds) an area at least of 7,000 square miles in the isles and continent, already comprised in the general dimensions of the souah, hath always been of considerable importance, as a strong natural barrier against foreign invasion, or as yielding the necessary article of salt for internal consumption. But it is only within period of British administration, that its soil and growth of wood, both essential to the production of this valuable manufacture, have been turned to the proper financial account of the State, instead of enriching, with greater burthen on the people, two or three corrupt fonedjars with a few favourite Mogul or other foreign merchants, who always, exclusively, under Musulman government, possessed the entire trade of the country; while the large body of Hindoo natives, employed in this and any other branch of commerce, were as they still for the most part continue to be, mere carriers, brokers, shroffs, or agent banians, receiving indefinite commission settled at discretion by themselves."

Anciently, and still in common, the quantity of this article made for and consumed annually in Bengal, may be estimated on an average, at twenty lacks of maunds each of 80 lbs. weight, produced by the labour of 45,000 Molungees; who with superior agents, including all expenses paid in money, were entitled to an allowance of about 20 rupees, usually advanced by contracting merchants, besides what was deemed equivalent to 40 rupees more furnished constantly in kind, and returned to the states from the original standard price of delivery at Hooghly, fixed latterly at 60 rupees per.....Mds.

And now the whole quantity in yearly demand (being on a medium 28 lacks of maunds) is manufactured in the proportion of one-third in the ceded and two-thirds in the dewany lands of Bengal,

for the use probably of 10 millions of souls there, and one-fourth of that number in Behar; imposing only a moderate charge for one of the comforts of life, at the utmost calculation of 6½ annas, or thirteen pence each, individual per annum allowing the gross sales, inclusive of all expenses, to be Sixty Rupees 51,50,000.

Mr. Grant estimated that the quantity of salt annually manufactured in Hiji (Midnapore) alone was 8,53,128 maunds which was sold to the people at an average price of Rs. 2 a maund during the first half of the seventeenth century. The *malgoojary* land in Hiji was divided into Mudhoor and Nemocky.

The latter, or salt land, is that portion exposed to the overflowing of the tides, usually called Churs where maunds of earth strongly impregnated with saline particles are formed, then classed into kahlaries or working places. Each on a medium, estimated to yield 233 maunds of salt, requiring the labour of seven Molungee manufacturers, who by an easy process of filtration, and boiling afterwards the brine with firewood, collected from the neighbouring jungles, of annual growth, are enabled to complete the operations from November to June before the setting in of the periodical rains and with the savings from six months' wages fixed by the government with the zemindars, retire to their respective homes for the remainder of the season to cultivate their proper Mudhoory lands, held free or on very favourable terms, under the denomination of chakran as a subsistence for the rest of the year --

Reference has already been made to the work of Warren Hastings in perfecting the system which provided for control of the manufacture, and the sale of salt at the agency of the Company's servants Vansittart must be credited with having helped the Company in this matter. In *The Good Old Days of Honourable John Company* this has been mentioned prominently:

On the 7th October, 1786, died, after a few days' illness, Henry Vansittart Esq., universally beloved, admired and lamented. In him the Company have lost a faithful and most able servant to whose integrity and indefatigable assiduity, they are principally indebted for the success which has attended Mr. Hastings' plan for the manufacture of salt, whereby the revenues have been increased 50 lakhs of rupees per annum.

Manufacture of salt in Orissa was continued long after it had been abandoned in Bengal proper. In that mine of information, *The Good Old Days of Honourable John Company*, is to be found an illustrated account of the process of salt manufacture in Bengal. It will prove interesting:

The season of manufacture dates from December to the setting in of the rains. In carrying on the manufacture there is a good deal to contend with. Heavy rains and unseasonably

high or low tides greatly impede it. The produce is also affected by fogs and cloudy or hazy weather. But, supposing that everything is in the Molunghee's favour, and the time for manufacture has arrived, we will proceed to look at the various processes which the sea water undergoes before it becomes the article found on our table as edible salt.

There is the *khullaree*, or spot of ground, about three bighas in extent, divided into three equal portions, which are banded. These divisions are called *Chatturs* or salt fields, into which the salt water is introduced.

In each *Chattur*, at a convenient spot, is dug a reservoir or *jooree* to contain the quantity of salt water necessary to carry on the manufacture. The Molunghee has to be careful in keeping his *jooree* well supplied from the adjacent river or canal on each returning spring tide, and to effect this he excavates a small drain communicating with the river or canal, through which the salt water is conveyed at high water spring tides into the reservoir.

On each *Chattur* is constructed the *maidah*, a primitive filterer composed of a circular mud wall $4\frac{1}{2}$ cubits high, $7\frac{1}{2}$ cubits broad at top, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ cubits at the base; at its summit is a basin of about one and a half cubits depth, and 5 cubits diameter; the bottom is prepared of clay, ashes and sand; it is extremely clean and hard, and quite impervious to water, a hole is pierced in the centre of this basin, and an earthen pot or *koonree* is carefully fitted thereto so as to admit of the insertion of a hollow reed or bamboo to connect the basin with the *naad*, or receiving vessel, and which is intended to act as a pipe to draw off the brine from the former to the latter. This *naad* is capable of containing from 30 to 35 *ghurrahs* of salt water, and is attached to the *maidah*. Over this *koonree* is laid a light bamboo frame upon which is placed a layer of straw, and on that again a stratum of the *chattur* saline earth is thrown, and stamped down hard with the feet.

Into the hollow or basin of the *maidah* the saline earth, which has been scraped off the salt fields, is thrown until it is filled to the brim. Afterwards 3 or 4 men stamp it well down with their feet, and throw upon it about 80 *ghurrahs* of salt water from the *jooree* or reservoir already described. This quantity of water is however poured on the *maidah* at intervals, so as to insure its not overflowing, but percolating gently and emptying itself, charged with the saline properties of the earth already there, through the reed pipe into the *naad* or reservoir near the base of the *maidah*. The above quantity of water is calculated to fill the *naad* with about 32 *ghurrahs* of strong brine ready for boiling.

After the saline earth has been thus partially deprived of its saline properties, it is taken out and used as a manure, being scattered over the salt field to increase its fecundity for the next season.

The brine is now carried in *ghurrahs* into the *thannah naad*, or receiver, previously prepared, which is capable of holding 30 to 40 *ghurrahs* and is close to or outside the boiling house, where he (?) allows it to settle for about 24 hours to precipitate all impurities previous to boiling. When sufficiently clear, it is baled out and carried into the boiling house.

The *Bhooree ghur* or boiling house is generally situated close to the salt fields and is built

north and south, within the boiling house or in its northern compartment is erected a mud or earthen furnace raised from the ground about $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 cubits; over its centre is the *phant*, or boiler, the diameter of which is about 5 cubits; it is made quite circular and is usually called a *phant chukkur*.

On this *chukkur* are arranged very carefully in circles, rising one above the other in the shape of a pyramid, from 200 to 225 little conical shaped earthen pots, called *koonrees*, each capable of containing about $1\frac{1}{4}$ seers of brine: these are cemented together merely with the same mud or clay with which the *phant chukkur* is made, and this clay hardens around them by the heat of the furnace until the whole forms itself into a solid pyramid of little boilers capable of boiling, in from four to six hours, in the aggregate, two baskets full of salt, or from two to three mounds in weight, the contents of these baskets is called a *jal*, and the fire place or *choolah* is immediately under the *phant*.

These little earthen pots or *koonrees* are filled with brine brought from the outside *thannah naad*; the boiling now commences. When the brine in *koonree* is partly evaporated, the Molunghee adds more with a primitive ladder made of a coconut fixed to a piece of bamboo, which he dips into the *ghurrah* of brine placed near the *phant*, and this he continues doing till the *koonree* is about three parts full of salt. At the back of the boiler is a hole, into this all the ashes from the straw and grass burnt is collected from the bottom of the *choolah*.

After four or five hours boiling, all the aqueous contents of the *koonree* having been evaporated in steam, the salt is taken out with iron ladders and deposited in baskets which are placed on either side of the *choolah* on bamboo frames, and there it is allowed to drain for about 24 hours while the Molunghee repeats the above process for another boiling.

An improved method of preparing sea salt in India was introduced into Calcutta in 1812, and a company formed to carry on work in the Lakes to the east of the town and in the Sunderbans at *Narnampore* and at *Ghorda* where, after the first difficulties inseparable from a new undertaking were overcome, salt of a very superior quality was manufactured in large quantities.

A reference to *Bengal MSS. Records* will show that salt formed an important source of revenue to the Government and was regularly manufactured in several districts of Bengal.

In his account of Orissa Sir William Wilson Hunter gave the following account of the manufacture of salt in Parikud in Orissa:

The manufacture begins at the commencement of the hot season in the latter half of March. In the first place, a little canal is dug from the Chilka Lake, with sets of broad shallow tanks on either side. These sets of tanks run out at right angles from the canal in rows of four. Each tank is 75 feet square, by from 18 inches to 3 feet deep. On the first day of the manufacture, the brackish water of the lake is admitted by the canal into the first tank of each of the sets of rows. Here it stands for twenty-four hours; and as the depth of this first series of tanks is only 18 inches, evaporation

goes on very rapidly. Next morning the brine is transferred from tank No. 1 to tank No. 2 in each of the sets of rows. Tank No. 2 is 24 inches deep and each successive one deepens by 6 inches till the brine reaches No. 4, which is 3 feet deep. The water stands for a day in each, gradually thickening as it evaporates. On the fourth day it is transferred to tank No. 4; and on the morning of the fifth, some of the brine is laddled from that tank into an adjoining network of very shallow pools, each pool being 5 feet square by only 6 inches deep.

Here it stands during the intense heat of the day. In the afternoon the manufacture is complete, and the salt is raked out by the network of shallow pools.

The same process goes on, with slight variations, from day to day..... Each working is composed of a row of four tanks and a network of shallow pools, and is managed by from three to five men, who are paid by piecework.

Hunter gave the following estimate of cost per maund:

	Annas	Pies
Cost of labour	2	6
Land rent	0	6
Excavation of canal, etc.	0	6
Part cost of workmen	0	3
Part cost of establishment	0	3
Total	4	0

Thus Hunter estimates the manufacturing cost of salt prepared in Orissa at 4 annas a maund, while Grant has stated that its price (to the public) in Bengal used to be about Rs. 2 per maund. Yet Indian salt could not compete successfully with foreign salt in Bengal!

The reason, however, is not far to seek. We have attributed the decay and disappearance of this industry mainly to three causes—the competition of foreign salt, the preference of the people for white salt and their neglect of improved methods of manufacture.

Regarding the first it would be enough to quote what Hunter has said: "Liverpool salt comes out at very low rates, often indeed as ballast, to Calcutta."

The preference of the people for white salt need no longer be counted as an obstacle to the progress of the industry in Bengal. Not only are the people prepared to

use brown salt, provided it is chemically pure, but what is more, it has been conclusively demonstrated that the salt manufactured at Mahisabathan and Kalikapur near Calcutta during the days of the civil disobedience movement, was perfectly white. This salt was also free from any element injurious to the human system.

We have quoted descriptions of the methods of manufacture adopted in Bengal and Orissa and it is needless to say that they were crude and primitive. It is a pity details of the "improved method of preparing sea salt," introduced into Calcutta in 1842 and mentioned in *The Good Old Days of Honourable John Company* are not available, nor have we been able to find out why it was abandoned. But it is evident that modern methods of manufacturing salt were never tried in Bengal.

The memorandum prepared by the Government of India in 1894 mentioned that "the dampness of the climate and the large amount of fresh water discharged into the Bay of Bengal by the Ganges and the Brahmaputra tell against efficient salt manufacture on the Bengal coast." But we have seen that the salt manufactured during the months from November to June was sufficient to meet the requirements of the people. By the adoption of modern methods of manufacture the quantity of salt manufactured during these dry months can easily be increased. Salt manufacture, moreover, can be taken to as a cottage industry in several districts in Bengal. It has to be seen if the amount of fresh water discharged into the Bay of Bengal can be regarded as an insuperable obstacle to the industry being successful in Bengal.

If it is held that for the supply of an important commodity like salt India should not depend upon foreign sources there is no reason why a province like Bengal where salt can be manufactured from natural sources should depend on Karachi and Okha and far off Aden which is not a part of India.

The Redistribution of Provinces—Greater Bengal

By JATINDRAMOHAN DATTA

IN the coming Federal India, the provinces as the constituent units are bound to play an important part. Whether the residuary powers of the Government reside at the centre or in the provinces, the Provincial Governments are going to play a vital part in the national life of the people.

The present distribution of the provinces is highly irrational. The Simon Commission observes that "in India there are only a number of administrative areas which have grown up almost haphazard as the result of conquests, supersession of former rulers or administrative convenience. No one of them has been deliberately formed with a view to its suitability as a self-governing unit within a federated whole." The Nehru Report also says that "the present distribution of provinces in India has no rational basis. It is merely due to accident and the circumstances attending the growth of the British power in India. As a whole it has little to do with geographical or historical or economic or linguistic reasons. Even from the purely administrative point of view it is not a success. It is clear that there must be a redistribution of provinces. Some of us favour small provinces, others prefer large provinces. But small or large, the question of redistribution has to be tackled."

The Simon Commission is of opinion that in spite of developments they cannot regard the present provinces as in any way ideal areas for self-government. Although they are well aware of the difficulties encountered in all attempts to alter boundaries and of the administrative and financial complications that arise, they make a *definite recommendation* for reviewing, and if possible resettling the provincial boundaries of India at as early a date as possible."

There is a considerable body of opinion in India which calls for some readjustment of boundaries and redistribution of areas. The existing provincial boundaries in more than one case embrace areas and peoples of natural affinity, and sometimes separate those who might

under a different scheme be more naturally united. There are, however, very great difficulties in the way of redistribution and the history of the partition of Bengal stands as a warning of the caution needed before undertaking any operation so likely to run counter to old associations or to inflame suspicion and resentment. Moreover, the consequential administrative and financial adjustments are bound to be of an extremely complex character. In this connection, the Simon Commission refers to the chapter in the Nehru Report, which deals with the redistribution of provinces and discusses the difficult subject of "linguistic areas." The Simon Report observes that if those who speak the same language form a compact and self-contained area, so situated and endowed as to be able to support its existence as a separate province, there is no doubt that the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for the provincial individuality. But it is not the only test—race, religion, economic interest, geographical contiguity, a due balance between country and town and between coast-line and interior may all be relevant factors. Most important of all, perhaps, for practical purposes, is the largest possible measure of general agreement on the changes proposed, both on the side of the area that is gaining and on the side of the area that is losing territory.

The Commission goes on to observe that "so close a union as now exists between Orissa and Bihar is a glaring example of the artificial connection of areas which are not naturally related."

These (i. e., provincial) boundaries, as a rule, have none of the characteristics of a natural frontier; the lines they follow are largely due to the way in which British authority happened to spread over the sub-continent and to the order of time in which different accretions became joined to what was already organized as an administrative unit. As long as the Government of India was entirely centralized, and both the administrative and the finance of any

area were provided and directed from the centre, the line taken by a provincial boundary was of less importance. But now that the provinces have a real political existence of their own, the situation is changing, and the time is coming when each province will not only have its own provincial Government and its own provincial resources, but will form a unit in a federated whole, it is extremely important that the adjustment of provincial boundaries and the creation of proper provincial areas should take place before the new process has gone too far. Once the mould has set, any mal-distribution will be still more difficult to correct. In view of these considerations the Simon Commission proposed, and regarded it as a matter of urgent importance, that the Government of India should set up a Boundaries Commission with a neutral Chairman, which would investigate the main cases in which provincial readjustment seems called for, and should endeavour to work out schemes with a view to seeing how far agreement is possible.

According to the 1921 Census, the total of the Bengali-speaking population throughout India is 49,294,099; of these 43,769,394 reside within the present administrative boundaries of Bengal including the native States of Cooch Behar and Tippera. The total number and proportion per 10,000 of the Bengali speaking in the adjoining British provinces are given below :

	Total	Proportion per 10,000
Assam	3,525,220	4.13
Bihar & Orissa	1,568,138	437
Barma	301,039	229

The present province of Assam may be said to be an annexe of Bengal. No other language is spoken by so many men in Assam; the proportion of Assamese spoken in Assam is 2160 per 10,000. About 12.6 per cent of the Bengalis reside outside Bengal.

The number of Bengali speaking persons in the rest of India is quite small, being 41,456; of whom 23,160 reside in the U. P., mostly in the sacred cities of Benares, Mathura and Brindaban.

In a possible redistribution and readjustment of the boundaries of the provinces, only those areas which are contiguous to each other can be amalgamated together. This would concentrate the Bengali speaking in their home province, increase their

potentialities and reduce the causes of friction and heart-burning and lastly prevent them from being slowly absorbed in a different culture.

It is universally admitted that progress and general culture depends upon language. Language as a rule corresponds with a special variety of culture, of traditions and literature.

At the All-Parties Conference in 1928, when the Nehru Report was discussed, the following principles of redistribution were agreed to :

Partly geographical and partly economic and financial, but the main considerations must necessarily be the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned. It is most desirable for provinces to be regrouped on linguistic basis.

The Indian National Congress recognized the principle as early as 1921, and so far as the Congress machinery is concerned, India has been divided into linguistic provinces.

With regard to the union of the Bengali-speaking population, the Congress in 1911, after the announcement of the annulment of the Partition of Bengal, but before the actual creation of the province of Behar and Orissa, passed the following resolution :

"That the Congress desires to place on record its sense of profound gratitude to His Majesty, the King Emperor for the creation of a separate province of Bihar and Orissa under a Lieutenant-Governor in Council, and prays that in readjusting the Provincial boundaries, the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration."

As stated above, 12.6 per cent of the Bengali-speaking people reside outside Bengal. The actual proportion is really greater, as many of the Bengali-speaking people in the border regions of Bihar and Orissa have been returned in the census of 1921 as Hindi-speaking. The following is a summary of the conclusions of the Bihar and Orissa Census Report for 1921 about this question.

Bengali is spoken by 1,636,990 persons in the province (i.e., of Bihar and Orissa) of whom 1,530,111 or 92.3 per cent are found in the border districts and States of the province on the east from Purnea to Balasore. In 1911, the number was 2,294,941, the difference being accounted for by the Kishanganj dialect in Purnea being recorded as Hindi on the present occasion. In Bhagalpur also, though the numbers involved are

not great, there has been a fairly marked decrease of Bengali speakers, but generally speaking in Bihar there has been a slight if unimportant increase. In Orissa there has been a decrease, of which the greater part has occurred in Balasore district; the increase (decrease) has occurred in every *thana* but is marked in Bhadrak. In the Chota Nagpur plateau Bengali shows a big increase of 52,000 in Manbhum. In Singhbhum also there is an increase of over 14,000 or 13.3 per cent.

In Purnea Hindi has greatly increased at the expense of Bengali. The figures in the foot-note give the number of Hindi and Bengali speakers in this district at the last three Censuses.* The fluctuations are caused by the varying treatment of the mixed dialect of Hindi and Bengali, commonly referred to as "Kishanganjia," which is described in the index of languages as the equivalent of Siripuria "a form of the Northern dialect of Bengali spoken in Eastern Purnea," the number of speakers then being estimated at 603,623.

No special instructions were issued as to how this dialect should be returned in the schedules and it was generally entered as Hindi, though ten years ago (in 1911) it was generally entered as Bengali.

The Sub-Divisional Officer explained that in his opinion a pure Hindi speaker would be more at home in this area than a speaker of *pure Bengali* (The italics are ours), and that therefore the record of the dialect as Hindi was in his opinion correct. If the entry had been "Kishanganjia" it would have been classified as Bengali in accordance with the index and the classification adopted in 1911, but the entry was "Hindi" and could not simply be changed to Bengali. On the other hand, the fluctuations show fairly accurately the number of persons who speak this dialect and that the estimate in the Linguistic Survey is not far wrong; it is spoken in the Kishanganj sub-division except on the borders of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri where Bengali is spoken and in the eastern half of the Sadar sub-division.

So, the nameless Sub-Divisional Officer was allowed to over-ride the mature conclusions of Sir George Grierson and of the Linguistic

Survey of India. The real reason seems to be political. In the present census of 1931, the enumerators in Singhbhum have been asked to note the race of the Bengali-speaking persons, as if these half-illiterate and ignorant enumerators are expert physiognomists and authorities on anthropology. The real reason seems to have it included in the new Orissa and oppose its possible transfer to Bengal.

The 1921 census report discussing the influence of court languages on the number of speakers speaking that language makes many interesting observations:

In Sambalpur, it says, the proportion of Hindi speakers now stands at 5.2 where ten years ago it stood at 9.5 per cent. This reduction in Hindi is owing to a heavy transfer to Oriya which has occurred in every police station in the district. The Deputy Commissioner states that since the court language of the district was changed from Hindi to Oriya in 1905, there has been a steady decrease in the number of Hindi speakers.

In Seraikela also, according to the report, the proportionate number of Hindi speakers has dropped to about half of what it was, but the absolute figures are small. The drop has a good deal to do with the fact that "Oriya has been introduced as the Court language and that education is largely conducted through the medium of Oriya."

The *District Gazetteer* says that Purnea is "essentially a border district." The effect of its situation is noticeable both in the varying physique and character of the population, and also in the language. More remarkable, however, is the ethnical, religious and linguistic boundary formed by the river Mahananda. The country to the east is more nearly allied to Bengal, and the bulk of the inhabitants are of Rajbansi (Koch) origin, while to the west the castes are the same as in the adjoining Bihar districts. Mussalman number two-thirds of the population east of the river, but only one-third to the west of it. On the confines of Dinajpur and Malda, Bengali is the mother-tongue of the people.

The Sheikhhs (670,000 out of 18,75,000 in 1901) who are chiefly found in the east and north of the district, form more than one-third of its total population. Their features, characteristics and habits show that they are mostly the descendants of converts from Hinduism, and they still join with Hindus in several religious rites. Four sub-castes are recognized locally, viz., (1) Bengali, (2) Kulaiya, (3) Habalyar and (4) Khutta, of which the

*	Difference		Difference	
	1921	1911-21	1911	1901-11
Bengali	102,005	-647,013	749,018	+637,141
Hindi	1,874,971	+672,403	1,202,568	-370,887
				1,773,455

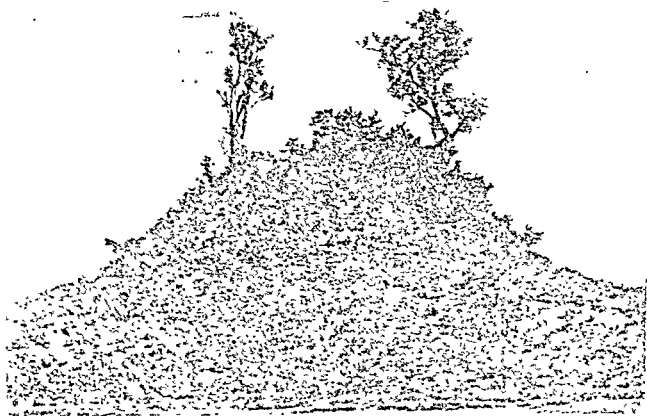
Paharpur

By SAROJENDRANATH RAY, M.A.

THE site which is now known as Paharpur in the district of Rajshahi in Bengal represents one of the noblest historical places of which Bengal should justly be proud. A more ancient and a more precious archaeological spot has not yet been discovered in Bengal. It is ultimately connected with the history of at least six spacious centuries of Indian history and three or four great cults that profoundly influenced the minds of the people of this country.

sandy bed full of mica and gold dust, and a flight of steps leading to it. Local tradition also speaks of its existence.

Although it is now a very insignificant village and its importance as an archaeological find was unknown even to the villagers, it has got very romantic traditions. It is in the vicinity of other mounds, which, if explored, will prove equally precious. Such are the mounds of Satyapir and Dīpganj (in the mauza of Haludihār, called after the yellow



Paharpur before excavation

By the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India

The spot, which is three miles away from the Eastern Bengal Railway station, Jamalganj, is situated in a very fertile locality, formerly watered by a beautiful river which has now been filled up. The traces of the river can still be found in the

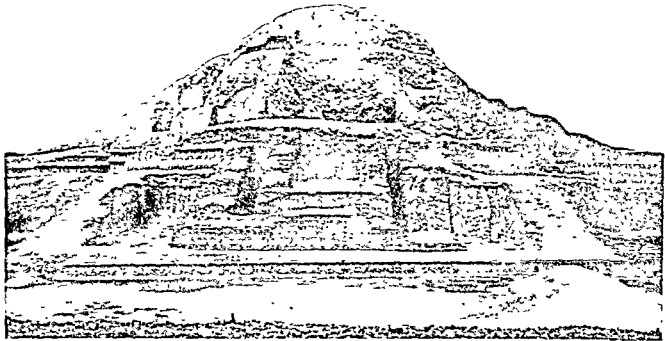
robed monks, who lived in the monastery of Dīpganj, now in ruins. The local people say that the ruins represent the palace of a Hindu king named Mahidalan or Mahimaradan who had a very beautiful daughter, Sandhyamani. Once the princess dreamt that

she would be the virgin mother of a famous saint who would convert all the people to his faith. On questioning how the birth was possible, she learnt that when bathing in the river, a flower would float down to her, which she would smell and conceive. This baby, we are told, later on, became the famous saint *Satyapir* whose mound near by is visited and worshipped by a large number of people, generally Muhammadans. The saint *Satyapir*, we learn from traditions, like the medieval saints, *viz.*, Kabir, Dadu and Nanak, preached a monotheistic religion and asked his mother's relations to abjure idolatry and worship God only in spirit. The *Satyapir* cult which was preached in the local dialect and was a mixture of Islam and Hinduism had a large number of adherents. The most important part of the worship is the offering of an uncooked sweet gruel consisting of meal of scented rice, fruits and milk.

Traditions apart, the names of the surrounding villages testify to the importance of the place, *viz.*, Rajapur, Malancha, Dharmapur, Bhandarpur, etc. Paharpur, it seems, was not the ancient name of the place. Before the excavation was taken up the ruins presented the spectacle of a hill surrounded by a chain of hillocks. This explains the present name. The original name of the village appears to be Somapura, as a seal bearing the words Somapura-Dharmapala-Vihara has been found out from the ruins. Now an inscription discovered in the ruins of Budh Gaya in Bihar mentions a famous monastery in Bengal of that name. The existence of a neighbouring village, called Ompur lends credence to the hypothesis.

The site covering about ten acres of land seems to have been that of a monastery built round a shrine of the *Sarvatobhadra* type, *i. e.* having fronts on all sides. As Bengal is poor in stone almost the entire fabric is built with bricks supported by stone pillars and corner stones. According to the orthodox Hindu traditions people should live only in front of a temple. Thus the three other sides should be left vacant. To avert this difficulty temples were erected as projections on each of the four sides of the central shrine—a square-sized brick-built tower about 75 ft. high, supposed to be a reliquary of the *stupa* type. It has been entered through the top after removing the earth. But no relic casket has been found at the chequered

bottom, though built for the purpose of receiving it there. Each temple consists of an inner sanctuary with a pedestal where the deity was kept. In front of it there was the *Mandana* built on stone pillars, it being again skirted by the *Pradakshina-path* open walk round the temple) which leads from one temple to the other. The walls are found to be decorated with a long dado composed of a single line of terracotta plaques. By the side of the path there are brick-built benches. The main entrance to the monastery which could be reached by a flight of steps from the plains was on the north—an auspicious thing according to Hindu traditions. The main portal which was wide and built of stone was connected with the temple by a straight broad avenue gradually sloping up to the *Pradakshina-path*. Branching on left and right of the main gate were cells, fifty-one in number, arranged in straight rows on each of the four sides—all connected by a broad corridor, supported on stone pillars and fenced off by railings. Nothing but the plinth and floor is in existence now, and it is difficult to state whether the monastery was single storeyed. In between the shrine and the row of cells there were courtyards, temples, halls and wells which are now in ruins. Sanitary arrangements were not lacking. Not only were there conduits from room to room, yard to yard but also sewers; on the southern side of the monastery overlooking a ditch there was a large number of latrines all arranged in rows. The slanting drains of the latrines are still in good order. On the eastern side of the monastery there was the river spoken of above. There are ruins at least of one house outside the quadrangle of the monastery on the river bank. The foundation of the shrine has been considerably depressed, so that a good many feet of the structure which were formerly above ground have now passed under the water level. The result has been that the basement which is the only decorated portion unravaged by time is constantly under water. On the upper portion of the plinth just below the cornice a long line of terracotta plaques representing birds, beasts, fishes, tortoises, serpents, rocks, plants, creepers and flowers which the rich soil of Bengal possessed abundantly is found round the base of the structure. The lower portion of the basement, however, is decorated at regular intervals, particularly at angles, with



After excavation—showing the Stupa
By the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India

granite tablets fixed in niches depicting important events relating to Hindu gods and goddesses and also some remarkable stories connected with mythical heroes and heroines—celebrated in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Some of them, however, have not yet been identified while a few are supposed to be of Buddhist saints. At least one plaque bears all the signs of a *Svetambara* Jaina saint, the *Jama Svastika* being visible on the chest. Carvings on several of them are strongly reminiscent of the later Gupta age. Among the Brahmanical deities we notice Siva in several postures and forms, Durga, Ganapati, Kartikeya, Sri Krishna, Balaram, Agni. None of them, however, bears any resemblance to the popular gods and goddesses that are worshipped now-a-days in Bengal, such as Durga with ten hands, Kali, Sarasvati, Lakshmi, Jagaddhatrī, etc., which, therefore, belong to a comparatively recent age.

Representations on the plaques are too numerous to be described in detail. Some of them are figures of single persons, such as a man or a woman dancing or an archer with a bow and a quiver. Some of them are groups, such as, a mother and a child or an amorous couple. Other interesting subjects exhibited are a man being killed by a lion, a soldier armed with a sword carrying a letter, an archer with a V-shaped

beard and hair tied in a knot over the head, an emaciated ascetic, a dancing-girl in a perfect *tribhanga* pose, a musician striking a gong, a gentleman with a *dhoti* in the Bengali fashion. Among animals, pairs of monkeys lovingly intertwined together or poring over each other, elephants of various sizes, shapes and postures, lions standing or crouching inside caves, deer, bears, foxes and buffaloes are noteworthy. Large varieties of birds, *eg.* cocks, peacocks, parrots and flamingoes claim our attention. Besides snakes, various kinds of fishes, crocodiles, conch-shells, crabs, tortoises and porpoises remind us of the character of the land which because of its proximity to the sea remained submerged under water during a considerable portion of the year.

The most prominent objects of worship, so far as ascertained, were the phallic symbol, the relic casket, the Buddhist wheel of the Law (*dharma-chakra*), and the lotus (*saddharma-pundarika*). No big image graven in wood, stone or any metal has been discovered so far, although there exists a large number of pedestals where the deities were worshipped. The conclusion that seems irresistible under the circumstances is that either these images were made of clay, as is the prevailing custom in Bengal, or they have been removed elsewhere. Had they been broken or destroyed by the Muhammadan

invaders, their mutilated heads, bodies and limbs would have been found amongst the débris.

Amongst epigraphical records consisting of copper-plates, inscriptions on stone, seals and coins, the short inscription on a votive pillar recording its dedication to the Lord Buddha by a Buddhist monk called Sthavira Jayagarbha in the 5th regnal year of Mahendrapala, evidently the Gurjara-Pratihara king of that name, son of Bhoja, deserves our most attentive consideration. The great Bhoja in the second half of the 9th century had



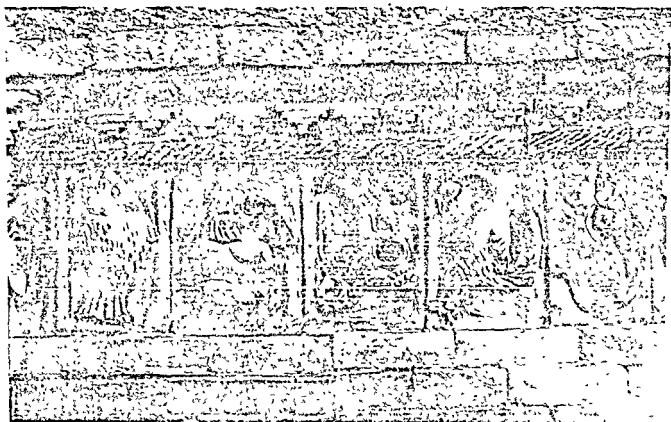
See Krishna

By the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India

succeeded after a strenuous struggle in checking the growing power of the Palas of Bengal and the Rastrakutas of the Deccan who in their respective turns had established a fleeting supremacy in Northern India and had seized the holy city of Kanyakubja, justly called the Rome of early Medieval India. Mahendrapaladeva (890-910 A.D.),

the son and successor of that celebrated monarch, not only inherited the vast empire of his father but extended his dominions on all sides, particularly in the east, where the sceptre of Dharmapala and Devapala, the paramount rulers of Northern India in the last half of the 8th and first half of the 9th centuries, had passed into the hands of such effete kings as Vigrahapala and Narayanapala. It is not, therefore, surprising to see that he had prostrated the contemporary Bengali ruler so successfully that in a monastery in the very heart of his kingdom, nay, one that bears the name of his proud ancestor, Dharmapala, the date used is the regnal year of Mahendrapaladeva, who must have been in possession of the *Visaya* (Kotivarsa?) at that time.

But besides Dharmapala and Mahendrapala, the name of Budhagupta appears to be connected with the shrine. A copper-plate inscription of the 159th year of the Gupta era (i.e., 479 A.D.) records the donation of the land by a Brahmin couple for the maintenance of worship at the Vihara of Nirgrantha or Jaina ascetics presided over by Guhanandi and his successors at the village of Vata Gohali. Budhagupta, who ruled from 476 to about 500 A.D., was, according to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the last of the Imperial Guptas. His dominions extended from Bengal to Malwa, if not further west. At that time as also during the times of the Palas, northern Bengal was in the Pundravardhana-bhukti (province) and the southern part of the bhukti was comprised by the *visaya* (district) of Kotivarsa. The principal city of Pundravardhana is now identified with Mahasthan in the district of Begra. It seems, therefore, clear that the Somapura-Dharmapala-vihara of Paharpur was included in the *visaya* of Kotivarsa in the bhukti of Pundravardhana. It is likely that Budhagupta was a provincial governor (or *Uparika Maharaja* of those days) of Pundravardhana before he became the Emperor at Pataliputra, as it was customary in ancient India for the *Rajaputra-dena-bhattachakas* or princes of the blood royal to pass their noviciate as provincial governors. Budhagupta was possibly, therefore, intimately connected with the foundation and embellishment of the stupa. The style of carving and predominantly Hindu character of the plaques also support the theory of Gupta connection.



Lower portion of pediment with Terracotta plaques

By the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India

of the main temple. During the Pala regime the temple grew into a monastery dedicated to the Buddhist cult as will be clear from the text of an inscription on a pillar written in the proto-Bengali type, supposed to be of the 11th or 12th century, that the pillar was caused to be erected by Sri Dasabalagarbha to please the three jewels (Dharma, Buddha, Samgha) for the good of all created beings. There came a time in the history of the monastery when the Buddhist pantheon became so crowded, (and no single Hindu cult could boast of such a variegated and rich image worship as the later growth of Mahayanist Buddhism) that room had to be found for them in the surrounding cells and other temples erected inside the quadrangle. A large number of pedestals is still in existence, but curiously enough no trace of an image worthy of them has been found. Only recently a small

statue of a Bodhisatva has been lighted upon in the south east corner of the quadrangle.

Besides the Hindu and Buddhist associations of the temple at one time of its history it must have enjoyed the Jaina patronage. For the Guharaadi inscription mentions the fact that it was at one time the residence of the *nirgranthas*. Another long inscription on a stone-plate has been discovered from the debris but the text, which has not yet been deciphered, is not available to the public. It is expected, however, that it will throw a flood of light on the obscure history of the monastery.

Thus in the chequered history of the monastery, beginning from its nucleus, the *stupa*, three waves of culture passed over it and rulers of at least three families presided over its foundation, extension and exaltation to the position of a holy place and celebrated seat of learning.

Three Vishnu Sculptures from Hmawza, Prome

By NIHARRANJAN RAY, M. A.

IT is, indeed, very curious and interesting as well for a student of Burmology to know that Hmawza¹ or Old Prome that has yielded the earliest *Pali* inscriptions² up till now discovered in Burma relating to the subject-matter of *Hinayana* Buddhism is also associated with a strong and the earliest Brahmanical, mainly Vishnuite, tradition so far brought to light within the Peninsula. In fact, the earliest *Vaishnava* tradition in Burma is, for all practical purposes, connected with Hmawza, one of the oldest seats of kingship in Burma. The city is said to have been founded by a *Rishi* whose name the Burmese chronicles have failed to take into notice.³ *Mahayazun*, the Burmese text that describes the foundation of the city, states that the *Rishi* who presided at the foundation was helped by six other divines, *Gauampati*, *Indra*, *Naga*, *Garuda*, *Chandi* and *Paramesvara*. Now, *Gauampati*, *Indra* and *Naga* or a *Nagaraja* have often been incorporated in Burmese legendary history in connection with the foundation of cities or erection of temples, obviously without having any actual historical significance. But the legend helps us undoubtedly to assume that a strong Indian element with all its traditions of town-planning and temple-building had been at work at the bottom of all such traditions and their actual translation in monuments. *Gauampati* who is represented in Mon epigraphic records as the son of the Lord Buddha, has rightly been styled as the "patron saint of the Mons" as well as "patron saint of Pagan," and is, obviously, a creation of the legendary imagination of the Mons. *Indra* is the king of *devas* who must invariably be present at all important functions. The *Naga* mentioned in the *Mahayazun* is certainly *Katalamma-nagaraja* mentioned in the Mon records as having assisted in the foundation of the city of *Sisit* or *Sriksheṭra* which is the old Indian name for ancient Prome, and which is in itself a strong evidence of the association of Brahmanical tradition with old Prome or Hmawza. *Garuda*, the mythical bird, is the celebrated carrier of *Vishnu*. *Chandi*

is *Kali* or the *Devi*, the consort of *Siva* who is mentioned in the *Mahayazun* as *Paramesvara*. The *Mahayazun* tradition is most probably an adaptation from early Talaing records, but in doing so it has retained only the epithet *Rishi* of the founder of the city, but has failed to mention the name of the *Rishi*. That this *Rishi* was *Vishnu* himself is evident from the early Mon lithic records in most of which the story of the foundation of the city of *Sisit* or *Sriksheṭra* is given in more or less details. Let us quote from the great inscription of the *Shwe-igon* pagoda.⁴

"The Lord Buddha smiled and Ananda asked the cause of this smile; and the Lord spoke unto Ananda, 'Ananda, hereafter a sage named *Bishnu* great in supernatural power, great in glory possessing the five transcendental faculties, together with my son *Gauampati* and king *Indra* and *Bisukarmadenaput* (*putra*) and *Katalakarmmanagaraja* shall build a city called *Sisit* (*Sriksheṭra*)."

Then again

After the sage *Bishnu* has built the city of *Sisit*, he shall depart from thence (and) in the city of *Amaddanapura* (Pagan), he shall become king *Si Tribhuvanaditya dhammaraja*."

It is thus evident that *Vishnu* is considered to have founded the city of Old Prome. The Mon records include one *Bisukarmadenaput*, son of *Visvakarma*, the divine architect, as one who was destined to assist in the foundation of *Sriksheṭra* but excludes *Garuda*, *Chandi* and *Paramesvara* mentioned in the *Mahayazun*.

An important corroboration of this tradition is found in the fact that Old Prome or Hmawza was known in ancient times also as *Bisunomya*, equivalent to *Vishnupura*, that is 'the city of Vishnu', which undoubtedly points to some sort of Vishnuite influence having been at work at this old royal capital of Lower Burma.⁵ But the most important evidence is the actual discovery at Hmawza of images that are distinctly Vishnuite in character.

Here have been unearthed several Vishnuite images that are most probably the

oldest in Burma. Of these finds, three are in a better state of preservation; others are so fragmentary that they hardly admit of any certain identification. One of these fragments, a hand carved in sandstone and holding a conch, can, however, more or less definitely be identified with the help of its attribute as having belonged to an image of Vishnu.⁶ The three sculptures that are better preserved are all housed at present in the *Phoongyi kyauing* shed near the Hmawza railway station,⁷ and represent three distinct types of the Vishnu image.

The first (fig. 1) is a rectangular slab of



Fig. 1—Vishnu and Lakshmi
By the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India

soft sandstone carved out in comparatively bold relief representing two figures standing side by side but apart from one another. The figure in the right is one of Vishnu standing on his *vahana* *Garuda* with its tail and wings outstretched, a fact very ably represented on the slab not without a touch of abstract

naturalism. The head and portions of the neck of the human bust of the bird have been lost, but what remains is sufficient to guarantee that the animal represented is nothing but a *Garuda*, the celebrated carrier of Vishnu. To the left of Vishnu on a double-petalled lotus pedestal represented in a somewhat abstract manner stands *Lakshmi*, the consort of Vishnu. It is most unfortunate that the upper portion of the slab has been very badly damaged, to such an extent that both the figures have lost their head, and Vishnu his upper right hand in addition. Otherwise the figures are very well preserved, and even the details can easily be read. The god has four hands, the attribute in the upper right is lost, the lower right which is raised up to the chest holds a round object, evidently a *vilva* or *matulunga* fruit; the upper left, so far as discernible on the stone, holds the *chakra* (wheel) and the lower left the *gada* (mace) unlike, indeed, the type generally held by the god. The goddess has two hands, the right one which is raised up to the shoulders holds, it seems, a bunch of lotus-stems and the left hangs downwards. The sculpture, from iconographic point of view, is important in more than one respect. First, the holding of a *vilva* or *matulunga*, fruit, an attribute of *Siva* and *Lakshmi*, by Vishnu is certainly unique; it is never the custom in India, in the Colonies we hardly know of any such example, nor have we any reference to it in any known version of *Pratima-lakshmana* texts. If it is a *vilva*, it is likely that the attribute which is generally associated with *Lakshmi* is here transposed to become an attribute of *Lakshmi's* consort Vishnu. Secondly, the position of the *gada* held in the left lower hand is also peculiar; it is generally held by Vishnu in the hand with all the five fingers with its stout bottom directed upwards and tapering top downwards; in other instances, the hand is placed on the top of the *gada* which rests on the floor. But apart from these attributes the sculpture has other interesting iconographic features. In India or in the Colonies we scarcely have example of any image like the present one, namely Vishnu and Lakshmi standing side by side as in the present example. Images of *Krishna* and *Rukmini* or *Lakshmi* with Vishnu in his *Narasimha* or *Varaha* incarnation* are frequently seen, but Vishnu with his consort *Lakshmi* standing side by side on their respective

rahana is indeed very rare, we hardly know of any such example.⁹ We have no doubt references to *Lakshmi-Narayana* images in *Pratima-lakshmana* texts; for example, in the *Visvakarma Sastra* we have:

लक्ष्मीनारायणौ कार्यौ संयुक्तौ दिग्यरूपिणौ
दक्षिणस्थ विमोर्मूर्ति लक्ष्मीमूर्तिस्तु वामतः ।
दक्षिणः कण्ठलम्बस्या वामो हस्तः सरोजशृङ्ग
विमोर्वाङ्मकरो लक्ष्म्याः कुक्षिभाग स्थितः सदा ॥

In the *Rupamandana* we have:

उभौ च द्विभुजौ कृष्णहृदयौ नारायणप्रथितम्
देवम गच्छेत् स्वकीयैश्च गच्छोपरि संस्थितम् ।
दक्षिणकण्ठलम्बस्या वामो हस्तः सरोजशृङ्ग
विमोर्वाङ्मकरो लक्ष्म्याः कुक्षिभाग स्थितः सदा ॥

Thus, according to the *Visvakarma Sastram*, *Vishnu* should be represented to the right of *Lakshmi* whose left hand should hold a lotus and the right should wind round the neck; whereas the left hand of the god himself should stretch to the armpit. The attribute or function of the right hand is not mentioned; but it is required to represent the *rahana* as well as the two other attributes *sankha* and *chakra* as two

Ayudha purushas (कर्तव्यम् वाहनम् देवाद्योभागगम
सदा and शङ्खचक्रयो रत्न द्वौ कार्यौ पुरुषो पुरः ।)

The *Rupamandana* explicitly says that both the deities should have only two hands each, that *Vishnu* should stand upon his *rahana* *Garuda*, that *Lakshmi* should embrace his Lord by winding her right hand round his neck and hold in her left hand a lotus, and that *Vishnu* should stretch his left hand to the armpit of his consort. The two versions are almost similar, but it is interesting to see how the present icon deviates from the known texts. The god, instead of having two, has four hands, and the goddess though having, no doubt, two hands as required by the text holds the lotus in her right, not in the left. She does not wind her right hand round the neck of *Vishnu*, nor does *Vishnu* stretch his left to her armpit. These do not exhaust the points of deviation. A further point of departure from Indian icons is the fact that the god and the goddess, both standing, have been given equal importance;

their height is almost the same and though they do not stand on the same platform, it is apparent that the goddess has not been subordinated to the god which is generally the practice in India. These deviations can only be accounted for if we assume that the Indian colonists of the Peninsula had either followed a different textual version yet unknown; or, colonists as they had been, they were less bound down by textual canons than their less fortunate brethren at home. They were thus comparatively at more liberty to create new forms and types.

The second important piece of Brahmanical icon from Hmawza (fig 2) is one of *Vishnu* standing on his *Garuda* represented



Fig. 2.—Figure of Vishnu
by the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India

on a stone slab having the form of an isosceles triangle¹⁰. The stone is about 16" high, and about a foot wide at the base. The material is a poor kind of very soft porous sandstone, and the workmanship is still more rough and clumsy. It is a product of an entirely local school of art which finds expression not only in the typical cut of the face and the simple but almost foolish smile on the two lips, but most remarkably in the dress which he wears. He stands on the *Garuda* which has two heavy outstretched wings the left alone of which remains. The carrier bird is here represented exactly as in Indian art, that is, with a human bust and a bird like lower portion. It has not that realistic features of a bird as in Colonial art, e.g., in the famous *Airlanga-Vishnu* statue of Java. In the present case the wings of the bird have not been so realistically portrayed as in the preceding example, and look more like the leafy branch of a tree; yet there is enough to show that the artist knew his subject well, but failed to give expression to it. The god has four hands, the two upper raised upwards hold the *chakra* and *sankha* and the two lower hold a *vilva* or *matulunga* fruit and a *gada* respectively. He is elaborately decorated with ornaments having wristlets, armlets and a richly carved *keyura* round his neck; the head-dress which must have been an elaborate one is, unfortunately enough, broken, but it is most likely that it was of the kind so often seen in Burmese sculptures of a later date and associated invariably with all important personages and divinities. We are accustomed to see in India as well as in the Colonies *Vishnu*, as riding or seated cross-legged on his *rahana*; *Vishnu* standing on *Garuda* is rare, in fact such images are hardly known. It is interesting that the type has up till now been found in Burma alone, and that in more than one example. In Java, the famous *Airlanga-Vishnu* statue¹¹ is, in fact, represented as seated, though it gives the impression of an erect figure. In the Colonies, there is, however, a general tendency to represent the gods as standing, rather than as seated, on their *rahana*s, especially when their *rahana*s are birds. A parallel instance in point is the famous *Skanda* or *Karthkeyya* image of Myson in Champa¹² standing erect as it does on its *rahana* *Mayura*. It gives us a glimpse

into the imagination of the Colonial artists—an imagination that seems to have liked to unravel itself in comparatively more effective dramatic poses and situations and, therefore, less traditional and conventional, though the execution is not always up to it. The *Airlanga-Vishnu* statue, just referred to, though really seated, gives, in fact, an impression as we have said, of an erect figure, and the pose and attitude of the god, more so of the *Garuda*, are most dramatic.

We now turn to the third important *Vishnuite* sculpture from Hmawza (15½ × 14½"). It is a representation of the well-known mythology of *Sesha* or *Ananta sayana Vishnu* (fig. 3). It is the most popular and at the same time most important of the reclining forms of *Vishnu* who is supposed to sleep on the coils of the serpent *Ananta* that shields the head of the god of gods under its five or seven hoods. By the side of the serpent-conch near the feet of *Vishnu* is often represented the kneeling figure of *Lakshmi* in a worshipping attitude (cf. Rao—*Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, plate XXXI or the seated figure of *Bhumi Devi* or *Lakshmi* (cf. *ibid.*, plate XXXII c). He has two or four hands, and from his naval springs a lotus-stalk with a full-blossomed lotus on which *Brahma* is comfortably seated. *Brahma*, *Sua* and *Indra* are also sometimes represented as subsidiary deities; and *Jaya* and *Vijaya* as two attendants. The attributes of the god are also represented about him in their own form or as personified.

In the present example from Hmawza, the god is represented as lying straight with his two legs crossed at the ankles. The head with the usual head-dress rests on a higher plane, and the body stretches not on the coils of a serpent but, so far as it seems, on a lotus-conch that rests on a *makara* whose head is clearly visible on the left corner of the bottom of the slab. This is, indeed, interesting, for we know as yet of no sculpture or text where the reclining *Vishnu* is ever represented as having any association with a *makara*. The usual tradition, as we have already noticed, is to represent him as reclining directly on the serpent *Ananta*. The difference is thus striking and significant which can only be accounted for by assuming that the Colonial artists either followed a text which is yet unknown to us, or that they misinterpreted the whole story as known in India. This will be more evident from the fact that



Fig 3—Vishnu Anantasayin

By the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India

from *Vishnu's* navel rise not one single lotus-stalk but three such stalks with three full-blown lotuses on which are seated the three gods of the Brahmanical Trinity—*Brahma*, *Vishnu* and *Shiva*. *Vishnu*, the main deity is seated in the middle flanked by *Brahma* to the right and *Shiva* to the left. *Vishnu* holds his usual attributes in his four hands. *Brahma* is seated cross-legged on the lotus rising from the navel of the lying *Vishnu*, and has four hands, the two lower joined in the *anjali* pose. He is endowed with his usual four heads, three of which are only represented, crowned over by his *Jata-mukuta*. All these three figures separately haloed by lotus-petal designs are meant to hold equal status, subordinate only to the main deity who is here represented as reclining. The figures are dressed up to the knees, and have usual ornaments in their ears, arms, ankles, neck and waist. The position of the right leg of the seated figures of *Vishnu* and *Shiva*, as well as of the two legs of the reclining figure is interesting. In the former case, it is raised upwards, while in

the latter, they are crossed. An almost similar position of the two legs of the reclining figure of *Vishnu* may be seen in the *Yogasayanamurti* relief from Aihole, illustrated on Plate XXXIII of Rao's *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. 1, Part 1.

The *Vishnu-Lakshmi* relief (fig. 1) is certainly a remarkable sculpture from the artistic point of view. The most arresting feature of the sculpture is the elongated appearance of the two figures and their supple but firm and round legs and arms with their bones and muscles so suppressed as to provide them with a soft grace coupled with a dignified composure. This finely and delicately modelled sculpture has thus the grace and softness of a Gupta example, but a closer analysis would show that it has affinities with another art tradition other than the Gupta. In fact, it seems to owe its inspiration to a different school of art on this side of the Bay of Bengal, namely, the Pallava school, and consequently, those Gupta features and characteristics that are inherent in the Pallava school. It is undoubtedly one of the best of the early stone sculptures found in Barma, and seems to belong to a date not later than the 8th century A. D.

It is most likely that the *Vishnu-Lakshmi* relief was thus the work of an Indian artist who had come over to the Peninsula along with Indian traders, or priests, or persons in pursuit of their respective vocations of life. But side by side there was also a local artistic activity fostered, no doubt, by the Indian masters. These local artists who are responsible for many Buddhist images of stone, bronze and terracotta must have also been entrusted with the task of executing Brahmanical images examples of which have survived to this day. At least two such examples are known from Himawra (figs. 2 and 3). The very crude and rough execution of an Indian subject-matter, the physiognomy of their faces, the quaint expression of a foolish smile on their lips, and no less the dress of the divinity standing on his *rahana* *Garuda* have all

combined to give an un-Indian character to their appearance. The treatment of the subject-matter is equally foreign to any known school or period of Indian Art. The rigid lines and the sharp angularities, the incoherent composition, the schematic surface-treatment of the reliefs, and not the least, the soul-less and meaningless decorations on

them are all responsible for the lifeless, almost wooden, atmosphere in which they live. They are mere translations of a canonical text. But here and there cling faint traces, e. g., in the modelling of the body and treatment of the face of the standing *Vishnu*, of the lessons they learned at the feet of their Indian masters.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ Hmawza is now an old ruined thinly populated poor village five miles south of the modern town of Prome, and is reached by train or motor or cart from Prome. The village, remains of whose city walls still exist, is interspersed with old ruins hidden in mounds which are systematically being surveyed and excavated by the Archaeological Survey, Burma, under the able guidance of M. Charles Duroiselle, Superintendent. A few of the old important monuments are being preserved by the Archaeological Department.

² Earliest *Pali* inscriptions relating to the subject-matter of *Pali* Buddhism hitherto discovered in Burma come from Hmawza and the adjoining sites. They comprise, to mention the more important ones, the two Maunggan gold plates discovered in 1897 at a place near Hmawza, and three fragments of a stone inscription found at the Biwawgyi pagoda, Hmawza. The Maunggan plates which were edited by M. Finot (*Journal Asiatique*, XX, Juillet-Aout, 1912, p. 121 ff.) begin each with the well-known Buddhist formula: *Ye dhamma hetu etc.* and is followed, in the first, by 19 categories from the *Abhidhamma* in numerical order and in the second, by the well-known praise of the *Tiratur*. The Biwawgyi stone fragments which were also edited by M. Finot (op cit.) contain an extract from the *Tibhanga*, a book of the *Abhidhamma*. The script of both the records is closely allied to the Kadamba script of the 5th-6th century A. D. of Southern India. (An. Rep

A. S. Burma, 1924, pp. 21-22) In 1926-27, two more *Pali* epigraphs were discovered at Hmawza. The first is a line of inscription around the rim of the top of the cover of a stupa discovered at the *Khin-bla-gon* site near the *Kalagangon* village. The script is of the Telugu-Canarese type and is practically the same as that of the records referred to above. But the most interesting is the find of a manuscript at the same site containing twenty gold-leaves each inscribed on one side in the same Canara-Telugu script of South India, and can thus safely be dated on paleographic grounds to the 5th-6th century A. D. These leaves contain extracts from the *Abhidhamma* and *Tinaya Pitakas*. They are, in fact, the earliest records of *Pali* Buddhism in Burma, and proves conclusively that Buddhism of the *Hinayana* school was already an established factor at Hmawza as early as the 5th century A. D., and was probably the religion of the majority of the local people.

³ An. Rep. A. S. Burma 1910, p. 18.

⁴ Ep. Birminica, Vol. I, Part II, p. 90 ff.

⁵ An. Rep. A. S. Burma, 1923, p. 15 ff.

⁶ An. Rep. A. S. India, 1926-27, p. 171.

⁷ Exhibits, nos. 23, 24 and 25.

⁸ G. Rao—*Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. I, plate LVIII.

⁹ Ibid., Plate XI, and XII.

¹⁰ Phoongyi Kyauing shed Exhibit No. 25.

¹¹ "Rupam" Jan. 1920.

¹² H. Parmentier Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments, Cams, Vol. I, p. 379 fig. 84.

asked for will be readily given by the capitalists. The whole scheme will now bear the hall-mark of approval, the *imprimatur* of the institution so to speak. This, in effect, will amount to a guarantee of the soundness and reasonable prospects of the business. The permanent capital will be secured without much difficulty and with it also the expert advice which is often more valuable than material capital. "Accordingly," as Mr. Lavington said, "in the flotation of new enterprises on the market and even in the conversion or expansion of existing undertakings, there is a good *prima facie* case for the interposition of some expert responsible body which could examine the prospects of the venture and, if suitable, present it to the public with the implicit guarantee that the enterprise was one with a reasonable claim for the capital for which it asked."*

An important Committee of the Board of Trade, appointed in 1916 with Lord Farrington in the chair investigated the whole question of the financial facilities for British industries and the part played by the British banks in their provision. The Committee observed in their report issued in 1918 that the British bankers were not shy in making advances on the strength of their customer's known ability and integrity and the charges for accommodation were not very high. But they frankly recognized that British manufacturers might be often in need of finance of a kind which the joint-stock banks with their peculiar liabilities could not wisely provide; whereas the German banks seemed to have been able to afford special assistance at the inception of undertakings of the most varied description and to have laid themselves out for stimulating their promotion and for carrying them through to a successful completion. Hence the committee concluded, "There is ample room for an institution which, while not interfering unduly with the ordinary business done by the British joint-stock banks, by Colonial banks, etc., would be able to assist British industries in a manner that is not possible under existing conditions."† Such an institution, it was pointed out, would assist the development of British industries in several ways.

It would take a leading part not only in the inception of new industrial ventures, but would also provide the necessary finances for the extension and reorganization of existing undertakings. A concrete scheme was put forward by the committee. The institution should have a large working capital; it should not take deposits at call or short notice like the joint-stock banks or the German credit banks; it should not open current accounts and should give longer credits than ordinary banks. The idea was to equip the institution with three distinct departments, financial, industrial and commercial, which would collect up-to-date information and deal with all matters. The British Trade Corporation was the outcome of these recommendations. It was established under a Royal Charter with a capital of £2,000,000 and an influential board of directors under the governorship of Lord Farrington. Its purpose was the development of industry at home and the granting of relatively long credits to merchants and producers engaged in overseas business. The following extract from the prospectus of the British Trade Corporation will help us to understand the nature of the business with which the Corporation was to be mainly concerned. "There exists to-day no large financial institution possessing an industrial department or an organization for study and research into new ideas and inventions, which is specially equipped to nurse new schemes or developments until sufficiently proved and ripe for public investment. The Corporation will make this a special feature of its business and will aim at becoming a link between British industry and British investors." The establishment of this Corporation was an important event. It was the first institution formed in England to provide long-term credits and technical advice to industry through a body of experts, standing in almost the same relation to national industries as the German banks do in Germany. Indeed, it was based on the belief that the close liaison between banks and industry and the granting of long-term credit had strengthened the position of Germany vis-à-vis England. It was earnestly believed at the time that the institution would remove some of the long-felt wants of British industries and would usher in a millennium for them. But the venture did not fulfil expectations. From the information which is available it does not appear that

* *The English Capital Market.*

† Board of Trade Committee on Financial Facilities for Trade Report Cd 8316, 1916.

the Corporation rendered any substantial assistance to the home industries.* Since its establishment the Corporation tried to assist British trade directly by filling the rôle of a Continental industrial bank and indirectly by establishing branches and business connections abroad such as Russia and the Levant† But it had a difficult task before it. The disordered state of European trade and finance that followed in the wake of the war seriously interfered with its business. Besides, it was soon caught in the subsequent post-war slump. Losses were inevitable, and its capital of £2,000,000 had to be reduced to one-half.§ Dr. Walter Leaf observed in 1926 with reference to the Company, that "after several years of experience, it can hardly be claimed that the operations of the Company have been so successful as to show that there was a real need for it"*** In the same year the British Trade Corporation and the Anglo-Austrian Bank were amalgamated together into a new company under the name of the *Anglo-International Bank*. The new bank was registered with a nominal capital of £2,000,000; the paid-up capital was £1,960,000 of which 610,000 shares and 750,000 shares of £1 each were issued to the share-holders of the Anglo-Austrian Bank and British Trade Corporation respectively†† But the new bank can hardly be expected to fulfil the high aim with which the British Trade Corporation was incorporated, viz., "The setting up of a new tradition in the financing of British trade and industry." That experiment definitely failed.§§ In more recent times when England is passing through difficult years of industrial stagnation and acute unemployment, the question of banking assistance to industry has again been brought to the foreground.

The gravamen of the charge against British banks is that their policy of holding back advice and financial support is sorely impeding the rationalization and reorganization of British industry.

There is a widespread belief that the banking system is highly unsatisfactory in its industrial loans policy and the complaint is that it has not adequately ministered to the needs of industry. The British basic industries, viz., the cotton, wool, coal, iron and steel industries are faced with serious difficulties as they have never been faced before. It is urged that banking assistance is urgently necessary to restore them to a position of efficiency.

The feeling was so widespread that it engaged the attention of the present Government. In the course of a famous speech to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, Mr. J. H. Thomas, then Lord Privy Seal, announced that the Government had arranged with the banks that help should be given to industries which were prepared for reorganization and modernization. "The City," said he, "is deeply interested in placing industry on a broad and sound basis and is ready to support any plans that in its opinions lead to this end. Industries which propose schemes that in the opinion of those advising the City conform to this requirement will receive the most sympathetic consideration and the co-operation of the city in working out plans and finding the necessary finance."** It was, in effect, an open invitation, on behalf of the City, to business and industry to come forward with real schemes of reorganization and an intimation that the whole forces of British finance were for the first time, prepared to stand behind industry in a forward move. The statement made by the Lord Privy Seal is of great significance, inasmuch as he said it was made with the authority and knowledge of the City. For does it not indicate that the British bankers are probably thinking of making a departure from the traditions of British banking practice in their contemplation to provide relatively long credits to industries? Indeed, even before the historic pronouncement of Mr. Thomas was made, the banks of England during the last ten difficult years were not entirely indifferent to the interests of industry. In

* From a balance sheet published on 31st December 1925, it is found that the Corporation in practice departed in some important respects from the recommendations of the Farnington Committee. The authorized capital at that date was £5,000,000 of which £1,000,000 was issued and fully paid up. Contrary to the recommendations of the Committee the current accounts were opened. The investments 'at or under cost' were £279,758 2s. 9d. in a total asset of £340,729 12s. 4d. *Banker's Magazine* July-December, 1926, p. 625.

† S. E. Thomas—*British Banks and the Finance of Industry*, p. 195.

§ The *Banker's Magazine*, October 1926, p. 484.

** Walter Leaf—*Banking*, p. 163.

†† *Banker's Magazine*, 1926, p. 545.

§§ *The Economist*, September 4, 1926, p. 382.

* Mr. Thomas's Manchester Speech 10th January, 1930.

several cases they had large commitments in a number of industrial concerns. It will be a mistake to suppose that the British banks have maintained the same attitude of aloofness from industries in the post-war days as in the pre-war days. As a matter of fact they have, during the last few years, considerably relaxed the conservative codes of commercial banking practice to which they were wedded until recently. As Mr. Joseph Sykes has remarked, "the sharply crystallized English pre-war practice of making only short-term loans has perforce been modified by the exigencies of the specific incidence of post-war depression on certain industries."* In the case of many industries, specially the cotton, woollen, iron, ship-building and engineering industries the banks found, after the collapse of 1920-21, that many of the loans which they had granted on the basis of early repayment, became "frozen" for a comparatively long period. The banks were compelled to make further advances in order to safe-guard the loans they had made previously. In an important paper read before the Royal Statistical Society, Mr. H. W. Macrosty pointed out how this departure from the normal practice of short period lending only on the part of the banks was the outcome of post-war conditions.

"After the collapse of trade began and during at least the greater part of the depression there was no restriction of credit by the banks either in the United Kingdom or in the United States—when prices began to fall, the banks found it necessary to 'carry' their debtors in order to prevent an even more hideous collapse than what happened."†

Many instances may be given where the banks have not at all been unsympathetic to the ills of industry and unresponsive to its needs. They not only made extended loans to the suffering industries, loans in many cases with no certainty to eventual repayment, but in some cases they have had to take in hand the financial reconstruction of enterprises and have had to make considerable monetary sacrifices by reducing their full claims.‡

* Joseph Sykes—*The Present Position of English Joint-stock Banking*, p. 144.

† Quoted by the *Economist*, December 25, 1926, p. 1117.

‡ The *Manchester Guardian*, July 12, 1928 cites two cases of re-organizations in the cotton industry where the banks surrendered their full claims in substitution of reduced claims of lesser stringency. Quoted by Sykes *op. cit.* He also quotes the instance of the reconstruction of Messrs. Pearson and Knowles where the Company's bankers were

Mr. S. E. Thomas in a recent work has observed in this connection, "British banks... for some years responded liberally to the demands made upon them and afforded an unprecedented degree of financial assistance to industry.... Vast sums were advanced by the banks in the hope that the help so given would enable concerns in which they were interested to keep going until an improvement took place in the general economic position of the country.... Indeed, they had no choice in the matter."** In many cases the reconstruction and rationalization schemes in connection with certain industries have been made possible by the action of the joint-stock banks. The past few years witnessed a definite effort on their part to overcome the difficulty which faces industries suffering from prolonged depression in obtaining additional capital for carrying through reorganization schemes.† Mr. Holland Martin in the course of his last presidential address before the Institute of Bankers referred to the part played by some British banks in the recent reorganization of "nursing back to health" a number of ailing concerns.

Several instances may be easily cited to support the above contention that a change has been taking place in the conservative banking policy towards industries in England. As regards the cotton industry it was pointed out by Mr. S. S. Hammersley in the course of a speech before the House of Commons in December 1927 that there were 200 cotton mills in the hands of the banks. They had lent something like £15 millions to these concerns and a large portion of this money was unsecured.§ In the course of a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society Prof. Daniels and Mr. Jewkes also pointed out that the banks played an important part in financing a large proportion of the reloaded companies in the Lancashire cotton industry. The reflation of 129 companies was largely financed by overdrafts and loans.** The coal,

prepared to accept £500,000 5 per cent serial notes to be redeemed over a long period of years in place of £25,000 6 per cent first debenture stock held by them.

* S. E. Thomas—*British Banks and the Finance of Industry*, p. 141.

† *The Times Trade and Engineering Supplement*, Banking Number, June 1930.

‡ Speech of Mr. S. S. Hammersley, 19 Dec 1927 Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 212, pp. 87-89.

** "The post-war depression in the Lancashire Cotton Industry"—*Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. XCL 1928 pp. 176-179.

iron and steel industries were not neglected and in some reorganization schemes the banks took a leading part. The fusions between Dorman Long and Bolekow Vaughan and between Guest Keen and Nettleford and Baldwins were due to the action of the joint-stock banks. The formations of the Steel Industries of Great Britain Ltd. and of the English Steel Corporation also would not have been possible without their help.* A perusal of the annual speeches of the bank chairmen during the past few years will also bring out the fact that the financial stake of British banks in industries was not small. In the course of one such speech the chairman of the Lloyds Bank stated that his bank granted new loans to the amount of £44 millions to 32 different industries between June 1924 and June 1925.† The analysis which Mr. McKenna gave of the Midland Bank's percentage distribution of advances in 1928 bears eloquent testimony to the assistance rendered by the bank to industry. Sixty-nine per cent of its advances went to trade and industry while 16¼ per cent only went to insurance, finance and stock exchange.§ From a balance sheet of the same bank published on 31st December 1930, it is found that the bank had investments in British Corporation Stocks to the extent of £257,261,195-2d.

Not to speak of the joint-stock banks, even the Bank of England has grown alive to the needs of the sorely stricken British industries. In many instances she has freely given the aid and advice which have been sought from her. Indeed, the association of the country's central bank with certain schemes of industrial reorganization is unprecedented in the banking history of England and is assuredly an extension of her functions which require careful consideration. The Lancashire Cotton Corporation which is an ambitious scheme for bringing about reorganization in the American section of the Lancashire cotton industry is the outcome of the initiative of the Governor of the Bank of England and has the direct financial support of the Bank.**

* Thomas—*British Banks and the Finance of Industry*, p. 113.

† Speech of the Chairman at the Annual Meeting, 1926.

§ Annual Speech of Mr. McKenna 1929.

** The object of this cotton merger constituted in 1929 was to nationalize part of the Lancashire cotton spinning industry through amalgamating companies by exchanging its own shares and

The part played by the Bank of England in particular and by the banks in general who were the largest creditors in bringing the scheme within the realms of practicability has been very important. In fact, the preliminary investigations could not have been brought to a successful completion without the advice and help afforded by the Central Bank.* Coming to individual concerns, the bank rendered unselfish assistance to the armament firm of Messrs. Armstrong & Co. Ltd., and the steel firm of Messrs. William Beardmore and Co. Ltd. in their reorganization schemes.†

Towards the close of 1929, the Bank of England formed a subsidiary company, called the Securities Management Trust. The principal object of the Trust was to assist the process of rationalization and reconstruction in industry. The Board of Directors is composed of business experts so that it may have the very best guidance with regard to industrial conditions and when occasion arises may have the proper machinery for examining the merits of particular schemes of industrial rationalization which may require special financial support. The direction of the Trust's economic research has been undertaken by Prof. Henry Clay, Mr. Charles Gardner who has a long experience of iron, steel and kindred industries has been appointed managing director.§ It is expected that the trust will provide a useful link between British industry and the capital market.

The S. M. T. since its inception has played a leading part in implementing and financing

debentures for the present share-holders' certificates and creditors' balances. As more and more mills were absorbed, its capital would be increased proportionately. Fresh capital was to be raised in the course of an issue of first debentures and in the meantime, arrangements were made with the Bank of England to provide for the temporary finance considered necessary. In the first few months of its existence the Corporation examined 240 mills and made offers of absorption to 135. At the end of 1930 it came to control 109 mills containing 9,500,000 spindles and 20,000 looms. The capital has been raised to £10 millions. The first balance sheet published by the Company in last March showed a net loss of £162,348 of which £46,300 is accounted for by writing down of stocks from cost to market prices. Its recent issue of £2,000,000 six year 6½ p.c. first mortgages the proceeds of which were to be used partly for reconditioning and modernizing the acquired mills has been disappointing for the public took up only £50,000, the underwriters being left with 96 p.c.

* *The Statist*—February 2, 1929, p. 176.

† Thomas *op. cit.* p. 142.

§ *The Banker's Magazine*, 1930, p. 720.

two important industrial rationalization schemes, viz., the Lancashire Steel Trust and and the Wigan Coal Corporation.* In the case of the former it took over the whole of the £500,000 'B' ordinary shares. The establishment of the Securities Management Trust was followed in April, 1930 by the creation of the 'Bankers' Industrial Development Company" with the Governor of the Bank of England as chairman. It was registered with a nominal capital of £6,000,000 divided into 45 'A' and 15 'B' shares of £100,000 each. Fourteen of the 'B' shares which carry three votes against one vote for every 'A' share, are held by the S. M. T. and one 'B' share has been allotted to Mr. Montagu Norman. The 'A' shares have been taken up by most of the leading banking and financial institutions of the country. Thus one share each has been subscribed by 44 important financial institutions in the City including the big five and the 45th share has been taken by Mr. N. L. Campbell of Messrs. Helbert Wagg and Co.† The purpose of the B. I. D. is to receive and consider rationalization schemes of British basic industries. In the case of approved schemes, it will make arrangements for the provision of the necessary finances through existing agencies. There is one interesting feature of the B. I. D. in that the Company will have the services of an advisory council in addition to the Board of Directors. The Council will invite to serve on it a number of influential persons engaged in financial business. It will be a consultative body, having no executive duties to perform.**

The B. I. D., it should be pointed out, has not been constituted as an industrial bank with large resources of its own for investment in approved industrial concerns. It will obtain through the ordinary investment channels the new capital for industrial reorganization. All new capital will be obtained from the investing public. Its functions are essentially those of an intermediary between industry and the new capital market. It is not intended that the company will finance directly rationalization

schemes.* It is a unique body representative not only of every important bank and issuing house in the country but even of the Bank of England. "It is in fact a partnership between the Bank and the leading houses of the City formed to make available to British industry the amplest resources of the nation."† The "promotion" of amalgamations is not its business. The industries themselves must frame the schemes of rationalization. Only when the B. I. D. has been fully satisfied as to the soundness of the plans, will it be proper for this "national consortium of British bankers" to encourage the public to invest fresh capital. It has made a good start and at this stage it seems destined to play an important rôle in the reorganization of British industry. It has been formed for five years at the first instance and its existence may thereafter be extended. Profits should not be made by it and the directors are giving their services freely.**

The appointment of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in November 1929 of the Committee of Enquiry into Finance and Industry under the chairmanship of the Rt. Hon'ble H. P. Macmillan, K. C. has been an important event. The Committee which includes in its personnel the eminent economists and business men of the day is now investigating the question of the relations between banking and industry. The terms of reference are—"To enquire into the banking finance and credit, paying regard to the factors both internal and international which govern their operation and to make recommendations calculated to enable these agencies to promote the development of trade and commerce and the employment of labour."†† The proceedings

* Hence only 25 of its nominal capital is being called up.

† S. E. Thomas *op. cit.*
 ‡ Mr. Hammersley, M. P. in the pages of the *Economist* accused the B. I. D. of reconstructing industry through the weakest units. Its policy would lead to aggregation of what he called "financial ham's ducks." See the *Economist*, September 27, 1930.

* The *Economist*, April 19, 1930, p. 876.
 †† Parliamentary Debates (Commons) 1929-30, Vol. 231, p. 615. The members who were appointed to the Committee besides the Chairman were Sir Thomas Allen, Mr. Ernest Horn, the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Bradbury, G.C.B., the Rt. Hon'ble R. H. Brand, C.M.G., Prof. J. L. Gregory, D.Sc., Mr. J. M. Keynes, G.B., Mr. Lennox Lee, Mr. Cecil Lubbock, the Rt. Hon'ble R. McKenna, Mr. J. T. Walton, Newbold, Sir Walter Runcie, Mr. J. Taylor and Mr. A. A. G. Tullock.

* A Cable to the *Statesman*, May 22, 1930.
 † The *Economist*, May 17, 1930, p. 1104. The complete list is given in *Banker's Magazine*, 1930, p. 43.
 ‡ The *Times* Trade and Engineering Supplement, Bank No. June 1930.
 †† The *Banker's Magazine*, May 1930.

of the Committee are taking place in camera and therefore the nature of evidence tendered before it has not been disclosed to the public. The publication of the report is being awaited with keen interest.

From the preceding discussion, it has been made clear that the British banks in recent times have comparatively broadened their policies in regard to industries. The frequent charges levelled against them that their attitude to industry is "unduly rigid, unsympathetic and detached" cannot be strictly maintained. During the decade 1920-1930, as we have seen above, the commitments of the British banks in national industries have not been small. Bank chairmen in their annual speeches of 1929 and 1930 have pointed out that the financial help rendered by the banks in connection with rationalization schemes had brought them near to "saturation point" and that they could not wisely extend their commitments further in that direction.* Indeed, the banks have entered the industrial field in such a manner that they have even been accused of deviating from the recognized canons of commercial banking. In some quarters a feeling is even evident that if the bankers are to be criticized for their attitude towards industry during the past few years, it will be for their too great a readiness to stand by industry in the matter of banking facilities†

The British banks have no doubt considerably relaxed their strict attitude of aloofness from industries. Mr. Thomas also declared in his Manchester speech that he had been in consultation with the majority of the bank chairmen and that they were in agreement with what he said there. But it must be admitted that there is no evidence that the bankers themselves are much inclined to reconsider their position and modify the traditional view held as to the functions of the British banks. A perusal of the recent annual speeches of the chairmen of the big five will show that they are still clinging to the traditional views of British banks as being essentially receivers of short-term deposits and makers of short-term loans. While they have repudiated the suggestion that banking assistance to industry

has been inadequate, they have emphatically pointed out that it is not the function of banks to find the permanent funds required for capital expenditure. Mr. Goodenough of Barclay's Bank, Mr. Beaumont Pease of Lloyds and Sir Harry Goschen of the National Provincial specially emphasized that the functions of the English joint-stock banks have always been to provide money for the current needs of industry and they viewed with alarm any change in their policy which would lock up their resources in machinery, bricks and mortar. They stressed the point that the banks had neither the necessary detailed knowledge of the conditions of an industry as a whole nor were they sufficiently acquainted with the technicalities and hence they could never be advised to embark on a policy of industrial financing. Thus although Mr. Thomas said that the banks were in agreement with him, yet there does not seem to be any indication that the banks are equipping themselves for the task of rendering long-term assistance to industry. In order to do that without immobilizing the funds held by them as deposits, substantial increases in their capital are necessary. But there is no sign as yet that the banks are considering a move in that direction.*

But the fact remains that the banks of England have departed *in practice* from the strict standards of commercial banking practice during the last few years. They are no longer purely deposit banks in the pre-war English sense of the term. They are combining with the business of strictly deposit banking functions which they considered entirely outside their sphere in the pre-war days. There is an increasing tendency of the fusion of commercial and investment banking functions. Specialization was the key-note of the pre-war British financial system. The specialization in the post-war days has been yielding place to integration of financial operations.

A change is slowly taking place in the status of the deposit banks of England. The post-war German banks are fast becoming akin to the pre-war deposit banks of England; but the post-war English deposit banks are approximating more and more to the pre-war German banks.†

This departure from the recognized

* Cf. the Presidential Address of the Rt. Hon'ble Robert Bocket of Manchester and District Bankers' Institute on 10th January, 1930.

† The Banker's Magazine, February 1930, p. 166.

* The Banker, January-March, 1930.

† Parker Willis and B. H. Beckhart—Foreign Banking Systems, p. 43.

cautions of commercial banking practice on the part of the English banks has been, as we have already seen, the result of post-war conditions. The fusion of investment and commercial functions is taking place not only in England but also in other countries where the functions have so long been carefully segregated almost as much as in England. The deposit banks of France and America are rapidly turning themselves into "mixed" banks, performing both investment and commercial banking functions. A revolution is taking place in the practices of the commercial banks of the world.

How far can this deviation from the established banking practice be justified in England? No doubt it has been rendered

necessary by the exigencies of circumstances. But is this departure justifiable? The deposit banks like the English institutions should no doubt confine themselves to short-term banking. The policy of providing long-term loans to industries is not really consistent with safety on their part. But when the country is faced by an imminent national danger, there may perhaps be made some relaxation in the conservative codes of banking practice. We are never for a moment questioning the soundness of the practice in normal circumstances, but in the critical period through which British industry is passing, we cannot help feeling that safety may be the *first* but need not be the only consideration.

Mystic Islam

By PROF. DHIRENDRA NATH CHOWDHURI, VEDANTABAGI, M.A.

"MYSTICISM is such a vital element in Islam, that, without some understanding of its ideas and of the forms which they assume, we should seek in vain to penetrate below the surface of Muhammadan religious life. The form may be fantastic and the ideas difficult to grasp; nevertheless we shall do well to follow them, for in their company East and West often meet and feel themselves akin."

With these precious words Dr. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, the Cambridge University Lecturer in Persian, introduces to the public his valuable book, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*. * No truer statement was ever made as to the ground of fraternity between East and West. In vain we seek the meeting-ground in a lower plain. Though St. Teresa belongs to the 16th century Christian Europe and Abu Sa'ïd to the 10th century, Musalman Persia, Hindu Yôgin of a millennium before the Christian era or of two millennia after it will not fail to hail them as sister and brother of the same household. So thick is the blood relation between them, in spite of differences of creed, colour and country.

Islamic mysticism is more popularly known as *Sufism*. All learned delineations

apart, the name *Sufi* was derived from *suf* (wool) and was originally applied to those Muhammadan ascetics who wrapped themselves up in coarse woollen *alkella* as a symbol of their repentance and renunciation of worldly pleasures. Sufism, as embodying certain spiritual experiences, especially an attitude towards God and self, defies all attempts at definition, as all mysticism does. There is no concisely brief formula that will conveniently express every shade of its personal and intimate religious feeling. Jalaluddin Rumi in his *Masnawi* ridicules the idea by telling the familiar story of seeing the elephant in a dark room. Some say it is a waterpipe, some say it is just like a large fan. Others, contradicting, aver their positive conviction that the animal must be like a pillar. Still others would give out their own version that it is nothing but a big drum. So on and so forth.

However, on the portals of Sufism it is written "All *sief* abandon, Ye who enter here." The self's passing away from itself is the beginning of *Sufism*. Through the contemplation of the divine attributes the mind becomes so concentrated upon the thought of God that the self flees away from all objects of perception—thoughts, actions and feelings. This is technically called *Fana*. The nearest

* This article has been compiled mainly from his and from his other book, *The Mystics of Islam*.

approach to it would be our term *nirvana*, not in the sense of annihilation. Because in this state "God should make thee die to thyself and should make thee live in Him." It is said when the soul becomes absorbed in the Oversoul she is no more conscious of her own *non-existence*. The highest stage is reached when even the consciousness of having attained it, disappears. All conscious thought ceases, as it were. The soul passes out of her phenomenal existence. This is called passing-away of passing-away, and the soul enters into what is said to be *bagh*, i.e., permanent 'abiding' in God. Music, singing and dancing are favourite means of inducing the state *Wagfal*, the passing away. In that state the soul sees nothing but God :

"In the market, in the cloister, only God I saw. In the valley and on the mountain, only God I saw. I passed away into nothingness, I vanished. And lo, I was the All-living-only God I saw." (From the Ode by Baba Kuli of Shiraz).

No one can attain this state unless it is done for him through 'a flash of the divine beauty' in his heart. What follows is unspeakable. Truly says Maulana Rumi :

"The story admits of being told up to this point. But what follows is hidden, and unexpressible in words. If you should speak and try a hundred ways to express it, it is useless, the mystery becomes no clearer."

"The Mystic," observes Dr. Rufus M. Jones in his *New Studies in Mystical Religion*, "is not a peculiarly favoured mortal who by a lucky chance has received into his life a windfall from some heavenly bread-fruit tree, while he lay dreaming of iridescent rainbows." But, on the contrary, the Sufi is a trudging and plodding traveller who is to traverse a long Path to reach his goal of union with Reality. The traveller advances by slow stages and the stages are repentance, abstinence, renunciation, poverty, patience, trust in God and, finally, satisfaction. They virtually occupy the place of our *Sadhan-chaturtaya*, the four-fold discipline. And the discipline is a *sine qua non*. No one will be allowed in the Sufi circle unless he is able to trace his discipleship, exactly as in this country, to the head of a recognized school—the director, technically called a Sheykh, Pir or Murshid. Repentance is to be understood not in its ethical sense. It means "turning away," its Old Testament sense and not its New Testament corruption. It simply means *conversion*. And every succeeding stage

evolves out of the preceding one. But how is this first stage, conversion, brought about ? It is brought about by love of God and that is a divine act—*प्रेमरूपेण केवलम्*—"Love is not to be learned from men. It is one of God's gifts and comes of His grace." (As quoted by Reynold A. Nicholson in *The Mystics of Islam*). Absolute trust in God, self-surrender to its uttermost limit, that is insisted upon at every step. *Nafs*, the lower self, 'the flesh,' must be overcome. Once a dervish fell into the Tigris. Someone wanted to bring help to him. The dervish said, "No." "Do you wish to be drowned," retorted the man. "No," replied the dervish. "What then do you wish ?" With a grim determination the dervish replied : "God's will be done ! What have I to do with wishing ?" And the trust intends to be one in God. This is not peculiarly Islamic, it is Hindu as well—

एकमेवाद्वितीयम् । Now, when you have got this "Sincere belief in the Unity of God and trust in him, it behoves you to be satisfied with Him and not to be angry on account of anything that vexes you"—*लोकस्रोद्विजते च यः* ।

But these stages are but outward expressions of the devotee's endeavours after life eternal. There is a psychological chain of mental states—meditation, nearness to God, love, fear, hope, longing, intimacy, tranquillity, contemplation and certainty—that really count. They are entirely in the hands of *अन्तर्गामी*—the inner controller. Over these spiritual feelings and dispositions a man has no control. Here God's mercy alone availeth :

"They descend from God into his heart, without his being able to repel them when they come or to retain them when they go."

One most positive element in the *Sufistic* discipline is technically called *dhakr*. *पुश्चर* would be its Hindu substitute. We may translate it by *Smarana* (recollection). *Namajapa* is one of the prominent forms. It is not merely the uttering of the name but fixing the thought on the name and keeping it there. It is really meditation. Go on repeating the name until the motion of the tongue ceases and the word seems to flow from it. Persevere so that there the idea only remains clinging to the heart, as it were, inseparable from it. Gradually the self

"Therefore consider what is displayed to thee," and "what is hidden from thee."

That is, the world should be regarded as existing in and through God, so that its phenomenal aspect will pass away and man sees nothing but God. If he regards himself existing on his own account, his unreal egoism, his *ahamkara*, comes to the front and God's face is veiled from him.

The Sufi's perfect man is "who has fully realized his essential oneness with the Divine Being in whose likeness he is made." God's own consciousness is manifested here. It comes to McTaggart's misconceived proposition that the Absolute becomes self-conscious in man, which has been ably controverted and refuted by Dr. Hiralal Haldar. But by making the Perfect Man, i.e., the son, co-eternal with the Father—making the Knower and the Known co-eternal as they really are, all misunderstanding is done away with. God is necessary to man in order that man may exist, whereas man is necessary to God that He may be manifested to Himself. Our existence is merely an objectification of His essence. He holds us to His heart in love from eternity to eternity. In this view man is the crown and cause of the universe. In creation he comes last, but in the generation of divine thought he stands first. He is essentially the immediate emanation of the Universal Reason which brings us in contact with the Greek *Logos*, Upanishadic *Brahma*, Gnostic *Christ* (Pre-Christian) or Christian Word—the animating principle of all things identified in the Moslem scheme with the Prophet Muhammad, the perfect man. Here we see the triumph of man's religious feeling over his historical sense. Buddha, Krishna, Christ or Muhammad, as historically depicted, disproves any such conception of perfect man.

The essence of God's essence is Love. Man, the manifestation of God's love, and God, though mystically united, are not absolutely identical and interchangeable. Though Mansur of Hallaj was savagely done to death for the supreme fault of his uttering *Ana'l-Hagg*, i. e., *अहं ब्रह्मास्मि*, the cardinal

truth embodied in it was ideally interpreted by the Sufis by including *la'hut* (Divine nature) and *na'sut* (humanity) as necessarily correlated aspects of the universal Essence. Hallaj has since been raised to the status of a martyr, and his death considered by many as a political murder more than anything else. Nothing blasphemous is found in his utterance. A man who has altogether discarded his lower self exists *qua* his real self, which is God. So it is God who speaks through him. And there is nothing wrong for God to say *Ana'l-Hagg*. It was God Himself who spoke by the mouth of the selfless Hallaj. Mansur's detractors simply said that he did not attain such spiritual insight as to enable him to say so. And Mansur never denied the existence of the *two* even in final union. Hallaj says in one of his poems :

"I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I;
We are two spirits dwelling in one body.
If thou seest me, thou seest Him,
And if thou seest Him, thou seest us both."

This forthwith reminds one of the *Sruti* *द्वा सुपर्णं सुयुक्ता सखाया समानं वृक्षं परित्यज्यते*—"Two birds, related to each other, and friends, are sheltered in the same tree." Rumi Jalaluddin also sings to the same tune.

"Happy the moment when we are seated in the Palace, thou and I,
With two forms and with two figures but with one soul, thou and I.
Thou and I, individuals no more, shall be mingled in ecstasy.
Joyful and secure from foolish babble, thou and I.
This is the greatest wonder, that thou and I sitting here in the same nook,
Are at this moment both in Iraq and Khorasan.*
Thou and I."

The clue to the solution of the mystery is here found why Rammohun, the Vedantist of Vedantists, proposed to retire to his rest with Diwan Hafiz and Maulana Rumi.

* As in the Gnostic and Christian mysticism flight from Egypt and entry into Jerusalem have esoteric meaning, so Iraq and Khorasan in Sufism. Mathura and Brindaban are so interpreted in the Vaisnavic mysticism.

The Hindu Civilization of Malaya

By C. F. ANDREWS

THE following account does not claim to be the result of original research. It is a collection of material, already made available to the public, taken from many sources. It is a noble story of a great culture of world importance.

The early history of the Malay Peninsula is still very obscure; but one fact emerges from each fresh record and inscription that is discovered in modern times. The entire early civilization of the south-eastern portion of the Malaya for many centuries came from India and represented the Hindu-Buddhist civilization. It is true that the original inhabitants probably reached Malaya from the islands to the South, though even this is not yet proved. But we find that more than 2,000 years ago the Hindu immigrants were already entering into the country from the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal and that the rulers were sprung from different Hindu races.

It would appear from the scanty data we have that for a very long time the centre of this Hindu rule in Malaya was a district called Palembang, at the southern extremity of the island of Sumatra. This kingdom was called Sri Vijaya, and it was ruled over by those who took the title of Maharajah. At the end of the seventh century, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, I-Tsing, paid a visit to this part of the world and left a written record behind him about the country. This is the most valuable account which we as yet have in writing, in book form, but other Chinese records may yet be discovered. He states that during his time of residence in the country the Maharajah annexed the "Malayu" country. Most probably this "Malayu" country was portioned out among many Hindu rajahs, over whom this Maharajah exercised dominion as their suzerain and chief.

With regard to this historical period we have besides one of the earliest known inscriptions, written in a South Indian script, and dated A. D. 686. This gives the

record of an attack on Java by the forces sent from Sri Vijaya to that island. It seems not unlikely therefore, that a Hindu empire, on a small scale, was established, having Sri Vijaya as its central province which gave the empire its title.

We learn further that, in A. D. 778, the Buddhist temple of Kalasan in Central Java was built by the order of the Maharajah of Sri Vijaya. Another inscription in Sanskrit, discovered in Lower Siam, records the erection there also of Buddhist buildings in A. D. 775 by the order of the Maharajah of Sri Vijaya who "belongs to the dynasty of the King of the Mountains."

This latter phrase may refer to a curious name in the "Malay Annals," for they state that the rulers of Palembang were of the dynasty of Mahameru. Mahameru is obviously an Indian word, signifying "Great Meru,"—referring to Mount Meru of the Hindu legends.

Later on, about A. D. 1000, we have in Tamil and Sanskrit an inscription recording the grant of a village to the Buddhist temple at Negapatam in Southern India, which had been built by two rulers of Palembang. This appears to show an intimate relation between the Malayan rulers and South India on the west and also Java on the south-east. The second of these two rulers is called in the inscription "King of Kataha and Srivishaya."

The names of both these rulers are corroborated by two entries in the Chinese Annals of the Sung dynasty, which mentions embassies from them to China in A. D. 1003 and A. D. 1008. The word "Kataha" in the inscription is probably the same as Kedah. A little later on, an inscription in South India, at Tanjore, dated A. D. 1030 commemorates the capture of the King of Kedaram together with the conquest of Sri Vijaya and of Malayu. These conquests cannot have been permanent, for a few years later, according to the Chinese Annals, the Maharajah of Sri Vijaya reported to the Chinese Emperor that the king of Southern

India was his vassal; and a later Chinese writer tells how the Maharajah of Sri Vijaya laid a claim to be suzerain over the whole of the Malay Peninsula, and also over Ceylon. It would seem as though conquests and re-conquests went on, during the centuries, between these different countries.

Nearly the whole of this evidence given here is of quite recent date and thus makes a basis for a reliable historical picture. It has been gradually collected owing to the discovery of inscriptions on different ancient stones and monuments. Other finds of a similar character are almost certain to be made. When it is all pieced together, it seems likely that it will point to a very close connection, lasting for many centuries, between early Hindu India and the Malay Archipelago. It also points to an independent kingdom, with definite Hindu religious traditions and language affinities, which had its capital in the south of the island of Sumatra. Along with the spirit of early Buddhist teaching a great impetus seems to have been given to colonization and settlement from India. Through the Buddhist revival within ancient Hinduism this migratory expansion took place. This kingdom or empire which extended far and wide, appears at an early date to have accepted the Mahayana form of Buddhism, which is usually associated with Northern India. It is not altogether unlikely that from the kingdom of Sri Vijaya itself the Buddhist monks made their journeys into the interior of Java. If this is proved to be true, then it would follow that the great Hindu Buddhist civilization of Java, which produced such amazing monuments as Borobudur and Prambanan, most probably originated from this source.

Assuming this to be a true reading of ancient history, we may hope also in time to come to have still further light thrown upon the extended immigration from India into the Malay Archipelago and from thence to Indo-China. We may also learn more about the remarkable Hindu civilization of Cambodia which produced the Khmer dynasty and the great shrine, Angkor Wat, which is one of the wonders of the world.

Further records of lesser importance have already been found in Malaya itself by archaeological research. There is, for instance, an inscription written in a Southern Indian script which is dated as early as A. D. 400. This would be almost as early

as anything we have yet found in Java or elsewhere. The inscription has not been fully deciphered and it does not help us with any historical information but it gives us hope that some further inscriptions may be discovered of definite historical value. A famous old fragment of stone, found in the bed of the river at Singapore, is now in the Raffles Museum. But this also does not help us to any great extent, because it is only a fragment.

For nearly a thousand years a widespread civilizing tradition of Indian culture, religion, and literature was very slowly accumulated all over this part of the South-Eastern Asia. This country with its adjacent islands, was rightly and truly regarded as an extension of India itself and of Hindu Buddhist civilization,—a kind of cultural empire. With the advance of the Buddhist missionary expansion the same Indian traditions were carried still further eastward and also to the north of the Malay Peninsula. Burma and Siam owe not merely their original civilization, but also their permanent religious creed to these Indian immigrants. Whatever strength they have had in their long history, as civilized countries, they have drawn from the Buddhist religion which had its origin in Hindu India.

It is not necessary at this point to go still further and point out in detail how Buddhism from India went right on to the shores of the Pacific as far as North China, Korea and Japan. For the story of this further spiritual conquest would carry us beyond the bounds of the special purpose of this essay which is to show how closely Malaya has been linked up with India itself. But it may be mentioned that while the Mahayana Buddhism was advancing in a north-westerly direction and thence penetrating Central Asia through Afghanistan and Kashmir this South-Eastern expansion was going on simultaneously.

In corroboration of this historical account of Hindu and Buddhist settlement from India all along the sea-border and in the nearer islands of the Malay Archipelago, we have evidence from another source which may be briefly referred to here. The most important Western account of Further India and the Golden Chersonese (as Malaya was called in the West) is found in Ptolemy's description of the world, dating from the first half of the second

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century after Christ. Ptolemy came from the city of Alexandria in Egypt which was the great emporium of the eastern trade. He informs us that, in his time, the coast-line of Farther India was inhabited throughout its length by the Sindri (Hindus). Their widespread importance in the Far East at that time was enough for this accurate Alexandrian geographer to describe them as a 'race of wide distribution'. This great and lasting advance in Hindu culture under ancient conditions of sea voyage must have taken some centuries to spread so far and wide. It must have been going on, century after century, even before the southern regions of India itself were wholly penetrated by Brahman influence from the North.

It is important to notice, that the whole of this early colonization made its long voyages by sea and not by land. It did not proceed gradually along the coast of Arakan and Burma by any land routes. Indeed, Burma, for very many centuries, appears to have been almost passed by. It would even seem as if the Hindu penetration of the south-east of Asia preceded by many centuries its full entry into Burma itself. Indeed, even today, it is in Cambodia, on the north-eastern side of the Malaya Peninsula, that the richest finds in ancient Hindu inscriptions have been made and the strongest traditions of Brahman culture still exist.

As a consequence of all these early settlements and occupations, the name Indonesia has now been rightly given by modern geographers to the greatest and most populated group of islands in the world, which lies around Malaya and stretches out for nearly 2,600 miles towards the Far East into the midst of the Pacific Ocean. Wherever one goes in these islands, there are still to be found the traces of the old Hindu culture, which lasted for over one thousand years. Therefore, it is entirely wrong and unhistorical to regard the Indian immigration which is happening today in Malaya as something strangely foreign and contrary to Hindu custom and tradition. For the whole area has been saturated with Hindu culture from very ancient times and its present civilization under Islamic rule and British protection cannot really be understood unless this Hindu-Buddhist foundation is clearly recognized and fully acknowledged.

After the year 1200 A. D. the history of

the Malaya Peninsula becomes obscure again for a time, but we have important clues. We find out from the Chinese records that the various rajahs in the north of Malaya were obliged to fall back against the rising power of Siam. We know also that Siam itself was being hard pressed from the east by the ever-increasing sway of the Khmer dynasty, which was a part of what is now called Indo-China.

In addition to this information, we have the record of an expedition in 1273 of Kertanagara of Tumapel against Malayu which utterly destroyed the southern part of the Peninsula. We find that the Hindu Maharajah of Majapahit, which was the rising power in Java, invades again and again the Malay Peninsula and brings into subjection most of the coast. The famous inscription already mentioned, which was found at the mouth of the Singapore river, probably refers to this conquest, but since it is only a small fragment, definite information cannot be gathered from it with any certainty.

But Java itself was soon to be overcome by fresh invaders. When Marco Polo in A. D. 1292 visited Sumatra he found Islam already in possession at a little port called Perlak. Very rapidly Islam spread from thence among the people of the Peninsula. There are important records showing that the missionaries of Islam came chiefly from the western coasts of India, just as the Buddhist missionaries a thousand years before had come from the eastern coast which looks out upon the Bay of Bengal.

The Islamic traders who came over western India, were very rich and powerful. They seemed to have opened up this great field of Islamic conquest, which was taken advantage of from Asia and Persia afterwards. Within two centuries the whole of this coast-line from Penang to the extremity of Java, and over a large part of Sumatra also, had accepted the Islamic faith and welcomed Islamic rulers. Such an amazingly quick conquest could have only happened owing to the weakness and decay of the earlier Hindu-Buddhist civilization. Thus for a second time the Malay Peninsula and the neighbouring islands were conquered from India and acknowledged this definite religious conquest by allowing their rulers to be chosen partly from those who belong to India by race.

In the book called "The Malay Annals"

we have a vivid account of these Sultans. Their reigns in this newly conquered lands appear to have been for the most part taken up with war and luxurious living. At the same time, the religion of Islam obtained powerful hold over the minds of the common people, and made such a deep impression upon them that through all the different changes which followed these village people have still continued faithfully to observe the precepts of Islam.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the next invasion came from the extreme west of Europe. Portugal had risen quickly to power as a maritime people. The Portuguese had been the first to circumnavigate South Africa and to enter the eastern seas by the long voyage up the African east coast to Mombasa crossing from thence the Arabian Sea to the coast of Malabar in South India and from thence reaching Ceylon and the Far East. "The Malay Annals" give a vivid account of the arrival of the first Portuguese captain at Malacca in 1509. It reads as follows:

"All the Malays crowded round him in wonder at the appearance of the Portuguese. They said, 'These are white Bengalis'. There were dozens of Malacca people round every Portuguese; some pulled their beards and patted their heads, others seized their hats or clasped their hands. The Portuguese captain went to interview the great Malay chief, the Bendahara. The Bendahara gave the captain's little son a Malay costume. The captain presented the Malay chief with a golden chain, and himself flung it over the sacred head of the chief. The chief's followers were angry, but the Bendahara restrained them, remarking, 'Take no notice; for he is a person of no manners.'"

The Portuguese, who thus began to found an empire, in the Far East, were at this time a precociously brilliant and adventurous race. They numbered among them some of the greatest names in the history of the sixteenth century. Three are specially famous. Alfonso d'Albuquerque was the outstanding imperial statesman of this time. Probably no conqueror who came from Europe to the East since Alexander, left a deeper impression on Eastern history than he did. The second name, which is still famous in literature to-day, is that of the Portuguese poet

Camoens, who served as a soldier in the Far Eastern Empire of Portugal. He wrote this famous epic while thus living in exile in Malaya. The third name is the greatest of all. It is that of Saint Francis Xavier who lived first of all in Western India and from thence went forward to the Far East. He made many converts from the outcaste Hindus and then tried to win the Muhammadan population to the faith of Christ. When he could not succeed in this endeavour he passed on to the Far East. At his death, his body was first buried at Malacca in the Malaya Peninsula and then removed to Goa.

The rule of the Portuguese was short-lived. In 1640, the Dutch captured Malacca and took all the Portuguese possessions from them. During the next century and a half this south-eastern corner of Asia was treated as a place for plunder rather than as a seat of civilization. The islands close to Malaya were used for the purpose of obtaining cloves and spices. A Dutch monopoly was held in this trade against all comers. The natives of the islands who grew the spices were treated as slaves of the company and they were ruthlessly pillaged on many occasions. The story of those days as told in the contemporary Dutch history makes terrible reading. At last, the monopoly of the Dutch was challenged by other rival European Powers; but the Dutch interests were not completely broken until towards the middle of the eighteenth century. In India French rivalry sprang up in the Madras Presidency. The East India Company then began to press in on every side and towards the close of the eighteenth century the British succeeded in getting a footing not only in India itself in the three coastal areas of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, but also in the Malaya Peninsula at Penang. Malacca was captured in 1795. Then came the Napoleonic wars with the final struggle for power in the world outside Europe between the British and the French.

Early in the nineteenth century Sir Stamford Raffles came to this part of the world. He was a genius of the highest order and wherever his influence penetrated he left a mark which is noticeable to-day. From 1811-1817, he ruled over Java, and it was his deep interest in the archaeological remains of the East which rescued Borobudur from decay and ultimate ruin. At the end

taking under protection one Sultan after another, and federating the Malaya States under British rule.

A careful reading of the conditions during the period before they came under British protection shows that when once Penang and Singapore were occupied the further unification was inevitable. On the whole, the material progress of the different States, since the time when they came under British protection, has been remarkable. I have myself travelled both in the Federated and Unfederated States, and I have no doubt personally that the great improvement in the administration which has taken place is due—(1) to the separation of Malaya from the Government of British India, (2) to the remarkable series of administrators who have been able to work side by side with the Sultans of Malaya giving them help in their difficulties, keeping the peace, preserving order, and at the same time leaving them as far as possible with their own local powers intact. The settled peace which has prevailed in the Malaya Peninsula ever since the time when it was separated from the British Government in India, has produced a remarkable effect in racial union and racial intermarriage. Without this settled peace the races, which are so diverse as those of China, Malaya and India, could never have been kept side by side among their illiterate members without friction. Also the habits of dacoity which had become almost a second nature in Malaya, might have gone on increasing. But owing to the settled administration

the races have remarkably intermingled. Indeed very rarely have races so divergent become so friendly together as those in Malaya and in so short a time. A harmony has been springing up between all the three races and in certain important directions intermarriages are constantly taking place. The only stock which does not intermarry is the Hindu society where some caste traditions have been maintained. In other directions what we observe today is the formation of a new human stock in which three different cultures and three different races will probably in the end intermingle and unite.

Thus the Indians who go to Malaya do not go there as foreigners. They pass out across the Bay of Bengal to a country with which India has been intimately connected from the very first. The Hindu traditions are not alien to Malaya, but a vital portion of the most ancient civilization of the land. The Malaysians themselves have already imbibed that culture, and it remains deeply embedded in their legends, folk plays and songs beneath the exterior ceremonial of Islam. There should be no difficulty whatever in its revival. It is true that the course of events points to a predominance of Chinese population in the near future, but there is no reason why the cultural traditions of India should not remain as the background of the whole scene of human life in this wonderful land, if only the spiritual enterprise which prevailed in India in Hindu Buddhist times is not now lacking.

Puran Singh the Sikh Poet.

(1881-1931)

By K. P. JAYASWAL

ON the last day of March this year, Sardar Puran Singh, the mystic poet of Sikhism, passed away at his residence at Dehra Dun. Puran Singh is not to be claimed solely by Sikhism; he was one of our lords of letters, a poet who adopted the English language to offer his thoughts. He greatly resembles Tagore in style, freedom, force and mystic grandeur.

No one who ever came in contact with Puran Singh the Sikh devotee, or "Puran" the Vedantist, as he formerly was, could forget the man. As a man, Puran Singh was a greater national asset than even as the literary prince of the Panjab. His presence shed kindness and affection, it spelt relief and happiness to those who approached him. He would envelope you

with his love for God and yourself, you would feel he was entering your self when he recited some poems of his addressed to Him, tears rolling down his cheeks, face becoming brighter and brighter, his person almost reaching the stage of a spiritual trance. He would make you forget this material world for the time being.

It was a real privilege to be with Puran Singh, the Sikh devotee. From association with him, one could realize what spiritual personality means. He mainly drew upon Nanak and other saints of Sikhism; at the same time his ideal was Christ. He always kept an excellent picture of Christ in his room where he read and wrote.

Socially, Sardar Puran Singh was an institution. People flocked to him. His house, "Ivanhoe," became a second home to a number of friends. It was open, like a mosque, to one and all Puran Singh, the Sikh gentleman and Mrs. Puran Singh the pious Sikh lady were brother and sister to every visitor, to every friend; they were more than host and hostess. Following Nanak spiritually and in practice, Puran Singh knew not that there could be any difference between a Hindu and a Muhammadan, a Sikh and a non-Sikh. Friends have told me many times—'You cannot think of Puran Singh without thinking of Khudadad Khan'. The latter gentleman—Dr. Khudadad Khan—was a friend of Sardar Puran Singh and lived with him in one and the same house at Dehra Dun like a member of his family up to the last breath of the Sardar.

Puran the Vedantist was a remarkable personality. I first came to know him as such: a faultless, slim figure with a clean-shaven, shining, calm, and uncommonly handsome face, having the lustre of a *yogi*. The young Puran had lightening in his speech. He was all-conquering when he talked. As he himself told me 25 years later, he felt, while a Vedantist, that he was united with every one and every thing. He mentally lived in all and all lived in him. He was all dignity. He practised the realization of the Great Brahman (ब्रह्म) within him. Every one who listened to Puran forgot that Puran was a young man; the listener felt there was a Master talking. If I try to describe the effect of a lecture of Puran the Vedantist I might be accused of exaggeration. For my own part, I can say that his lectures explained to me the truth

that Great Teachers were obeyed the moment they said 'Follow me'.

Puran the Vedantist was the superman to be obeyed, to be overpowered by. But when some five years later I met him again, this time as Puran Singh the Sikh devotee, I saw a different spiritual personality. He was no more the Representative of the Great Brahman, he was no more Brahman, no more an equal of God, but His most humble servant, most intimate servant, most grateful devotee. He had ceased to be a superman to be obeyed, he was a fatherly friend to take over and share your sorrows, to whom you would willingly confess, in whom you would seek and find repose. There was God all round him, hymns, Christ, Nanak, Buddha, all,—in words, thoughts, on the walls, in Puran Singh's heart and in your heart. The same, though silent, godliness circled round Mrs. Maya Devi Puran Singh at "Ivanhoe," where she presided not only over her own but also a number of women and girls whom we would not she, call outsiders. Herself intensely religious, having descended from the family of a Sikh saint, Mrs. Puran Singh had in no little degree influenced the life of Sardar Puran Singh.

Had Puran Singh taken to politics, probably he would have died as the foremost political orator of his time. I did not hear him on the platform in latter times, but my Sikh friends who did hear him in Sikh conferences told me that he kept spell-bound huge audiences. He used to command a pin-drop silence, no one would cough or breathe aloud when he spoke. The hearer was filled in with Puran Singh's words, thoughts and zeal. It is worth noting the various phases of Puran Singh's career. He started life as a spiritual seeker, as a monk, and died a Sikh devotee, finding all that he wished for under his own roof, with his own family. Puran Singh began as a *fakir* and died as a *fakir*, only of a different kind.

His father was a Sikh, living in a village of Abbotabad in the Frontier Province. He was blessed with that variety of wealth which the Deity bestows on His own men—a dignified poverty. He earned his living as a small official. Puran Singh (b. 1881) was brought up as a Sikh boy by a religious and generous mother and a metaphysical father, in the Pathan village of his birth. Funds were not easily available, and the mother moved to relations at Rawalpindi

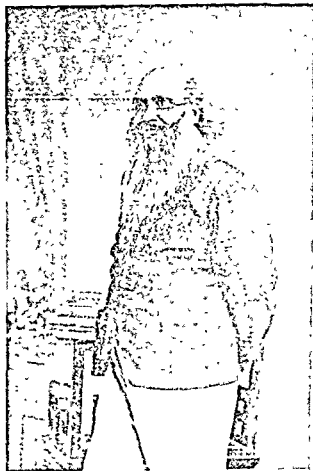
for the education of her son who did his Entrance examination and was sent to Lahore for his college studies. Before graduation, he was awarded a scholarship to go to Japan in 1900. He studied applied chemistry at the Imperial University, Tokio, for three years. Towards the close of his sojourn, Mr. Puran Singh became a monk. From the Japanese whom he came to know intimately and amongst whom he met men of silence, men of joy, poets and artists, he found *the love of flowers, of nature, and of Buddha.* He gained, as he himself relates, 'the new joy of freedom from self.' Everything dropped from his hands. He turned a monk. Tears of joy rolled down from his eyes, his words became as soft as cherry flowers dropping in the air. 'It seemed that I loved every one and every one loved me.' He was then in his full youth. Floods of ecstasy overwhelmed him; he found 'Buddha before me, behind me, above him, within him.'

In this spiritual state, Puran the Bhikkhu met Swami Ramatirtha, that highly intellectual Vedantist of the last generation, the Sannyasin who conquered all who went to him with an almost divine smile. This "Indian Saint," to quote Puran Singh himself, "touched me with the divine fire." Puran became a disciple of Ramatirtha, became a *sannyasin*, and started the practice of Vedanta.

The Vivekananda-Ramatirtha age moved the heart of even *sannyasins* towards political and social improvement of the Land of Sannyasa. Puran the Vedantist not only learnt Vedanta from his master, but along with it a curiously untraditional programme of attachment—of a Nation-making, of awakening India.

Puran arrived in India to work in obedience to his master's order. He obeyed, but the new programme of 'work' would not fit in with the ideal of self-realization. On his arrival Puran began to preach patriotism and practise Vedanta. In this condition, Puran was arrested in Calcutta by two persons who claimed to be his creditors. The bent and broken father and the elderly mother who had travelled from Abbotabad on hearing of the return of Puran, easily searched out the addressless monk. Face to face, all of a sudden, there was Puran the *sannyasin* with the mother who had brought him up in that mud-house of Abbotabad and the father who used to

dress him in velvet. Puran the Vedantist was emotionless. The tears of the mother drew no tears into the eyes of the *sannyasin*. His clean-shaven head, the head without the "Guru-given tresses and turban," drew bitter sarcasm from the father. But the mother admired his son for taking the right path, and invited him to the family 'nest', the mud-house at Abbotabad. Puran accepted this. He went there. The sight of his half-starved sisters and brothers moved his



Puran Singh

pity though not his eyes. One of his sisters (Ganga), in a few days died in his arms, but while she was breathing her last she made Puran promise to wed the girl whom their mother had selected. Puran promised this to the dying sister, which assured her and the family the return of Puran to home and to its support.

In 1904 Puran married Srimati Maya Devi who belongs to the Bhagat family of Rawalpindi. He took his residence at Lahore and accepted a post in the Victoria Diamond

Jubilee Institute. He took up also some industrial matters, e.g., manufacture of soaps, oils, etc. He was at this time the noted and foremost disciple of Ramatirtha. He founded a magazine called *The Dawn* and expressed his Vedantic thoughts through its pages.

In 1907, he accepted the post of the Chemical Advisor to the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun. Since then Dehra Dun became his home. Sannyasins and other religious men frequented his house there. He gave profusely and never kept a penny for the next day. The Vedantic doctrine of non-duality he put in practice in daily life. Every stranger was to him his kith and kin. His house belonged to one who came in and occupied it with him. He felt his unity with his creator and he was full of joy. This went on for some years at Dehra Dun. But this joy left him, he became unhappy; he would sit up at night, weeping and praying. Finally in 1911, he accepted the doctrine of personal devotion from a Sikh master. When I met him about 1919 soon after his retirement from the Forest Research Institute he related to me his acceptance of this new standpoint in his spiritual career. I found him then, and subsequently up to 1928, when I met him last, in perfect spiritual happiness and a fountain of kindness and love. Recently in the *Khalsa Review*

(Dec. 1930), he wrote the story of his last conversion.

He retired from Government service on a small pension in 1919. As the Imperial Research Chemist he discovered some new forest oils which fact was noticed in the public press at the time. His chemical reports are marked with originality. In 1921 he became Chief Chemist to the Gwalior State and remained in its service for four years.

He used to write at a stretch. "The Sisters of the Spinning Wheel" which is a 'translation' of hymns from the Sikh *Granth* was composed at a continuous sitting of three nights and three days. The violent method which he adopted in his literary work probably is the main cause of his comparatively early death.

The photograph published with this article was taken in October last. His verses read as original. They are as little translations as Arnold's *Light of Asia* or Tagore's English poems. His main literary works in English are:

- "The Sisters of the Spinning Wheel" (Poems).
- "Fastning Beads" (Poems).
- "Seven Baskets of Prose Poems."
- "The Book of the Ten Masters."
- "The Spirit-born People."
- "At His Feet."
- "An Afternoon With Self."
- "Spirit of Oriental Poetry."
- "Life of Swami Ramatirtha"
- "Spirit of the Sikh."

He wrote largely in Panjabi as well.

Gaurmani's Son

By SITA DEVI

GAURMANI became a widow, when her son Kishor was a boy of eight. Not only had she become a widow, but it seemed as if the universe had become quite meaningless to her. She was married very young. She was the child of poor parents but was given in marriage to the scion of an aristocratic family. But when she entered the house of her husband, the family was fast moving downhill and she found only a big house, falling into ruins, and the unbounded wealth of aristocratic pride. They had no longer the money to live like a great landholder but they made up for everything by an excess of dignity and highbrow airs. These never cost them anything. The huge castle-like house was nearly uninhabitable

now, it had cracked in many places and the doors and windows had mostly broken down. Still they clung to it, as they had no other place to go to. They patched up the ruins somehow and lived on. There were two brothers, one widowed sister and the old mother.

Shibdas was the younger of the two brothers, and he married Gaurmani. Bipradas, the elder, had been married long ago. Shibdas had remained unmarried so long on account of the calamity that had befallen his family. But a man, born in Bengal, seldom goes unmarried to the end of his days. So, though he had made up his mind not to marry, his sister and mother finally persuaded him to change his mind.

He found no bride in the great families, for they treated, the unfortunate family with scorn now. Besides, Shibdas was too old and had no desire to be continually looked down upon by a bride who came from a rich family. So Gaurmani was picked out, she was the daughter of Jadunath, who had formerly been in the employ of Shibdas's father. The girl was only ten years old, but that did not seem to matter. In olden days, a very fair complexion was thought essential for the brides who entered the family. Gaurmani was dark, but even this did not matter. She was married off to Shibdas, and her people considered it a great good fortune for her and an honour for themselves.

Gaurmani came to live in her husband's house, her small forehead, profusely decorated with vermilion, and her arms loaded with auspicious bracelets of shell and iron. She could never regard her husband as a mere man, and her husband too, did not help her to do so, in any way. He remained distant to her, in the pride of his aristocratic birth and his manhood. Gaurmani's feelings towards Shibdas was partly that of a devotee at a shrine, and partly that of a mother to a big overgrown boy. She was not fully conscious of these things, of course.

Shibdas had inherited all the faults and good qualities of a noble house, in short, everything, except its wealth. He could not do a single thing for himself. As long as he had not married, life had been full of discomfort and want for him. His widowed sister tried to look after him, but she too, was a daughter of this family and brought up in its traditions. Not very long ago, every lady of the family had two waiting women each, so it was not to be wondered at that even the ladies had never learnt to look after themselves. So, Shibdas did not find much comfort in his sister's regime.

It is difficult to say whether Gaurmani was placed in the hands of Shibdas, or he in hers. For the first two years after her marriage, she came and went from her husband's house to her father's. But after that, she settled down permanently in her husband's house. She took up all the duties of the mistress of the house. She never rested from dawn to night. She worked on uncomplainingly. Her forefathers had served this family for ages and had thrived upon their bounty, so gratitude and loyalty to it had become second nature to her. Her love for Shibdas was not exactly the love

of a wife, but the devotion of a servitor, the adoration of a man. The family was afflicted by Fate, and so deserving of greater consideration and love. Gaurmani learnt all her duties from her sister-in-law, and began to perform them so flawlessly, that even the aristocrats became loud in praise of her. Besides taking care of Shibdas, there were many other duties awaiting her, but she never paid any attention to these, till she had finished everything needed for the comfort and ease of her husband. Her mind would become extremely disturbed, if she made the slightest mistake in her husband's work. She cooked his food, she served them, she made his bed and tucked him into it. After he had retired, she used to sigh with relief and contentment. Her day's work was well done. Now she had a few moments to spare for herself.

For many years, she had no child. This made the complete dedication of herself in her husband's service easier for her. Her mother-in-law was dead, the sister-in-law was busy bewailing her own sad fate, so there was nobody to upbraid Gaurmani with her childlessness. Shibdas's elder brother had children. These would carry on the name and traditions of the family. So thought everyone, and no one bothered about Gaurmani.

So when Kishor came into her arms, Gaurmani felt very glad, but she could not spare him any time or attention; she brought up Kishor somehow, looking after him at intervals. Nearly all women are mothers first, wives after that. But she was an exceptional case. The claims of her husband always remained supreme. So even from infancy, Kishor grew up a bit independently. His mother ministered to his bodily needs somehow, but she did not help him in any other way to grow up. She washed and fed him and then shut him up in a room. She had other work to do and could not spare more time for the child. She never cared to know how he passed his time. If he cried too loud, she would peep in to see what the matter was. If she found something really wrong, she would come in to put it right, but if she found the child much as usual, she would go away at once, without stopping to talk to him or smile at him. She had no time to play with him, to fondle him, to forget herself in the ineffable joy of clapping his sweet soft body to her breast. Shibdas had usurped the place of god in her

procure prawns again and prepare it. So Shibdas had to go without his favourite dish that day. Gaurmani felt extremely ill at ease about it, and Kishor was deprived of his dinner as a punishment, but he did not seem a bit repentant.

Shibdas heard about this incident and remarked, "He is not being trained properly. He is greedy as a low-class boy."

"I don't know where he acquires these manners from," said Gaurmani. "He never sees anybody behaving in this fashion." Kishor's father and uncle ate delicacies everyday before the children, without ever sharing anything with them. But such behaviour never seemed wrong to them. They never thought they were setting a bad example. Gaurmani took the blame upon herself. She was not of noble lineage and Kishor must have inherited these plebeian instincts from her.

Kishor was a born iconoclast. He never looked upon anything with eyes of veneration. This thing pained Gaurmani most of all. Kishor was born of gentlefolk, yet he had no respect for his elders. This was unthinkable to Gaurmani. She had found fulfilment in dedicating her life to the service of her husband. She thought that to be the only way for all. Renunciation and loving service, these two things made up life for her. Kishor was only a boy, still his conduct seemed highly objectionable to her. Every night, after she had finished her day's work, she would bow down to the image of the family god and pray to him to change the heart of her son.

But no change was apparent in Kishor. He became worse and worse. One day, while Shibdas was taking his bath, and Gaurmani was setting out his breakfast, Kishor called to her from the bedroom, "Mother, come here."

Gaurmani thought that her son wanted her for something. She entered the bedroom and found Kishor in a state that nearly made her faint with dismay. Kishor had put on his father's spectacles and had painted a very fine pair of moustaches with the help of his pen. Seeing his mother, he laughed and asked, "Don't I look just like father, mother?"

Gaurmani gave him a resounding slap and snatched away the spectacles. She then dragged Kishor to the bathroom and washed off his artistic endeavours. She felt inclined to ask pardon of the defiled spectacles. She

did not mention the incident to her husband at all, for fear of incurring his wrath.

When Kishor was but eight years of age, Shibdas suddenly fell ill. After a few days' suffering, he passed away quietly. It seemed to Gaurmani, as if the world had tumbled down all of a sudden. Her life had become totally meaningless.

A few months passed away. Gaurmani had at first become quite dazed with grief. But as her senses returned she saw that she had ceased to be necessary to any one. Her relatives tried to comfort her. "You have your son. Bring him up properly, that's your duty now. Don't grieve for the departed. Life and death are in God's hands."

But Kishor had completely passed out of her control. He had been defrauded of a mother, by his father, when he needed her most. Now when Shibdas departed, leaving Gaurmani completely free, Kishor no longer had any need of her. Gaurmani never felt satisfied and at ease, unless she could lavish unstinted love and care upon someone, but it was impossible to take care of Kishor. From morning till nightfall, nobody found him at home, except at meal time. He went to school or absented himself according to his own sweet will and never paid heed to any reprimand. It was no use taking care of his room or things, he was incapable of enjoying them. He did not care twopence about family prestige and mixed with all the poorer people of that quarter. He played with them and went about all day, with them. He joined their musical and theatrical club even.

One day Gaurmani heard that Kishor had taken the part of a dancing-girl in an amateur drama, and was practising his steps at the rehearsal. She nearly fainted with shame and grief. The boy was bringing dishonour upon his family. How could she bring him back to the path of righteousness? She was an orthodox Hindu widow, she could not accompany her son everywhere and see what he was doing.

Feeling herself helpless she went to her sister-in-law. Bipradas never meddled in the affairs of his brother's family. This was the accepted rule of the house. As they divided their money and property, so they divided their affections, duties and responsibilities. They kept within their legal rights always and never passed the boundary line. Bipradas was as indifferent now, as he had

Bipradas's son was married off in good time. The bride was good-looking, and found favour in everyone's eyes except in those of Gaurmani. The girl was too different from herself. This girl could never lose herself in another's life. She had too much individuality. She demanded too much for herself. The ideal of womanhood, as Gaurmani knew it, seemed to have disappeared from the face of earth.

She sometimes thought of retiring to Benares, for the rest of her days. But she could not bring herself to give up this home where her husband had lived, these trifles which he had used. She took care of the house and all it contained as she had done in Shibdas's lifetime.

Winter came and she began to feel weaker than ever. But she gave herself no rest. She would rest for a few minutes, then fall to work again with renewed vigour. The home must not be neglected.

The last few days had been cloudy. That morning Gaurmani woke and found a bright sun shining. She resolved to give an airing to her husband's winter clothing before her bath. She never allowed Kishor to use his father's things, she kept them safely locked up.

She opened the box and then turned dizzy in dismay. The first thing that used to confront her eyes whenever she opened it, had been that pair of old Cashmere shawls. But she did not find them there today. She looked into every nook and corner, she emptied the box of all its contents, but did not find the shawls. She knew for certain, that she had not kept them anywhere else, still hoping against hope, she looked into all her boxes. They were nowhere. Then she collapsed. It seemed to her, as if she had lost one of her ribs.

Her nephew Nirad was passing by her door. Seeing her, sitting in such a desolate pose, he ran to her and asked "What has happened, aunt?"

"I cannot find his shawls anywhere," she said mournfully.

Nirad remained silent for a while, then he said, "Don't tell Kishor that I told you, else he will thrash me. He has taken away the shawls. He wants them for the theatre."

Gaurmani felt as if someone had dealt her a death blow. Such things could happen! The son defiling the dead father's garments! He could let an actor put them on!

Nirad had gone away. Gaurmani got up and looked all around her. Then for the first time in her life, she came out of the house in broad daylight. She walked on slowly, but steadily.

She knew where Kishor held his rehearsals. She entered, unknown to anyone. The rehearsal was in full swing then, she heard music, and songs and the shouts of the actors from the outside.

Slowly she came to the door of the hall, where the party was making merry. Nobody noticed her. She looked in and saw Naderchand, the cobbler's son, dancing a wild and obscene dance with those shawls on his shoulders.

"Kishor!" She called out in a wild voice.

Kishor was playing on the harmonium. His mother's voice made him start and jump up in dismay. He came forward rather alarmed and astonished and asked "Why have you come here?"

"You have brought your father's shawls here? Whom have you given them to wear?" asked Gaurmani in the same voice.

Kishor began to see light now. "What does it matter if I have?" he asked, a bit reassured now. "I will have them washed and cleaned properly."

"Don't don't bring them back to my house," cried Gaurmani. "I won't touch them, I won't allow them to be brought in. You have allowed a dog to defile a god's belonging." She trembled violently and fell down in a faint.

She never knew who brought her home and how. On regaining consciousness, she found herself lying on her own bed. One of her nieces were sitting by her side. "Where is Kishor?" she asked.

"He had been here all the time," the girl answered. "He went out just now. Shall I call him?"

"No," said Gaurmani. "I feel all right now. You need not wait anymore." The girl went away.

the fire blazed, like a mother gazing at the funeral pyre of her only son. The fire roared and shot up flames for a long time. Then gradually, it died out.

The world was no longer a good place for Gaurmani. One month went by, then a

second. The third month was the last. She found her way out of this torture chamber in a dark moonless night. She departed, perhaps in search of him, who had been her only shelter. Life had become futile. Perhaps in death, she found fulfilment.

The Art of the Woodcut in India

A REVIEW *

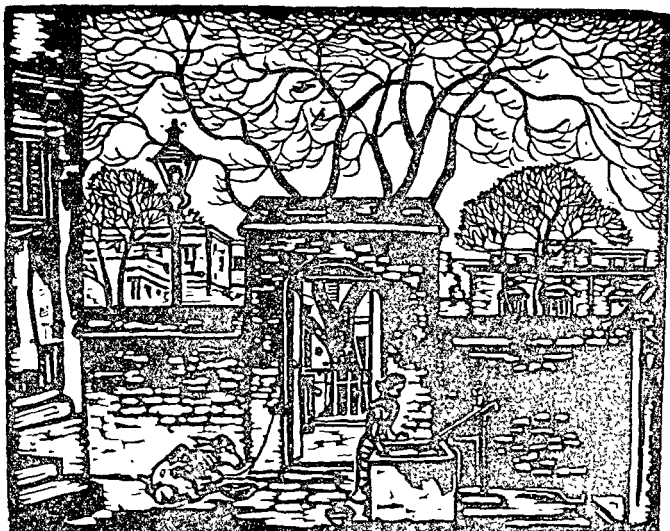
By PROF. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

Calcutta University

Nandal Bose's woodcuts, some of them most beautiful specimens of this artist's work, were published some years back, and the advance made by him and his pupils in this branch of art is known among art-lovers in India. The publication of the work under review, however, in which one artist of the new school comes before the public for the first time as an artist-engraver, may be said to mark an event in the history of Art in Modern India. Although it is expressive of the direct impact of the most recent influences from Europe on the art of India, it is at the same time a resuscitation in a novel form of an age-old artistic craft of the country—that of the wood-block printed book—seeking to record our artist's impression of the life around him in a way never done before in India. The art of the printed book was unknown in India before its introduction by the Europeans in the 16th century; and, as Coomaraswamy noted in his great work on *Rajput Painting* in 1913, the art of book-illustration could not find a place in the list of Indian crafts—it was thus a chance missed. Judging from the quality of Rajput and other Hindu drawings for miniatures, it would have been a great enrichment of the world's art if Indian counterparts to the early Italian, German and Flemish wood-cuts and other engravings, which form so distinctive a thing in modern European art, could have been achieved. The art of engraving for printing would have gone parallel to the general development in some other art elsewhere, and it is no doubt, in India as elsewhere, and it would be idle to think that India could have developed anything like the Chinese and Japanese coloured woodcuts; but the rich decorative feel and the wonderful colour-harmony shown in Indian figure printing on calico might have given something

marvellous if printing on paper were known. We do not know when and how the printing of cotton stuffs from designs cut on blocks originated in India. The Sanskrit word *chitra* when used with words meaning cloth or stuff (*rastra* or *vasana*, etc.) may mean printed cloths, but the modern Indian word *chhint* or *chhit*, the source of the English *chint*, cannot be a derivative of the Sanskrit word *chitra*. Be it as it may, actual specimens show the advance made in India in the art of printing on cloth from colour blocks at least as early as the 15th century. The *pintados* or stamped (and painted) stuffs, especially from Masulipatam and other places, were an important article of import from India into Europe from the 16th century, and some of the more elaborate printed stuffs were veritable wood-block pictures on cotton on a large scale. Such printed stuffs have been reproduced and described and we can only admire at the marvellous reproduction on cotton of exquisite Telugu and Mogul paintings with human figures in them. The real woodcut and other kinds of engraving came in after printing was established, and we find from the early and mid 19th century a certain amount of engraving on lead and wood, crude enough in their designing and execution, which illustrated popular religious books and romances. These together with a great deal of lithographic vignettes illustrating what are known as "lazar editions" of popular texts hardly deserve the name of art. Some fairly big sized woodcut printed on wretched paper daubed with colour by the hand also featured as popular religious broad-sides, as they had an iconic value representing divinities and religious scenes. The only merit of these crude productions lay in their adherence to the contemporary though sadly mutilated remnants of the medieval tradition in painting and drawing in the various provinces. They are the unskilled craftsman's treatment of such popular art as we find in the Calcutta Kalighat pictures. To illustrate books of a better sort, lithographs and woodcuts of pictures in a pseudo-European style came into vogue during the second half of the 19th century. Artistic book illustration was a craft

* Woodcuts: by Ramendra Nath Chakravorty. An album of twenty original woodcuts in portfolio, with an appreciation from Rabindranath Tagore. 14" x 11". Full cloth. Published by Tapan Mohan Chatterji, Bar-at-Law 10 Old Post Office Street and 33 Macleod Street, Calcutta, 1931. Price Rupees Twenty-five.



The Gate

which never grew up in India, and then came the process block, which put a stop to any possibility of serious artistic work in the line.

When early during the first decade of the present century, a revival of Indian art was inaugurated by Abanindranath Tagore, it was painting, and painting in miniature, that was first cultivated. A group of Indian artists discovered for themselves and their people the depth and the tenderness of Rajput religious pictures and melody pictures and the romantic realism of Mogul portraiture and court scenes. They were equally intoxicated by Ajanta. Other discoveries were made—first in painting, and then in sculpture. A little stone-carving under the inspiration of some hereditary craftsmen from Orissa and Rajputana who had still retained something of the facility and language of their ancestors was attempted. Inspiration and example of European sculpture led to the development in Bengal of a new and vigorous school of clay-modelling among artists mainly of the Tagore school. The crafts were then taken in hand. The centre of all this conscious movement towards an artistic vivification of the crafts is now the Kalabhavana or the Fine Arts Section of the Visvabharati institution of Rabindranath Tagore

under the direction of Nandalal Bose. Other centres of artistic craftsmanship in India, notably at Lucknow, Lahore, Jaipur, Masulipatam and Madras have come in touch with the Indian artistic revival inaugurated by Bengal, through pupils of Abanindranath Tagore and members of the school founded by him directing the local training institutions in arts and crafts. But a school of artist engravers in wood can be said to have grown up at the Visvabharati alone, with Nandalal Bose and his pupils.

Nandalal Bose believes in a good artist being an all-round craftsman, and it can be said emphatically that in his own artistic life he is a master craftsman as much as an artist. And Ramendranath Chakravarti, one of the most promising pupils of Nandalal, and a rising young artist, follows in the footsteps of his great teacher. Trained in the Visvabharati Kalabhavana he had occasion to study foreign art while developing his own powers. His training was supplemented by travel. His sojourn at the Andhra Jatiya Kalamala—the Telugu National Art Academy—at Masulipatam as the director of its fine art section gave him occasion to study the local school of calico printing from wood-blocks, as well as the art of *batik* making. At present he is Head

Assistant to the Principal of the Government Art School in Calcutta.

The example and inspiration drawing Chakravarti and his brother artists to the craft of wood-engraving is European, but the technique is largely Indian, while the spirit is entirely of India. The modern revival of the wood-cut in Europe is partly the result of a reaction against the mechanical process block. Certain new factors helped to bring about the style which is largely in vogue now. The meticulous working out of details which is characteristic of the classic 18th century style of line-engraving and the 19th century—especially Victorian—wood-engraving was no longer in favour—the tendency was towards impressionism, in which the broad essentials were emphasized upon. The artist himself is now the craftsman, so that his impressions he cuts out directly upon the wood; there is not that soulless solicitude to copy exactly. Moreover, as the European mind is becoming increasingly sensitive to other great forms of extra-European art, the pictorial art of China and Japan could not be prevented from having their legitimate contact with and influence upon the attitude and practice of European art. The technique of the Chinese and Japanese woodcut which is so much studied in Europe now, could not detract the European technique already established for several hundred years—except in the case of the colour woodcut, in which China and Japan has achieved perfection, and where Europe lags far behind. But the Far Eastern attitude towards life and art is becoming a thing of universal acceptance to find out the fitness and beauty of common things. The artistic sense sees beauty everywhere, and it knows how to see. It truly invests everything with the light that never was on sea or land. To cultivate that successfully is to be possessed of the wizard's magic wand, which transforms everything—the drab into the golden, the commonplace into the romantic. In modern literature this spirit is amply at work. Among the plastic arts it seems that the woodcut has permeated itself with this spirit more than any other art or artistic craft. The result is what we find to characterize the modern European woodcut—an artistic treatment of commonplace things and themes the beauty of which earlier artists could never suspect, going hand in hand with a boldness of execution which seizes the essentials, and which in its strength seems often to be rude. Moreover, there is a certain amount of sympathy with the subject—either the object depicted or the feeling of the artist himself—which makes this art something remarkable, and this sympathy has a clear and unmistakable note of sincerity about it. In the best work there is no pose and the simplicity of the technique adds a refreshing naïveté to the whole thing.

All these qualities which we note in the best woodcuts of the present day are to be seen in the work of Ramendranath Chakravarti now offered to the public. Readers of the *Modern Review* are already familiar with his paintings, and some of his woodcuts, which have appeared in this journal from time to time. The woodcuts now published in portfolio show some of the characteristic work of the artist, with his vigorous drawing and harmonious composition. The language he speaks is the universal language

of art, although in some cases the accent is purely Indian. They are definitely the product of Indian mind and Indian sensibility, while they are also living, and modern. Of the twenty plates, a few are linoleum cuts, the rest woodcuts. They embrace quite a range of subjects—and really in this matter the power and versatility of our artist is made abundantly clear. There are landscapes and views, bird sketches, genre scenes, and decorative compositions: groups of trees at Santiniketan, Calcutta lanes, village shops and houses, a railway bridge, a scene from a play by Rabindranath with a girl dancing and the figure of the old poet seated and reading (a most beautiful composition in this one), a group of Santal girls in the dance with men playing on drums, and other scenes from the life of the Santal aborigines settled round about Santiniketan. It is Santiniketan and Calcutta—great in their contrasts—that have largely inspired the artist, the former with its trees and its village atmosphere, the latter with its narrow lanes, its drab houses and its squalid huts or slums. The artist emphatically knows how to see and he can also communicate his visions in a most convincing way. There is no doubt that this selection of his work forms a sincere and a truthful panorama—if within a limited compass—of modern Indian life, with just a touch of romance in one or two scenes, and with all the beauty and sweetness of our domestic life underlying commonplace themes in a few others. I think Mr Chakravarti's *Santal Mother* is a great picture, telling an eternal story in its broad and strong lines. *Masking Rice* is a decorative treatment of a very living village theme—making quite a pastoral out of a scene from everyday life. *Santal Girl Carrying Water* reveals a sense both of truth and of beauty. *The Gateway* brings in the sense of romance in a sun-set landscape to a commonplace Calcutta courtyard, with its leafless trees spreading out their branches—there is in addition, a distinct touch of the domestic and the beloved about this picture from life. *Bili Bridge* does full justice to the beauty of lines and of the Titanic vigour underlying a great feat of engineering. The bird studies are also quite faithful in line and form.

It is indeed a pleasure to contemplate these woodcuts, as a whole, they form a splendid expression of the spirit of modern India through art, and from that point of view it silently speaks out what volumes would fail to make clear. As a really artistic souvenir of India we cannot think of many books of this type. The general set-up of the work is as fine as can be expected. One feature of the plates is that they are printed on thin hand-made Nepalese paper, cream-coloured, which is an excellent and very durable material for this kind of strong black-and-white printing. Every lover of art who sees the plates will agree with Rabindranath that "they are sincere pieces of work showing a rare combination of strength and delicacy in their spirit and execution." We recommend the book to the art-loving public, and considering the style of the work and the price (Rupees Twenty-five for twenty plates each of which is signed by the artist and can easily be priced at ten rupees), we hope it will not be long before the limited edition in which it is published becomes exhausted.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addresser, to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF CASTE IN INDIA: by Dr. Nripendra Kumar Datta, M. A., Ph. D. Professor of History, Hooghly College, Bengal. Volume 1 (C. B. C. 2000-300). Calcutta: The Book Co. Ltd., College Square East, Calcutta 1931. pp. 310. Cloth, Rs. 7.

The present work is the first volume of a comprehensive monograph on caste which the author has planned to bring out in three volumes, and which when completed will be a valuable addition to the descriptive literature on Hindu sociology in its evolution. In the two subsequent volumes the author intends to bring the story from 300 B. C. down to 1200 A. D. and from 1200 A. D. to 1900 A. D. Caste is one of the most characteristic things of Indian life, and its beginnings and evolution form one of the most baffling problems of our history. So many things have contributed towards the gradual crystallization of the system, that even the most discriminating scholarship is apt to get lost in the maze. An occupational subdivision of the people which may be common enough in any Society has been further accentuated or cross-influenced by diversities of race, of invading conquerors establishing their superiority as a people, of religious sectarianism, and by many other causes, and it is difficult now to say which of these causes is the real mainspring of caste. The beginnings of caste go back to the beginnings of Indian history, when a fusion of the Aryan and the non-Aryan cultures and peoples started in an undated period in history, in some unknown corner of India,—or, may be, outside India. We are now perceiving that the first chapters of Indian history have to be re-written, and the emphasis laid on Aryanism in Hindu culture has got to be scrutinized in the light of new discoveries. Until that is done and the origins of Indian culture are known in their proper light, it will be impossible to unravel the tangle of caste. In a very suggestive and a capital paper on the inter-relation between the Aryan and the non-Aryan cultures, Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda has put forward the view that the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas of ancient India in the formative period of her history, formed members not of the same racial and cultural and linguistic group, but of quite distinct groups—originally distinct racially, culturally and linguistically ("Survival of the Ancient Civilization of the Indus Valley" in the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 41, 1929). This

theory or suggestion would if found to be true, completely upset some of our commonplace notions regarding the origin and the history of caste. Dr. Datta himself has discussed the problem in another way in his *Aryanization of India* with which well-written book the present work is linked to some extent. Speculations about the origin of caste are therefore for the present bound to be exceedingly tentative, and not much productive of fruit. Fortunately, Dr. Datta has not busied himself in that line of speculation. His researches have been mainly descriptive of the facts of caste from the oldest recorded period, with just as much inference or generalization as is warranted by the texts. He begins by quoting some of the well-known European definitions of caste, and by giving his own, which is comprehensive enough. The traditional Hindu views as in the scriptures about the origin of caste are then critically observed, as also those of modern scholars. Dr. Datta scouts Senart's opinion regarding the germs of caste going back partially at least to Indo-European times, and he pertinently brings in the question of colour (*varna*) as one of the fundamentals underlying caste in its origin in India,—but still the presence of a notion of a division of society into groups or tribes as among the Indo-Irans and Indo-Europeans cannot be dismissed as having had no bearing at all on caste in India. The first chapter in this way deals with the speculative side of the history of caste in its origins. The subsequent chapters deal with caste in the successive periods of the history of India—the Ruridic period, the period of the Brahmanas, the Sutra period, and the early Buddhist period, as well as caste in India as known to the Greeks. Dr. Datta has here given us a very clear and well-written resumé of facts noted in the scriptural literature of the period, and many are the interesting and important bits of information he has culled which often throw quite unexpected light on the problem—a light which as often makes things clear as it brings in new complications by throwing into relief some unattended and obscure point which had so long remained outside our ken. It is not merely a catalogue of facts. A great value of the work lies in its sane and sober way of disposing them, and in the proper emphasis on some essential or important feature brought out in the headiness of sections. In fact, the work is important as unfolding before us a panorama of the progress of caste notions and usage in Indian society during the period indicated. The historian, the student

of literature, the jurist, the ethnologist—in fact workers dealing with all the diverse branches of Indology, will find useful things in Dr. Datta's book, which I think can be recommended as a piece of conscientious research bearing ample testimony to the author's wide reading and serious thought; in this knottiest problem of Indian social and cultural life.

SUNTH KUMAR CHATTERJI

FOLK-STORIES OF THE LAND OF IND: by M. N. Venkataswami, with a foreword by Sri Narayan Chandraravkar. Pp. 219+XXXII, and three pictures. (Methodist Publishing House, Madras)

Mr. Venkataswami has been a life-long collector and student of Indian folk-tales, his earliest efforts in this line having been published in the *Indian Antiquary* more than twenty years ago. This is the second book of collections that he has printed. It contains 15 tales followed by notes containing much useful information and a long and carefully detailed index. Of the stories the longest "The two Princes and their Sister" covers 37 pages, another "The Prince and the Parrot" 32 pages, and three others 21 to 24 pages each. The rest are very short. Their special charm lies in their being so novel to readers in North India, not to speak of Europe.

J. S.

POEVS by Nicholas Nekrasov: *World's Classics*. The Oxford University Press.

Nekrasov is one of the less known of the 19th century Russian poets and the authorities of the Oxford University Press deserve the thanks of every lover of Russian literature for having made him so accessible. The first half of the book contains a translation of one of his most famous works, "*Russian Women*," an attempt to celebrate the heroism of the wives of the princes sent to Siberia for taking part in the Decembrist Revolution. In the second half, are shorter pieces dealing with various aspects of Russian life, and this is the distinctive feature of Nekrasov's work. As Abercrombie puts it: "We are not to expect in him those ideas which bear the unmistakable stamp of international currency, like the ideas of Goethe, Shelley, or Leopardi. His theme is simply Russia; what life in Russia is, and means; and even if it is what life in Russia wants, the want is as Russian as the fact from which it seeks to escape."

CHILDHOOD, BOYHOOD AND YOUTH: by Leo Tolstoy, translated by L. and A. Maude: *The World's Classics*: The Oxford University Press.

Childhood was Tolstoy's first published work and was followed by *Boyhood* and *Youth*. Various Russian and English publishers have made the mistake of designating these as autobiographies—as histories of Tolstoy's childhood, boyhood and youth. Tolstoy protested against this and we have to take the work as the author wanted us to do.—we must enjoy it as a novel without any reference to the light it may or may not throw on the author's life; and as a novel it is highly enjoyable though it may not have the unity of impression of his greater works and the story remains more a series of sketches than a continuous work. Nor of

course do we come across full-length studies of men and women as in *Anna Karenina* or in *War and Peace*; but it would be unfair to this work to compare it with these. This has a narrower scope and Tolstoy shows us how working within certain self-imposed limits he can portray life and human nature

N. SIDDHANTA

SIDELIGHTS ON WESTERN CIVILIZATION: by K. C. Sen. Published by The Deshbandhu Publishing Co., Calcutta, pp. xxi+404, Price Rs. 3.

The book suffers from its length, as the reader soon is lost in a forest of words, and the numerous printing mistakes serve only to increase the irritation and diminish the interest. The argument too is vague and uncertain, and generalizations which would be tolerable only in a second-rate newspaper do not improve matters. The subject is one which, above all things, demands careful scholarship and clear expression.

C. ACKROYD

AN ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA. By B. B. Mukherjee, M. A., B. L., Principal, B. C. O. C. Training Institute, Sabour. Published by Messrs Thacker Spink & Co., pp. 166. Price Rs. 3-12.

This book does not lay any claim to originality but is a useful compilation from important Government publications and the works of leading Indian economists dealing with various facts of Indian economic resources. The book is divided into fourteen chapters dealing respectively with the physical background, food and other crops, fisheries, livestock, mineral resources, forests, house-building materials, transport, foreign trade, ocean routes and ports, distribution of population, and growth of towns.

Now that realistic economics and economic geography are drawing greater attention of students of economics and commerce in all the important Indian universities, the book should be thrice welcome as a valuable addition to the meagre stock of literature on the subject.

NALINAKSHA SANJAL

JOH of BUDDHA: By Narada Thero of Colombo

A little book chronicling the life and teachings of Buddha. It is highly entertaining.

CRITIC

NOTES ON SHIV NAMA-JAKSHMI TEMPLE, KOLHAPUR. By Professor K. G. Kundanagar.

This small brochure of 44 pp. illustrated with 16 beautiful pictures tries to explain all that is worth knowing about this ancient temple of Kolhapur. The work shows evident signs of hurried preparation, having been probably intended for Lord Irwin's visit to that city about two years ago. While as a handy guide to curious visitors, the book may serve some useful purpose, it can by no means be taken as an authoritative pronouncement putting forth accurate facts of the origin and construction of this famous archaeological monument.

Coming as it does from the pen of a college professor with a foreword from another eminent research scholar of Bombay, one would naturally expect the production to satisfy legitimate curiosity about this huge structure piled in hard black stone in a style quite uncommon and peculiar to itself. The subject is indeed fascinating and there is by now sufficient material available for the writing of a worthy treatise, provided the worker possesses the necessary patience and scholarly spirit. Since the southern Maratha country round about Kolhapur offers a fruitful field for investigation will it be too much to expect the present professor to continue his studies and publish definite results in medieval history, particularly with reference to the Chalukyan and Shilahar Dynasties to whom perhaps much of the credit of these buildings is popularly attributed? The present monograph is more descriptive than critical, and hence cannot be said to have made a substantial addition to the present archaeological studies of South India.

P

THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM IN ANCIENT INDIA: by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D., pp 123. Published by the University of Calcutta (1930).

The book is a collection of the five lectures which the author delivered as Reader of the Calcutta University in 1930. The first lecture gives an outline of agrarian conditions as presented by the Vedas, the Smritis, the Epics, the Puranas and the Arthashastra. In the next three lectures an attempt is made to give an historical account of the system of land-revenue in North India, the author deliberately excluding South India from his scope of study. The last lecture is devoted to the vexed question of the ownership of the soil in ancient India.

Nobody is more conscious than the author himself of the difficulty of the task he has undertaken. He has himself referred to the 'contrast between the great distance of time and place' covered by his study 'and the meagre evidence' on which he has to rely. He frankly admits that 'it is not merely in the insufficient quantity, but also in the poor quality of the available material that we have to seek for the sources of the great drawbacks in the way of our narrative.' It is only fair to admit at the outset that time has not yet come for writing the 'history of the land revenue system in ancient India' But Dr. Ghoshal has done the next best thing, viz., to bring together the available data, so as to lay the foundations of this important branch of study on a sure and solid basis.

The great merit of the book consists in the proper and scientific arrangement of these data and an honest attempt to interpret them without any preconceived notion to suit them to a definite theory. The data have been collected from inscriptions as well as literary sources and there is no doubt that the author has taken great pains to make them as exhaustive as possible.

The author has always kept in view the chronological and geographical aspects of the data. Law and customs varied in different times and in different regions, and the author has therefore grouped the available materials round definite regions and chronological periods.

Although the nature of evidence forbids generalizations, Dr. Ghoshal's painstaking researches have enabled him to formulate some interesting general principles which may be taken as working hypotheses for further study. We may refer below to a few of them:

(1) Assignments played a relatively unimportant part in the agrarian system of Northern India, and the king's revenue officers dealt directly with the cultivators.

In other words the farming system which played such an important part in Muslim India and has been perpetuated in the Permanent Settlement of Bengal was but little known in ancient India.

(2) The land-revenue was most often fixed on the basis of a certain share of the produce.

(3) Land-revenue was paid both in kind and cash.

(4) In addition to the land-revenue paid by the cultivators the king derived his income from what may be called his private lands.

In certain parts of India the king had only his private lands to rely upon and had no right to any land-revenue properly so called. This corroborates, according to the author, the view of Baden-Powell that the Dravidian land system was distinguished from the Aryan by the fact that in the former the king originally received only the produce of his farms in the villages to which was only afterwards added the customary grain share from nearly all village lands. The book seems to be singularly free from ordinary mistakes, still we must draw the attention of the author to the first three lines on p. 31 where the words 'former' and 'latter' seem to have interchanged places.

The author has very lightly touched upon the topic as to whether there was individual ownership or communistic enjoyment of villages in ancient India. He is decidedly in favour of the former view while Rhys Davids specially stressed the latter. We have a right to expect a more elaborate treatment of the topic from the learned author.

The conclusion of the last chapter also seems to be somewhat abrupt.

But these criticisms do not detract from the real merits of the work which is a distinct contribution to the literature on ancient India. It is a scholarly work in every sense of the term and, we congratulate the author on his success.

R. C. MAZUMDAR

OUR PERPETUATING WORLD: Zarathushtra's Way of Life by Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, Ph.D., D. Litt., Oxford University Press: 1930: pp. XVIII+366.

The author, who is the High Priest of the Parsis at Karachi and is well known as a writer on Parsi religion, chooses a significant title and undertakes to prove that the world is becoming more and more perfect in religious, mental, social, economic and physical aspects. It is evident that the canvas that he has chosen is pretty big and it must be said to his credit that although his delineation cannot, from the nature of the subject-matter, admit of much originality, he has succeeded considerably in filling it with a variety of detail which cannot fail to produce the impression that

he is a well-read man who has bestowed considerable thought on modern world problems. An informed reader can see at once that for his materials he depends mostly upon Indian social, religious and political conditions, although he has referred here and there to conditions in the West, not to show them always in an enviable light. Indian nationalists will probably smile at his instinct of a good citizen when he passes scathing remarks on Bolshevism, about which very little is known in India and when he brands the non-violent non-co-operation movement as a type of veiled active resistance just short of physical violence when the great apostle of the Satyagraha movement himself defines non-violence (in the letter to the people of Assam in the cyclostyled *Young India* reported in the *dak* edition of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 10th August, 1930) thus: "Non-violence is not mere restraint from physical violence. Evil thoughts, rashness, ill-will, hatred and falsehoods are all forms of violence."

The author advocates an active programme of resistance against evil as taught by the prophet of his own religion whose words stand as the motto of the book and whose cult, as expounded in the author's *Zoroastrian Theology*, supplies the sub-title. The main title, however, suggests that the world is perfecting itself, and this can be substantiated only imperfectly and on such philosophical presuppositions as those of Hegel and Alexander where a misus towards the Deity is supposed to reside in the world. What the author has actually done is to show that in some matters like politics, sanitation and religion a real progress is discernible, in certain others like family we are probably sliding back in some respects, and in still others like colour bias he simply expresses a pious hope that conditions would soon better themselves. Let us say 'Amen' to his hopes although the prospects are rather gloomy at present for that understanding of the East and the West for which the author pleads so strongly.

The author's ideas are quite liberal. He disavows the idea of a final revelation as claimed by Islam and Christianity, places personal religion over institutional religion and hopes that a synthesis of the best of all religions will be the future religion of the world—a bold statement for a High Priest. He pleads for universal education equal opportunities for men and women (although he does not like a mannish woman) and for all races, considers democracy to be the best form of government (in spite of all its drawbacks), outlaws war, has many hard things to say about the colour bias of the West, and dreams of a federated United States of the World, as Drösch has done in his recent volume on *Ethical Principles*. He concludes that "if, in a distant, cultural millennium, humanity comes to embrace one universal civilization, it will not be a civilization of any one particular race, eastern or western, but a blend of the best in the civilizations of all races of mankind."

There is much that is fine in the book and the printing and the get-up are perfect. As an Indian, the reviewer deeply regrets to have to record his sincere disappointment that a book otherwise so acceptable should be disfigured by so many bad mistakes which not only prejudice the readers against the author but also against the press that allowed so many errors in its publication. Mistakes in grammar, idiom, spelling and fact are sown

broadcast in the second half of the book in such a way that one cannot but infer that the author was suddenly deprived of the services of a kind reviser who probably helped him in freeing the first half from all serious errors. Some of his sociological speculations are distinctly amateurish: that chocolates should grow in (the *kakpatrikshas* of) Mexico and that practically all of Asia should be conquered by the Europeans in the 19th century are obviously far from exact. The author has certain favourite solecisms like 'unsanitary,' and for specious 'spacious' is an oft-repeated mistake, not to mention a number of spelling mistakes. The reviewer hopes that in the second edition every page of the book will be severely scrutinized to make the verbiage agree with their nouns regarding number, that the sequence of tense rule should be strictly observed and all mistakes in idiom should be removed with the help of a good English scholar—the second part of the book should receive special attention in these matters. The mistakes are so many that although the reviewer has made an inventory of them, he does not feel justified in occupying more space of a monthly journal by supplying a list of errata which will fill pages. The author makes an unlucky beginning with a mis-quotation from *Vridhdha-Chanakya* in the second line of the verse where a *so* after *data* is missing.

H. D. BHATTACHARYA

THE FAMILY By Dr. Muller-Lyer. Translated by F.W. Stella Browne. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Price 16s net. pp. 406.

This book which forms the third volume of Dr. Muller-Lyer's *Sociology*, is intended to form an introduction to what the author terms *Geneconomy* or the sociology of reproduction or generation, and will be followed up by six more volumes dealing with *Geneconomy*. The present volume as our author claims is also complete and coherent in itself. The term *Geneconomy* is meant to include the sociology of love, marriage and its attendant ceremonies, divorce, the social position of women, the structure of the family, education, inheritance, sexual election, the position accorded to old age, the concept of relationship, the tribe and all special prohibitions or sanctions concerning marriage etc. Dr. Muller-Lyer traces the evolution of all these manifestations from the earliest times to our own day. The author finds that the course of *geneconomy* development of human society has followed a definite sequence of phases. He recognizes three distinctive phases with a fourth which is emerging. These epochs he has named as follows:—I. The Kinship or Tribal Age; II. The Familial or Authoritarian Age (per-sonified by the State); III. The Personal or Individual or Regional or Territorial Age, and IV. A probable future epoch, viz.: The Communal or Co-operative Age. In the Tribal Age, human society is based upon the idea of common descent or blood relationship. The most important *geneconomy* manifestation of this age is the *Clan* or *Sept*. In the next or Familial Age, the clan or sept is succeeded by the State, and especially by the family which then attains its zenith. In the third or Personal or Social-Individualistic Age, whose dawn we have just begun to know, the family follows the clan into a certain obsolescence, and as its successors there emerge the Community, organized on an ever more exten-

We warmly congratulate the author on his success in removing a long-felt want by this text-book, which will no doubt stimulate a comparative study of the Eastern and Western systems of this branch of medicine. That the toils and hardships of his incessant political activities have not deterred him from such an undertaking proves the zeal of the author.

With the growing popularity of Ayurveda there is a growing demand for such text-books and the present work will go a long way to establish a link of communication between the sister sciences of the East and the West.

The literary *lingua franca* of all India, at least so far as Ayurveda is concerned, is and has always been classical Sanskrit. It devolves upon all Indian students of medicine to acquire proficiency in this language to open the vast treasures of yore and to make India independent of foreign languages, so far possible, by a restoration of India's glory in Sanskrit. Thus, we think, is possible only by a free assimilation of the modern scientific truths in order to replenish and remodel her own ancient knowledge to our best advantage.

Nothing should be sacrosanct in our quest for truth and we should not hesitate to learn and to subject to critical analysis all our ancient wisdom before we assert anything dogmatically merely on the basis of *Shastri* authority. In the words of Dr. Moonje: "This inordinate respect for *Shabdar* *Pramana* has done incalculable harm to the cause of the rise and progress of the physical sciences in India."

In conclusion we must confess to a sense of disappointment to find that the author has not acknowledged his indebtedness to Mahamahopadhyaya Gananath Sen's well-known Sanskrit work on anatomy (*Pratyaksha Shariram*) though he has very largely drawn upon the new and old anatomy terminology coined or identified in that work.

We would also suggest to the learned author that in writing the two future volumes he may make his work more helpful to students by making his sentences shorter and the style simpler.

DANIEL.

BENGALI

GADADHARA—By 'Parasuram'. Published by Messrs. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 148 Price Re. 1-4.

Comic sketches relieve us of much of the boredom we very often feel in our day-to-day life. But that branch of light literature demands sharpness and power of observation and delineation which are not common. Most of the comic writings are ephemeral. But the author of the book under notice who assumes the pen-name of 'Parasuram' is a past master in this art. He has created not a few types whom we almost see living and moving amongst us through the pages of his book. The author who is a successful business man took us by surprise by these brilliant sketches of our present-day society, which were welcomed to a and life-like, and he was at once welcomed to a and life-like place of distinction. He has not only been truthful himself, but has made the task difficult for others. The writer was most ably assisted by the artist, Mr. Jitendra Kumar Sen, who has added to the great effect of the sketches. The line-

work of the latter is definitely of a very high order. The book has already appeared in a Hindi translation.

KIRALAY: By Mr. Mahendra Chandra Roy: Published by Mr. Bisubhuti Rakshit, 181, Raja Dandendra Street, Calcutta. Pp. 100. Price annas 12.

The best of moral lessons are lost upon the juvenile generation because they are inflicted rather than inculcated. We are thankful to Mr. Roy who, though himself a teacher, prefers to be a friend. He has done well by choosing to give the impressionable and adolescent minds a philosophy of life couched in a charming style and tinged with sympathy. This book will be enjoyed by boys and girls of the higher classes of our schools.

UNISH-SHA PANCH SAIL BANGLA—To be had of the Arya Publishing Co., 26, Cornhill Street, Calcutta. Pp. 118. Price Re. 1-1.

The Partition of Bengal marked a new epoch in the political thought of Bengal. The outcome of it was the Swadeshi Movement. The people were roused to a new consciousness of self-help, and political propaganda was backed up by commercial regeneration to a certain extent. Practical patriotism was considered a crime by the authorities and many people had to suffer for preaching patriotism and the Swadeshi. The history of that time (1905) is the first chapter in that of a new period of Indian history. Many incidents now forgotten and embedded in the columns of newspapers have been collected in this book. The Swadeshi days will be recalled by these pages. There are some illustrations of the leaders of that time.

RAJES BASU

MEGHADUTA, SANSKRIT TEXT IN BENGALI CHARACTERS WITH BENGALI VERSE TRANSLATION ON OPPOSITE PAGE by Purna Mohan Sen-Gupta, with a Foreword by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasada Sastri, and an Introduction and Geographical and other notes by Prabodh Chandra Sen, M. A. Illustrated with vignettes three illustrations in trefoil by Ramendranath Chakravarti and a map. In card-board box Cloth, pp. 34+122+14. Published from the Indian Publishing House, 22-1 Cornhill Street Calcutta: Price Rs. 2.

Some literary masterpieces are not quite translatable in another language, so closely is the rhythm and music of the original wedded with the sentiments and thoughts occurring in it, and the *Meghaduta* of Kalidasa is certainly such a masterpiece. Yet scholars and lovers of this gem of literature have tried to do what would appear to be the impossible; and this apparently untranslatable work boasts of a number of translations in different Indian and European languages. The rhythm and character of Sanskrit is quite different from those of a modern language. Translations of a work like the *Meghaduta* have perforce to take up the aspect of a new or original work, when we think of the original. We should be thankful at least of the beauty of the movement and cadence of the original. If we compare for instance the earlier English translation of the *Meghaduta* by Horace Hayman Wilson with the more recent one by A. W. Ryder, we at once note the difference.

But for the English translator, who seeks to give the average English reader a taste of the beauty of the Sanskrit which must remain foreign to him, there are excuses if the musical quality of the original cannot be adequately rendered: a translation of the ideas should be thankfully accepted, provided these ideas retain something of their original beauty. But the case becomes different for the translation of a Sanskrit text into a modern Indian language for Indian readers who are more or less familiar with the march of the word-music and the ideas of the original more so when a great deal of the words employed in the Sanskrit text forms also the speech-commodity of the Indian language. The verse rhythm of a modern Indian language like Bengali is a thing quite different from that of classical Sanskrit and for a poet in Bengali to be able to give in his verse some notion of the majesty and the sonority of the Sanskrit is a feat which can be described as well-nigh impossible. Verse translations of the *Meghaduta* into Bengali present a respectable lot—we have some half a dozen of them; but they are in spite of many excellent qualities mostly unsatisfying—when we think of the original. Translators often forget that a great deal depends upon the choice of a suitable metre which would give some echo of the march of the original. More frequently the right choice is not made. In the present translation, a verse of 26 morae divided into groups 7+7+7+5 has been chosen which comes near enough to that of the *Mandakranta* line of the *Meghaduta* with its 27 morae, and this seems to be most suited in Bengali for the *Mandakranta* although the effect is not the same, the length of the line gives a sweep which recalls, though in another way, the mystic (if not the sonorous) of the original. This metre has also been tried by another Bengali translator of the *Meghaduta* Mr. Sudhansu Kumar Haldar, I. C. S. Mr. Sen-Gupta's rendering on the whole is faithful, and reads smooth and clear in the Bengali, and frequently, the words of the original are retained, giving some illusion of the original. I am inclined to think that this is quite a good translation in Bengali verse of the original—and I am tempted to say that so far it seems to me to be the best. It is eminently readable for the average Bengali reader who does not read Sanskrit—it is not like those translations which one cannot understand unless one refers to the original and that, combined with its fine verse rhythm, gives its value.

The very suggestive paper of Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri and the learned introduction of Mr. Sen, one of our rising young scholars in Indology and a well-known writer on Bengali Metres, greatly enhance the value of the work as do the exquisite illustrations by Mr. Ramendranath Chakravarti and the map carefully prepared by Mr. Sen. The printing and get-up are beautiful and the work forms a hand-some gift-book in Bengali.

SUNSHI KUMAR CHATTERJEE

GUJARATI

REHMAT : *By Prantal Thakortal Munshi, B.A. LL.B., Valid, Bench and Baroda. Printed at the Nar. Gopal Press Cloth Bound. Pp. 138, Price Rs. 1.*

Mr. Munshi's play, which is more fit for acting on a stage to be effective than reading, is concerned with the ever-present blot on Hindu Society : marriage of an old man to a young girl,—allowed,—remarriage of a child-widow, under any circumstances whatever disallowed. Rama, a girl married and widowed within three months of the marriage, when still a child, is not allowed to remarry a young man of her choice, while her grandfather, a very old man who was responsible for her marriage in infancy, makes every preparation for marrying a girl of tender age, her friend. The shock to both of them is so great that they succumb to it and die. The circumstances are tragically put, and the language in the mouths of some of the characters rise at times to some height. It has already proved a success on the stage.

HATHI KA DANT *By Punshottam Trikamdas, Bar-at-law. Printed at the Lohana Mitra Printing Press, Baroda. Illustrated cover. Pp. 76. Price Re. 1 (1931)*

The author was convicted and sent to jail during the Civil Disobedience movement and has utilized his leisure in prison for producing this skit, in the form of a play, being the revolt of wives against husbands due to inequality of treatment concerning moral lapses. The title in Gujarati means, tusks of an elephant, and it is a play on the words of a Gujarati proverb which says that the teeth of an elephant are of two sorts : one set for chewing, another for show. Thus, men who are hypocrites have two different codes of morals, one for themselves, another for their wives. Husbands can go wrong with impunity, wives cannot. Women therefore start a society for encouragement of those who want to repay their husbands in the same coin as themselves. One of the members does try, out of bravado, to go wrong, but he is said to her credit, that at the last moment, the innate modesty and chastity of her sex come in the way and she does not go the full length. The author has chosen his character from the Brahmo Society of Bengal as divorces are allowed among them and as his characters have to resort to the divorce court. The presiding judge, however, being a man, the story of the feminine petitioner is disbelieved and she loses. The play furnishes pleasant reading.

ADHYAANA PATAK *The fall by Harindra Chattopadhyaya Pp. 14 Price half anna.*

It is a Vanarsena series production and a translation. It is well done.

RANA RUSMAN KA RAI *By M. P. Shah. Printed at the Arya Sudhakar Press, Baroda. Paper cover Pp. 74 Price Re. 0-6-0 (1931).*

This is a collection of poems and describes the present state of the feeling of our countrymen who are thirsting for independence. They are written by one who is trying to suffer the pangs of being a poet, and necessarily suffer from being commonplace and other like defects. Time however will do its own improvement.

HINDE SANGATHAN, *Translated by Thakur Narayan Prasad. Printed at the Arya Sudhakar Press, Baroda. Thick card-board Pp. 51+231. Price Rs. 1-5 (1931)*

The late Swami Shradhdharm had written in

কল কল করিতে যত্নে পড়িতে পড়িতে হঠাৎ মৃত্যু হইল। P. 59

As if Hussain died a natural death.

(iv) The story of Harun-al-Rashid narrates, in illustration of the love of economy of Harun-al-Rashid the silly story of his punishing the cook of his brother Ibrahim for a luxurious dish!

REMARKS FOR CLASS IV

1. Purakalini, Part II: By Rasamay Mitra, M. A., late Head Master, Hindu School.

It is very sad to have to point out errors in a book which bears the name of the late revered educationist Ru Rasamay Mitra Bahadur as the author. If the book is really the work of Mr. Mitra, we are constrained to remark that he undertook a work outside his province with very lamentable results and the Committee passed it with their eyes blinded by the glamour of Mr. Mitra's name.

The reader for Class IV prescribes for "Stories" about the historical personages and not their "history." In the lesson on Asoka, Mr. Mitra gives the history of Asoka, completely ignoring the numerous stories that are to be found in Buddhist literature about this famous emperor.

P. 12, "কিছু দাসব্যাচারে নিজ গুণে দাস নিপাতলে তাহার বিধির অশেষ কঠিন তাহার শ্রম বিনাশ করেন।"

In recounting a historical story no one has any right to pervert its nature and say something which is not historical. It is well known to historians that it was Rajasavardhan who went to keep an engagement in his enemy's quarters and thus lost his life, and not as stated above by Mr. Mitra.

P. 31. The faked picture of Akbar's Barber depicting Akbar smoking from a *Gargara* with a long tube is reproduced by Mr. Mitra as well as by some other authors, when it is well known that tobacco was introduced into the Mughal Court only in Jahangir's time. If it is contended that Akbar smoked with his *Gargara* Ganja or *Charash* or *Ihang* or opium, the crime is of course silenced!

P. 32, "অতঃ পরে রাজসেনার নাম ছিল বীরবল। ইনি আকবরের প্রধান মন্ত্রী ছিলেন।"

That Barbal was the prime-minister is a statement on a par with Mr. Mitra's many other statements. Cf. *Akbar* by V. A. Smith, p. 237. "He (Barbal) is not recorded as having held any important office, although he was occasionally employed on special missions."

P. 35 "মানসিংহ বাহুর জের করিয়া প্রতাপকে আনিতে বলার প্রতাপ হস্তিমা গাঠান—'যে রাজপুত মুসলমানের ঘরে কড়া ভণিবার বিবাহ দেয়, তাহার সঙ্গে কোথায় রাণী প্রেরণ করেন না।' ইহাতে মানসিংহ অত্যন্ত অসম্মত হইয়া প্রেরণ না করিয়াই প্রতাপের গুপ্ত আগমন অব্যবহায়ে করেন—'আমি আগম্য এই বর্ণ করি।' প্রতাপ বলেন—'আমি কোথায় আসিবার সঙ্গে লাক্ষ্য করিতে চান, আমি সেইখানেই আগম্য লক্ষ্য করি।' এমন সময় সেইখানে যেই সব লোক বড়ই আশঙ্কিত তাহারে দেখে একজন মানসিংহকে বলিল—'এইবার যখন আসিবে তখন তোমার সূতা (পিস) আকবরকে সঙ্গে করিয়া লইয় আসিও—বাহুগাহ নিজপুত্র সেলিম ও মানসিংহকে প্রতাপের বিরুদ্ধে প্রেরণ করিলেন।"

This episode is given in Tod's *Rajasthan* and Mr. Mitra follows Tod faithfully. But is it in good taste? Is it an episode worth recounting to boys of tender age? Prof. Abdul Mutin Chaudhry of the Istama College is to be congratulated on his broadmindedness in overlooking this passage in Mr. Mitra's book; but we cannot exonerate the other two Hindu members from the charge of crass negligence of duty in allowing a book to pass with such an offensive passage. The statement about Selim's presence in the expedition against Rana Pratap also follows Tod blindly and is an incorrect one. Selim was a boy of seven at this time. This mistake is repeated in many of the books approved for this class.

P. 17. The account of the second expedition of the Mughals against Ahmednagar is all wrong.

P. 22, "আকবরের মৃত্যু হইতে (শাহজাহানকে) কিছু মুসলমানের দান চলে গেলেন।"

"শাহজাহান কিছু একটা অর্থিক বিবাহ করেন নাই। শাহজাহান কোর মৃত তাহার একটিনা শ্রম ছিল।"

These statements are all wrong.

P. 99, "এই সময় বাজালা দেশের শাসনকর্তার নাম ছিল শাহজাহান—ইহারই জেলের নাম শাহজাহান।"

Students of history know very well that Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah was not the son, but the grandson of Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah.

P. 96 "বহলিন প্রতাপাদিত্য মানসিংহের সহিত যুদ্ধ করিলেন। প্রতাপের এতদূরী বীর্য যে মানসিংহেরও অনেক সময় হারিয়া ঘাইবার সম্ভাবনা হইল কিন্তু পরিশেষে প্রতাপই হারিলেন।" মানসিংহ তাহাকে বন্দী করিয়া বিনা হত্যায় ইহলেন।"

That the fall of Pratapaditya of Jessore was not by the hands of Manasimha is by this time well known to students of history. Curiously, this mistake also like the presence of Selim at the battle of Haidighat, is repeated by many of the books approved for this class. It is indeed regrettable that a veteran educationist of Ray Bahadur Mitra's eminence should have sat down to write a text-book on history with such poor knowledge of the subject.

We are very reluctant to expose further a name which we revere. But this very unpleasant duty has to be done to show what stuff the Text-book Committee passed. Not one out of the three members appears to have turned the pages of the book to see what it contained. Below are a few more illustrations and we have finished.

P. 97. The lesson on Chand Roy is full of gems, a few of which are quoted below:—

"আকবর বাহাদুরের সহযোগে দেউড়ি বসায় আগে নিরুদার... কর্তী প্রেরণ হইতে আদিয়া বিদ্যমানের অত্যন্ত মূল্যবোধ প্রায়ে বাস করেন।... নিরুদার যখন মূল্যবোধ প্রায়ে তখন বাজালায় বৈদ্যবোধ প্রেরণ বাজালা রাজ্য করিতেছিলেন।"

According to this chronology—the Senas were ruling in Bengal by 1556+150=1406 A. D.!

"চাঁদবাহুর পরে বেহার রাজ্য উপাধি লাভ করিলেন।... আকবর বাহাদুরের সেনাপতি মানসিংহ তাহাকে দমন করিতে আসিলেন। বেহার রাজ্য নিজের কড়া তাহাকে দান করেন। তখন দরিদ্র হইয়া গেল। কড়ার নাম ছিল প্রতাপ।"

One feels sick to comment on grossly inaccurate passages like these. The Ray Bahadur is blissfully ignorant of the fact that Kedar earned a hero's death in 1694 A. D. after a stiff contest with Manasimha!

The next lesson on Isa Khan is equally full of mistakes. Here is a typical passage. —

“বালিদাসের দুই পুত্র থাকে (ছিল?) ঈশা খাঁ ও ইমদন খাঁ (Ismail) has been changed into Ismadan!) ঈশা বেহটী খুব হুন্দর ছিল; দেখিলে তাহাকে খুব বীর বলিয়া মনে হইত। কিন্তু তিনি ভয়ানক স্বার্থপর ছিলেন। সর্দারাই বহুবাক্যের সঙ্গে ঝগড়া বিবাদ করিতেন এবং ভয়ানক ধূর্ত ছিলেন।”

A grossly inaccurate and unfair picture of the greatest hero in the great struggle for independence put up by the Bengal Chiefs.

The above list does not exhaust all the mistakes that this unfortunate book contains. With what zeal the members of the Sub-Committee for Class IV did their duty will be clear from the fact that such a book passed their scrutiny.

The above scrutiny, we hope, will serve to give the reader an idea of the quality of the majority of the books approved for this class. What better results can be expected when people who are ignorant of history are appointed to examine books that demand an up-to-date knowledge of the subject in the examiners? One's heart turns sick in despair at these advance samples of Swaraj in the Education Department and begins to wonder if this is only a foretaste of what the rest of the world is enjoying and scrambling for!

READERS FOR CLASS V-VI

There is a refreshing change in the quality of the books approved for Classes V-VI. Forty-nine books in all were submitted to the Text-book Committee, of which seven were rejected on Preliminary Examination. Nine books out of the remaining forty-two were finally approved. I have examined seven out of these nine books. Some of them contain minor inaccuracies, but these Readers are distinctly superior to those approved for the two previous classes. This only proves what the presence of even one real student of history on a Sub-Committee can do.

Indeed, it is difficult to understand on what principle the members were distributed among the various Sub-Committees. Dr. West who had spent all his life in experimenting on the methods of teaching English to boys and is probably the greatest authority on the subject in India, was given books on Geography to examine; Dr. Majumdar, an equally great authority on history

was given English Readers to examine! The motive behind this curious distribution of work appears to be the puerile apprehension that these experts, being themselves authors of text-books, would favour their own books to the exclusion of all others. This reasoning is absolutely futile in the case of Dr. West, whose books were not even circulated to members of the Sub-Committees for the different classes, but were accepted as text-books outright by the Director himself. Dr. West's presence in the English Committees for different classes would have prevented the inclusion of much antediluvian rubbish of “Murray's Spelling” type in the list of Text-books. If Dr. Majumdar and Dr. West are experts in their subjects and if they take the trouble of writing text-books on them, it could easily have been surmised that their books would be excellent productions, which would find no difficulty in getting included as text-books. To assume that these experts would stand in the way of the inclusion of any text-book other than their own is a beautiful compliment to their honesty and fairness, which I leave these experts to digest.

Efficient examination of text-books is the work of experts and as experts are not as plentiful as black-berries, a small committee of experts should have the charge of an entire subject. This would ensure the preservation of a uniform standard and harmonious gradation from the lowest class to the topmost. For example, if the work of examining historical Readers had been entrusted to one single committee of three experts, the committee would have had to examine $83+85+42+11=201$ Readers in all for classes III-VIII. This is fairly heavy work; but examiners in the University examinations perform efficiently far heavier paid work. And we have, in the course of our last article, laid great emphasis on the fact that it is futile to expect onerous work of examining text-books to be properly performed, unless it is made paid work.

We have attempted to show in our two articles how the syllabuses for the text-books were drawn up on faulty bases; how the Text-book Committee itself was formed on wrong principles; how Sub-Committees were formed with persons having no knowledge of the subjects for which their services were requisitioned; and how the inevitable happened and books full of mistakes came to be included in the list of approved text-books. Is not the whole subject a grim tragedy and one fit for some member of the Bengal Council to take up?

INDIAN Womanhood



Miss PILLOO M. VESAVAVALA has been awarded the degree of Master of Education by the Leeds University at the last convocation. Before she joined the Leeds University,

University, the first being probably Mrs. Sujata Ray, nee Basu, Lady Principal of the Kamrunnessa Girls' School, Dacca, who got this degree about a decade ago.



Miss Pilloo M. Vesavavala



Mrs. Jasumati V. Setalvad

she took the diploma in education from the University of Bristol. She comes from Bombay and is perhaps the second Indian lady to obtain the M. Ed. degree of Leeds

Mrs. JASUMATI V. SETALVAD has taken the degree of B.A. from the Bombay University. She is the daughter-in-law of Sir Chimamlal Setalvad.



A group of new graduates of the Indian Women's University of Poona. The chancellor, Sir C. V. Mehta and Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulaxmi Reddi, Ex-Deputy President of the Madras Council, are seen standing in the centre.



TWO SISTERS
By Perugino

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Future of England

Gloomy prognostications of England's future seem to follow one another in a broad and swelling stream. Only the other day, the distinguished French writer, M. André Siegfried, brought out his particularly pessimistic book on England's desperate economic outlook. That work was by a foreigner, and in welcoming it, the shining lights of British journalism indulged in appreciative comment which was not wholly free from just a shade of the cavalier and the condescending in it. Yet, some of the natives seem to be no more hopeful. Professor Laski tells us in the *Forum* that

No one who analyses the mood of England to-day can fail to note a prevailing temper of depression. The old certitude is gone, the easy confidence in permanent supremacy which distinguished the pre-war period has given place to an atmosphere of mingled alarm and disillusion. Ten years of economic depression have bitten deep into the mind of the nation, and there is a wide-spread fatalism about the outcome more alarming than a temper of energetic antagonism. Everyone admits that widespread institutional reconstruction is essential but no one—at least among the acknowledged leaders—seems to possess either the courage or the ardour to embark upon it. Discontent with the present party system goes deep and there is a growing tendency, especially among the younger generation, to challenge the competence of Parliamentary government to cope with the problems we confront.

This naturally leads Professor Laski to consider the future. He states the problem by saying:

It is not easy to be confident about the outcome. England has entered upon one of those periods of transition which are the testing time of nations, transition which are called to a revision of their essential ideas. Still in large part a curious mingling of aristocracy and plutocracy, they meet the challenge of a society seeking a democratic form. Provided with an economic system which at least in formal outline, satisfies some of the main requirements of an international society, the war has projected them into a world of competing economic nationalisms which impairs the realization of the benefits their predecessors enjoyed from that system.

Having pursued with vigour the ideal of political liberty, they find its reconciliation with the ideal of economic equality a dark and dubious adventure

Having avoided, for at least a century, the problem of defining with clarity the objective of the English state, they now find that piecemeal adjustment is no longer adequate to the scale of the issues before them. Having supported an immense population relative to their resources by the gains registered through predominance in the market, of the world, they find that population menaced by the deprivation of their former supremacy. Only America had surpassed the English standard of life, but no question is so overwhelming in its importance as the question of whether, granted the present numbers, anything like the present standard can over a long period be maintained.

To this question Professor Laski does not give a conclusive reply. For, as he says, "no one but a Marxian Communist can venture upon certitudes," and even "Marxian Communism is less a prognostic than an incantation." What he does, therefore, is to indicate two alternative courses that affairs in England may follow. He observes

In the next thirty years, therefore, one of two things will happen. If there is a European war, the present British system is unlikely to survive. Grant her victory she yet could not maintain her present standard of life that would mean revolutionary discontent, of which, as I think, the outcome would be a capitalist dictatorship. Of that, in its turn, the result would be a strong Communist party, and a social conflict with varying fortune spread over a generation. Grant her defeat and there would, I think, be revolution with a development of the kind, and at the price of the Russian model. Either involves the contemplation of tragedy, for in either, also, the hypothesis means the disappearance of the temper and quality of life which have been responsible for the peculiar English legacy to civilization.

Let us assume, however, the prospect of peace in Europe. In that event it is, I believe, fairly certain that England will become a Socialist state. Her aristocracy will disappear. There will be a much greater degree of social equality. In the vital industries, private initiative will be replaced by collective enterprise. There will be few great fortunes; and the stimulus to effort will rarely be found in the profit-making motive. Men will be valued less for the property they represent than for the social function they are able to perform.

The ambit of the state will be far wider than now, and on the material side, the individual will, at least for a considerable period, have less freedom of choice than he now possesses. For a considerable time, also, I believe it will be a poorer

England; for many able men will find it difficult to adjust themselves to the motives of such an order, and it will be difficult to obtain their co-operation. But, in the end, I believe it will be an England happier and more creative, because the toil of its citizens will be sweetened by a profounder sense of justice in their gain.

An Address to Graduates

The world seems to be passing through a wave of educational inefficiency. Complaints against the educational standards of Indian universities has become almost normal by this time, though not any the less shrill in pitch nor less serious in volume. But such discordant notes were hardly to be expected in the United States, the land both of universal education and efficiency. Yet during the last few years one great educational authority after another of that country has been pointing a warning finger to the increasing ineffectiveness of university education in the United States. Of these critics, we noticed two, Dr. Flexner and Dr. Meiklejohn, in these columns. Now comes another writer who pens a satirical address to the graduates of America in *The New Republic*, which might almost without the change of a single syllable be addressed to the Indian graduate as well. After referring to the innate capacities of the American student and his inane school education, this writer goes on to say:

This process had been pretty well completed before you entered the portals of this institution: but in so far as was necessary, we have here finished the job. We have made it your ideal, not to find things out, but to get through. When a certain "professor" wanted meaningless repetition by rote of his words or those of the book, you have given him that. When another, probably somewhat younger, and with no academic ambitions of his own, seemed to require a little more aloofness, a slightly original line of thought, you have dutifully cooked up some of that (often by conference among yourselves) and supplied it. We have, with your connivance, managed to fill up every moment of your time either with routine work in the classroom or with the equally routine extra-curricular activities of undergraduate athletics, journalism, social life and other matters which, with the proper collegiate coyness, I shall merely describe as "less savoury."

You are now being graduated with a label of education which in the case of nearly every one of you is a grotesque misfit. After your years in these academic shades, your favourite periodical is *The Saturday Evening Post*, your best liked author is whoever wrote the current success in the book-stores, your favourite melody is "The Indian Love Call." You have studied several foreign languages, not one of which you are able to read or speak,

and the chances are overwhelming that you will never again open a book written in one of them, or attempt to utter more than one or two halting sentences while making one of your conducted tours through the duller parts of Europe. Your study of economics has not ruffled a hair of the sleekness you will display as a member of the Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, and one of the Red-hunting societies of Professional Patriots. You will support by your indifference, if not more directly, the municipal corruption in your community from which you and your friends among the business men in all probability will derive substantial profit. Your courses in science will boil down to an ability to identify the odour of sulphuretted hydrogen. The chances are strongly against your ever opening a serious book again if it makes any taxing demand upon attention and memory. Your recreations will infallibly come down to four: the movies, bridge, golf and driving your car along congested highways on Sunday afternoons.

You are in one way distinguished among graduating classes: you are being turned out into the world at a dramatic moment in its history. Never before has there been such universal uncertainty about the future, such widespread fear that perhaps the fabric of Western civilization is breaking down and is past any repair. Almost one-tenth of the world's people now live under a completely new and different organization of society, one highly specialized, based upon an entirely different set of ideas and ideals from our own and constituting a drastic challenge to us. By way of preparing you for this situation we have carefully taught you as little as possible about this new system, either in its theory or its application. We have, of course, permitted you to pick up as much or as little as you chose of the current stereotyped notions about the new system, notions based upon ignorance and prejudice, notions the more important of which are mutually incompatible. For the rest, if your lack of knowledge of the problems by which you and the rest of mankind are confronted is not complete, this is through inadvertence on our part and not design. We have been subjected, and have in turn subjected you to a whole series of inhibitions, the inhibitions imposed by your parents, by the trustees of this institution, by the "public opinion of the better elements of the community," by our own education, which was certainly not superior to yours. If any of you are able to think straight and act upon your thoughts, that fact is a tribute to the indomitable power of the human mind to survive even the worst of miseducations. Go forth, and conquer the world!

The Colour Bar

The Spectator has been publishing an interesting symposium on the colour bar. Many of the writers who contributed to that symposium condemned it, while two or three supported it or at least recognized it as a necessity. One of these is Mr. B. Malinowski, the anthropological writer. Mr. Malinowski at least makes out a plausible case for a colour bar, on both sides:

It seems almost impossible to say anything positive and constructive on the subject of Colour Bar and Race Prejudice, and to remain at the same time within the limits of truth and *realpolitik*. This is a question which, while intellectually most complicated and vague, provokes emotionally the most simple, primitive and brutal passions. It is poignant and tragic to the vast majority of the world's population, that is, to all coloured men and women, and fraught with fears and moral misgivings to the remainder, the "superior" race.

The white man who has to speak or write on this subject and who allows himself honestly to reflect at the same time—a very dangerous proceeding—is invariably faced with a conflict of sentiment and an intellectual dilemma. To express publicly your conviction of the superiority of your own race, and to claim that this superiority should be buttressed and documented by lynchings, degrading measures of discrimination, economic and social disabilities, to do that in so many words is somewhat painful and inconsistent. In the same breath you have to claim to be racially superior, the world's real gentleman, and you reveal yourself as the world's real brute. To profess on the other hand that racial differences do not exist, that white and black are brothers and should be equally treated may be well enough as a personal pious wish, but every honest European knows that he himself never acts up to such protestations, and that they are completely at variance with the institutionalized policy of the white race. In other words, when you speak about "race prejudice" you are apt to be either a victim of sentimental self-deception or of direct hypocrisy, or else you have to advocate in the name of racial superiority a type of conduct unworthy of the lowest savages.

This difficulty and conflict is clearly reflected in the previous articles of the present symposium in which four writers out of six merely belittle the importance of race prejudice and insist on its acquired, "superstitious," almost unreal character.

Lord Inzard and Mr. Lothrop Stoddard alone frankly admit that race prejudice is a reality and that colour bar is at present a necessity. With this position I am fully in agreement. I believe, moreover, that a great many members of other non-European races feel race prejudice as strongly as we do, and would welcome an effective colour bar protecting them from Europeans. Those natives whom I have known well and for a long space of time admit to a genuine dislike of our European smell, colour, features and manners, a dislike as pronounced as that manifested by some Europeans towards other races. Racial prejudice can perhaps best be seen in the hostile attitude felt and shown by either race towards their mixed product. Half-castes are a burden to their parents as a rule, and a cause of serious maladjustment in every community.

Let us then admit race prejudice as a well-entrenched mental and social force. Let us also admit colour bar as a necessary measure, if by colour bar we mean mechanisms which would allow either race to lead its own life free from interference, while intermarriage would be made specially difficult. In doing so we are frankly and honestly stating what is at present in existence as the dominant force in racial relations. We take our stand on the firm bedrock of reality. Let us,

however, not forget either the bedrock of justice and wisdom. Obviously the principle of colour bar—if it is to be carried out effectively, and if it is not to break all the principles of justice and decency—ought to apply both ways, and not entail measures which, by degrading one race and pandering to the other, demoralize both.

What the Man of the Future will be like ?

Dr. Hrdlicka is one of the leading anthropologists of America. He contributes to the *Evolution* an interesting forecast of the future physical evolution of man. He says :

In general man's past and present permit the statement that he is not yet perceptibly near the end of his evolution, and the prediction that, according to all indications, he will for long yet keep on progressing in adaptation, refinement and differentiation. But this applies only to the main stream of humanity, the civilized man. The rest will be more or less brought along or left behind.

The progress of the advancing parts of the race may be foreseen to be essentially towards ever greater mental efficiency and potentiality. The further mental developments may be expected to be attended by an additional increase in brain size, but this gross increase will be of but moderate proportions. The main changes will be in the internal organization of the brains, in greater blood-supply, greater general effectiveness.

The skull will in all probability be still thinner than it is today. And the skull may on the whole be expected to grow fuller laterally and also antero-posteriorly, due to developments in the directions of least resistance. The hump of the head, the indications are, will probably be further weakened. The stature promises generally to be even somewhat higher than to-day among the best nourished and least repressed groups.

The face will, it may be expected, proceed slowly in refinement and handsomeness and character. This partly through intensifying intelligent sexual selection, partly through further reduction of the bony parts consequent upon diminished mastication, and partly through the further development of the frontal portion of the skull. The eyes will, it is plain, be rather deeper set, the nose prominent and rather narrow, the mouth still smaller, the chin more prominent, the jaws even more moderate and less regular, the teeth tending to smaller, diminished mostly in number, even less regular than now in eruption and position, and even less resistant. The future of the beard is uncertain, but no such weakening as with the hair of the head is as yet observable.

The body will tend to slenderness in youth, the breasts towards small, the pelvic parts but little affected, the lower limbs towards long, the upper rather towards short, the hands and feet towards narrower, the fingers and toes towards more slender, with the fifth toe probably further diminishing.

As to the internal organs, the only more plainly foreshadowed probabilities are a further weakening and diminution of the appendix, and

a shortening, with diminution in capacity, of the intestines. As food may safely be expected to be continually more refined and made more digestible, the necessity of a spacious large intestine will diminish in proportion.

Physiologically, the tendencies indicate a rather more rapid than slower pulse and respiration with rather slightly increased than decreased temperature—in other words a livelier, rather than more sluggish, metabolism. But substantial changes in these as well as in other organic functions are not to be anticipated for many millenniums; these functions are too firmly established.

So much for normal conditions. There is, regrettably, also the debit side to be considered. Man has ever paid for his advance, is paying now, and will pay in the future. Functional disorders, digestive secretive, eliminative disorders of sleep and sexual, can not but multiply with the increasing stresses, exertions and absorptions. Mental derangements will probably be more frequent. Destructive diseases such as diabetes, and various skin troubles, will probably increase until thoroughly understood and hindered. The teeth, the mouth, the nose, the eyes and ears, will ever call for an increased attention. The feet will trouble.

Childbirth will not be easier nor less painful; though assistance will equally rise in effectiveness. Due to prolonged life, heart troubles, apoplexies, cancer, and senile weaknesses of all sorts, will tend to be more common, until mastered by medicine. All this, with many abnormal social factors, will retard but not stop man's progress, for the indications are that he will rise equal to all his growing needs as they develop and begin to hurt.

There is no life-danger to humankind to be apprehended on these scores. If there is a danger to human future, it lies in the birth rate of the torch-bearers. Already now the birth rate in the families of the most intellectual is unsatisfactory.

The Flowers of Evil

Looking at many an acknowledged but black masterpiece of literature, at once as fascinatingly beautiful and as repellent as a snake—a poem by Baudelaire, for example, or one of D. H. Lawrence's novels—men have often been tempted to ask whether literature was not after all a flower of evil. At any rate, there has not been want of serious thinkers who have told us that literature and art can only spring from a profound maladjustment and that a life, sane, well-ordered and normally functioning would never seek an outlet for self-expression or self-realization through these contorted channels. The Abbé Brémond, for instance, asserts in his beautiful book, *Prière et Poésie*, that poetic genius is only the mystic faculty in another form; but while the mystic is true to his calling and

inspiration, the poet is not simply even a mystic *manqué*, he is the perverted mystic, the mystic who has turned his back upon the right path and denied his God. There may or may not be truth in this view. But there is no denying that much of modern literature could only come to being in an atmosphere thick-charged with a rayless *welt-schmerz*. To the men who voice it the sunlit world sends no call, the blue of the sky offers no consolation. They grope within the bowels of the subconscious in search of they know not what sad truths.

To this feature of the modern literary temper Mr. Sunne refers in course of an article in *The New Statesman and Nation*:

Distrust, disappointment, nervous and sensitive apprehension of disaster. The sense of abandonment and abandoning. All of these have characterized the human race since it first became capable of introspection, and added the torment of "why" to the pleasanter difficulties of "how." To-day, at least in the art of literature, these perplexities and diseases of the spirit have taken on a different and more sinister colour. Of old the man who distrusted based his distrust on his faith in something. And so the man prepared to face disappointment, the man who indulged in the scrupulous delectations of apprehension, the man who feared he was abandoned or heroically decided to abandon some old safeguard—were all somewhere sure of something or somebody. They had faith even if it was only in unfaith, and they believed, even though their creed began *Credo in nullum Deum*. To-day, if we search among those who claim to be intelligentia, that ultimate sense of security can be found only among Catholics and Bolsheviks. The rest of the world has lost the spring board of criticism. Their distrust is based on nothing, and their disappointment is not an accident, however frequent, but an axiom. That mood, or conviction, has been brilliantly exposed by three writers in English—Mr. James Joyce, who denies the soul, except the damned soul, Mr. D. H. Lawrence, who would destroy the mind, and Mr. David Garnett, who, far more subtly if less impressively, attacked the will.

If we put aside religion and theology, it is evident that it is man's belief in his will which has been mainly instrumental in making the distinction between man and other animals, a distinction of which man is normally quite certain, and which, to do him justice, seems to be recognized as valid by those of the brutes with whom he comes into close contact. Yet the imaginative has always had his suspicions about the distinctness of that line of division. No one who visits the Zoological Gardens but has his moments of uneasiness, and not only in the monkey house. Even if we are shy discovering our own brute parallels, we can quickly enough find our friends' very images. The camel, the albatross, the brown bear, the pelican, the tapir (which always has feminine counterparts among men), the owl, the sea-lion (so frequent in the commercial room, and the bars of prosperous inns),

the penguin (which restores to our world the dignity now abandoned by family solicitors), the parrot and the hippopotamus—all of these represent, only too faithfully our friends to our nervous judgment, and ourselves to our friends. I think that Mr. Garnett must have begun his work after one of those all too convincing visits to Regents Park. I do not suggest that his attack on the will was deliberate; but in what better way could the attack be made than by minimizing the distinction between man and the brutes; a distinction only gained and held by the continuous exercise of the human will?

The English of the Police

The editor of *The London Mercury* gives the following account in his paper of an adventure that befell him, his wife and the English language at a police station:

At Whitsuntide the editor of this review visited a certain city with his wife. She went to a garage which was busy, and was told to leave the car outside, the attendant promising to run it in a minute or two. Next day they went to fetch it. The attendant who had been seen before was not there, but another one said, "The police brought this car in. It had been standing in the road for hours. They want to see you at the police station." Off to the police station they went, and then a statement was taken down in the usual manner. Many of our readers will doubtless be familiar with that manner. What happens is that you say something, the policeman writes it down in a translation of his own, and then you have to sign what the policeman has written down—which invariably is something that you could not have written or spoken yourself. In this instance the policeman was all charm and courtesy, but his prose was the standard prose of police statement-takers. The narrative, laboriously penned, which was ultimately signed by the wife of the editor of *The London Mercury*, ended with this bright sentence:

"This I so did, but he must have forgot."

It would have been no use arguing or suggesting improvements in English; we have tried before. It occurred to us, walking away after an honourable acquittal, that a beautiful anthology might be made from the archives of the British Police Stations, emphasis being laid on signed statements made by the illustrious, and in particular the more fastidious professional manipulators of the English tongue. We envisage a few specimens:

I was walking along, inoffensive life not doing nothing when this man Jones come up to me and says: "Hide your ugly mug." He hit me first and I never hit him back except I might have so done it by accident.

(Signed) George Meredith.

"If the constable says as how I was going forty miles an hour what I should like to say is that I was only going twenty and which I can prove by reliable witnesses which I so intend to do. The time it was not nine o'clock but eight forty-five contrary to what the officer says. Also he must have mistook me for somebody else.

(Signed) Stanley Baldwin.

"At ten o'clock on the twenty-second of June last

I was proceeding on my usual business in my Ford car at the illegal cross roads in question when another car come hard at me with blowing his horn or giving other indication of intent and drove straight into my bonnet damaging same seriously. When I work up I found same had gone and I walked to my place of residence at Lambeth where I reside.

(Signed) Cosmo Cantuar."

A task for some retired Home Secretary.

The American Worship of Women

The following extracts from *The Literary Digest* do not require an introduction:

Students of the history of woman in our country are well aware, we read in German medical papers, especially the *Aertzliche Sammelblätter*, of the so-called "pioneer theory" of her position among Americans.

Woman was so rare here in the nineteenth century that she was cherished by our forefathers. They transmitted their attitude to their sons and grandsons, and we Americans thus got the habit of treating woman as a superior being.

All this, affirms the eminent Dr. Gerhard Venzmer, author of a recent book of travel, *New York Ohne Schminke* (New York Without Make-up) as his views are summarized in the German medical press, is nonsense. Even if the scarcity of women here centuries ago made the American man careful of his courses, the plenitude of females now might well reverse the attitude.

Venzmer is of opinion that certain influences of a sort yet to be clarified act upon the hormones of the American man in a debilitating fashion. The hormones—substances arising in one part of the body and distributed to other parts of it in the blood—are so influenced by the American diet or by the North American climate that our masculinity undergoes modification. Says Dr. Kottetbaum in the *Hamburg Nachrichten*:

"At first this theory may cause surprise.

"If we bear in mind the extent to which America modifies the physical traits of the man we may be more inclined to infer that his physical characteristics are equally modifiable.

"In many regions of America endemic influences act to modify the thyroid glands.

"Numerous other factors seem likewise at work in America to modify the workings of the sex glands.

"The effect upon the male is obvious to any one who has visited the United States and there (in restaurants and in hotel lobbies) seen men kneeling before women in order to put on their overshoes.

"The same is obvious in the American home, when the husband sits on a hard wooden chair while his wife reclines comfortably on the sofa.

"The propensity attains its extreme, apparently, in the moving-picture theatres of the United States where one sees the husband often getting boxed on the ears by his wife."

The American Military Preparations

We have already referred in these columns to the new military scheme of

General MacArthur, the Chief of the Staff of the American Army. The following trenchant denunciation of his plan occurs in the New York *Nation*, the well-known radical weekly :

The head of the army, General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff, appeared on May 13 before the War Policies Commission and revealed the War Department's plan for drafting the man power and material resources of the nation on the outbreak of war. It calls for the immediate mobilization of 4,000,000 men, and for the seizure of all federal, State, county, and municipal buildings to house and shelter troops in place of the huge cantonments of the last war. Purchases of the 4,000 essential items (there are 700,000 on the War Department's shopping list) are to be allocated in advance—now—and not to be regulated by competitive bidding, but the contract is to be so drawn as to limit profiteering and "to deal effectively with the over-acquisitive (!) contractor." None the less, there is to be set up "an agency to determine prices for general government buying," so that "the government will not necessarily upset economic and industrial conditions." "Price-control efforts," we further learn, "will be directed gradually, and in general recognition of their necessity and reasonableness."

In other words, the whole pretence that there will be conscription of wealth as well as of men is frankly abandoned. We are again to tear the conscripted man, willing or unwilling, from his home and deprive him as ruthlessly as we please of his right to life, but we are again to treat our great capitalists with courtesy and all consideration. So much for the American Legion's demand since 1922 that "dollars as well as men be drafted" in the event of war. General MacArthur thus not only scorned the Legion, but he went out of his way to oppose Bernard M. Baruch's plan for "price-freezing" at the outset of war, under which prices would be stabilized by federal law at a level existing on a designated "normal date." There is nothing in General MacArthur's suggestions which really offers sound opposition to the profiteering that disgraced our last war. Who would run his "agency to determine prices for general government buying"? The army? Who will be in the army then? The day after war is declared the leading industrialists will be in it. For at previous hearings it has been openly admitted that the War Department has already commissioned no less than 14,000 industrialists throughout the country as "contact men." This is fully half, if not more than half, of the entire number of reserve officers in the German army at the outbreak of the war in 1914. Is there the slightest prospect that these men will not dominate any general purchasing agency? Or that they will even be satisfied with the opinion of the present National Commander of the American Legion that a return of 7 per cent on property during the next war will be "about right"?

As for the rest of the plan, never, so far as we are aware, even in Germany in the palmiest days of its militarism, did any generals advocate the immediate military seizure of all public buildings to house troops. It is quite characteristic of the extreme militarist mind that it brushes

aside all consideration of the civil government when war begins—it was this contempt of the Ludendorffs and Tirpitzes for the German civil authority and their defiance of it which as much as anything else brought about the German disaster. What would become of all our federal, State, county, and municipal governments if the military should occupy their buildings on the outbreak of war and throw them into the street? And how in heaven's name could one drill and equip four millions of men in the corridors of our federal courts or post offices or customs houses? If for no other reason, the whole MacArthur plan ought to be thrown out because of this very stupidity.

"The Striated Muscle Fetish"

Mr. Mencken is nothing if he is not vigorous. In the latest number of his paper, *The American Mercury*, he turns his irony on the cult of athletics, a good cult in its sphere and way, but the absurd modern superstition about which has done much to convince sensible people that it is possible to have too much of a good thing :

The popular belief in athletics is grounded upon the theory that violent exercise makes for bodily health, and that bodily health is necessary to mental vigour. Both halves of this theory are highly dubious. There is, in fact, no reason whatever for believing that such a game as, say, football, improves the health of those who play it. On the contrary, there is every reason for believing that it is deleterious. The football player is not only exposed constantly to a risk of grave injury, often of an irremediable kind ; he is also damaged in his normal physiological processes by the excessive strains of the game, and the exposure that goes with playing it. If it were actually good for half-grown boys to wallow for several hours a day in a muddy field, with their heads bare and the bleak autumnal skies overhead, then it would also be good for them to be sprayed with a firehose before going to bed. And if it were good for their non-playing schoolmates to sit watching them on cold and windy bleachers then it would also be good for those schoolmates to hear their professors in the same place.

The truth is that athletes, as a class, are not above the normal in health, but below it. Despite all the attention that they get from dietitians, rubbers and the medical faculty, they are for ever beset by malaises, and it is almost unheard of for one of them to pass through an ordinary season without a spell of illness. When a college goes in for any given sport in the grand manner it always has to prepare five or six times as many players as the rules demand, for most of its stars are bound to be disabled at some time or other. Not a few, after a game or two, drop out altogether, and are heard of no more. Some are crippled on the field, but more succumb to the mere wear and tear. In other words, the exercise they get does not really improve their vigour ; it only develops and reveals their lack of vigour. The survivors are not better animals than they were ; they are simply better animals than the general in the first place.

Nor is there any ponderable body of fact behind

the common notion, so often voiced by college presidents, that physical health is necessary to mental achievement. In itself, to be sure, health is a good thing, just as wealth is a good thing, but neither has anything to do with the operations of the mind. Some of the noblest thinking that history can show was done by invalids. In fact, certain kind of thinking seem to be better done by invalids than by healthy men, and Nietzsche was not far wrong when he argued that the world owes a lot to the tubercle bacillus and the spirochæta pallida. My belief is that Nietzsche himself, if he had been a vigorous animal would have wasted his nights in some Leipzig beer-cellar and so left his masterpieces unwritten. All the pull of his environment was in that direction. The pressure upon him to be respectable and normal, as such things were understood in his place and day, was very heavy. But illness drove him to the high Alps, and there he hatched the ideas which, if the majority of American historians are to be believed, caused the World War, and so among other lovely things, produced Dr. Hoover and the American Legion. Ah, for more germs out of the same culture, and another Nietzsche!

Youth-Politics

Mr. Wyndham Lewis is contributing to the *Time and Tide* a very stimulating series of articles on youth-politics. The following extracts are taken from the second of the series:

Are not "Politics" and "Youth" mutually exclusive terms? It may never have occurred to some readers that there were any *politics* specifically related to young persons. Indeed, does not "tender years" preclude the idea of politics? Yet the reflective, in carrying to their noses a bouquet of Parma Violets may, in sniffing, sometimes reflect that the Cosmetic King, Monsieur Coty, extracts from this delicious and modest plant certain delectable properties, which yearly he converts into a good many thousands of pounds.

There is a class of objects, which however ornamental, we are accustomed to regard as strictly useless. Yet many purely ornamental things are highly susceptible of exploitation. There is *nothing* that the Big Business mind does not see in terms of pound s. d. And it has gazed upon "Youth"—and it has found it not "fair" but extremely *profitable*. But even a beggar-woman turns her howling offspring into gold, *via* shame, and pity. And shall Big Business be outdone? It is not likely.

Now in the technique of Youth-Politics pure and simple "Youth" is not a thing of flesh and blood, but is something like water or wind; it is considered simply as an abstraction, a natural force. The "harnessing" of water-power provides a large city with electric light. That is very useful. On the other hand, it converts a mountain lake—of great romantic beauty—into a dull reservoir of water. Well, it is open to anyone to dislike these gifted political engineers—these Youth-Politicians I am introducing to you—in the same way that Ruskin hated the engineers who spoilt

his natural scenery for him, for the fanatical water-colourist.

Certainly the technique of Youth-Politics does destroy romance. In fact, it must in time actually blot out Youth altogether, as we have formerly understood Youth in Europe, and put something far sterner and less dreamy-eyed in its place. All I can say is that I have only to think of Sir James Barrie, and to recall the worse-than-sweetmeat of the Peter Pan adult nursery, and I at once would give my vote for the blotting out of a concept that had reached such extremities of vulgar sentiment. But I am here not so much considering the desirability or the reverse of these changes, as simply explaining how the Peter-Panish sweetness is squeezed out of Youth and used as a highly aromatic political intoxicant, or its impulsive and pristine vitality harnessed for the sake of its latent power.

Economics have always played a far larger part in politics than any recognized historian has allowed. King Charles's head fell as a result of the fiat of the London merchant princes, for instance, not at all in the romantic and revolutionary way that the historian would have you believe. Doubt if that was true of events in the past, it is doubly true of what is occurring to-day. The Soviet (as the Five-Year Plan should at once suggest) is a business man's or economist's republic, but wherever you look, *politics* spell more and more *economics*, and nothing else—except such politics as pure economics involve, and so much of human impulse as they allow.

In the Youth Revolution, recruits are enrolled almost entirely by means of flattery; as it was in the sex-war, so it is in the age-war. In the militant days of Feminism women were harangued to the effect that they were "as good as men." Most women being, like most men, stupid, stupid things had to be said to them; and of course most "youths"—like most middle-aged persons, or greybeards—being stupid, stupid things have to be said to most "youths;" that is inevitable.

The Spanish Revolution

The Lirring Age, in course of an editorial, discusses the scope and the future of the Spanish revolution:

The Spanish Revolution has been called the most important event in Europe since the War because it represents a new and sudden development of the world revolution through which all of us are living and of which the War itself was but a part. This world revolution—comparable in scope and significance to the Reformation or to the Industrial Revolution—resembles all great historic changes in that it has overthrown certain institutions as no longer adequate to the needs of the day.

Spain, having been spared the war, grew steadily for thirty years into a modern state which finally dispensed with an antiquated form of government. In Russia, Germany, and Austria, the privations of war hastened the same change that has just been wrought in Spain by six years of stupid dictatorship. It would be tempting indeed to speculate on where the next breakdown

will occur and what institution in what country will be the next to give way, but we shall stand on surer ground if we confine ourselves to the present and to Spain.

The activity of various groups of workers in behalf of the Republic attests to the economic background of the Spanish revolt. The Socialist Party and the General Union of Workers were, in fact, chiefly responsible for Alfonso's flight, because they threatened to call a general strike unless he left the country. The variety and nature of the demands in their programme show how many changes were necessary.

What stands in the way of social revolution in Spain—as distinguished from the political revolution that has already occurred—is the Catalan question. Salvador de Madariaga's excellent book entitled *Spain*, recently published in the United States by Scribner's not only anticipates much that has happened in recent weeks but also gives an excellent analysis of the Spanish character. In spite of the revolutionary fervor in both Madrid and Barcelona, the inhabitants of the two cities are so different that they will not find it easy to work together. The Castilian respects authority and has the making of a good Socialist, but the Catalan is a born anarchist and, though his first acquaintance with Communism may have caused some explosions, he is not likely to submit to the strict discipline that Communism demands. Nor is the psychological contrast between Madrid and Barcelona the only force working against social revolution in Spain. The Roman Catholic Church, although quite reconciled to a Republic, would surely assert its great influence if the political revolution should threaten to become social.

Spain's foreign policy is not expected to undergo any immediate change as a result of the revolution. The new government has too many domestic problems on its hands to assert itself effectively in Europe and alter the present balance of power. The French, however, fear that the Republicans, many of whom opposed the Rifian war against Abd-el-Krim, will not apply a strong hand to Morocco and that European prestige in North Africa will suffer accordingly. In the League of Nations, too, the French believe that the Spanish Republicans will be less obliging than the Monarchists. A contributor to the *Intransigent* laments the departure of Senor Quinones de Leon from the Embassy in Paris because of the valuable services he rendered France, notably by intervening at Geneva over the Upper Silesian question. Also in the New World the Republic is likely to pursue in the long run a more liberal policy than the monarchy. Needless to say, there is no thought of political ambition, and even commercially the New Government will be far less aggressive than the British Laborites or the Prince of Wales. But the existence of a Republic in Spain will inevitably turn the eyes of South Americans towards Europe and cultural bonds are likely to be strengthened. That is to say, more lecturers from Spain and more Spanish ideas will circulate through Latin America, to the almost inevitable detriment of Chevrolet and Frigidaire sales.

Rathenau's Letters to a Lady

The *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna has published some letters from the famous

German statesman, Walter Rathenau, to a lady who loved him. These letters, as *The Living Age*, which translates them, observes, show the greatness of Rathenau and reveal his qualities in all their admirable purity and spiritual clearness. Here is one of these letters:

Dear Fraulein Lore,—

Your letters, especially the despairing one to your brother, have filled me with care and sorrow. What shall I, what can I do for you? You want me near you, want my support and a part of myself, and how gladly would I give it to you. But I no longer belong to myself, I have given myself away. Nothing remains to me, hardly an hour for rest and hardly any sleep. I am but a stranger who has come to bequeath himself, and as soon as I have given myself out completely I shall live no longer. In private life I should not tolerate giving up so much of my time. I should not bear the weight of hatred and hostility that lies on my shoulders, but I do put up with all this because I have no will of my own, no homestead, no private life, but am like a man in an armed turret who has his orders and works a machine gun.

You want to live for my sake. I feel this with gratitude. Nobody has ever yet wanted to live for me alone. You are the first. Everyone has wanted me to live for them, and that was natural, because, as far as my strength allows, I do live for them all, though of course in a different sense from what people want. For what they want is not me myself but things that are attached to me, yet apart—stimulation, support, ideas, negotiations. They do not want me myself, but refuse me. You could not live for me in the usual sense. A motor like myself needs but little oil, which may be supplied by any hand at all. It goes on running as long as the fuel that drives it holds out. If you want to exist for my sake, you can do it only by existing for your own sake, not in the usual sense, but in the sense of existing for the sake of the powers that are given you. Do you believe that I have in mind books that you must write and that will be printed? Perhaps you are living for me in that you are helping Klaus, or whoever needs your help. I should like to ask you to be with me one of these dreary autumn evenings, but I should be so unspeakably distressed by the thought of your cold ride home, and I cannot accommodate you for the night. Perhaps you will come early Sunday afternoon if I promise not to keep you beyond the first hour of evening? I am no longer so concerned about Klaus. When you come, tell me his address so that I can send him my last piece of writing. Good night. Fear not and don't be sad.

The Outlook for New Turkey

Of late, Italy has been taking a good deal of interest in the Eastern Mediterranean. One of the features of this interest is the space given to Turkish questions in the Italian Press. In *L'Oltremare*, a monthly review of Rome, appears an article on

Turkey of to-day and to-morrow by Diego Cantalupo, an Italian economist and political scientist. A translation of this article is given by *The International Digest*, from which the following extract is taken:

The world crisis has further aggravated the already formidable Oriental crisis. In the case of Turkey, it began with the birth of the new state and has since then progressively increased until it has reached the alarming proportions of today. Born with an empty treasury and faced with the necessity of providing internal and external security Kemal was compelled to resort to extreme financial measures. Furthermore, it was necessary to replace the 45 million Turkish pounds formerly obtained each year from the agricultural "tithe," a burdensome and unjust tax which very properly has been abolished in order to help the peasant, who is the foundation of the republic. The last two years have brought extreme economic misery: the poverty of the great mass of peasants is terrifying, and the finances of the state are not in the apparently flourishing condition of two years ago. While nothing more can be squeezed out of the people, who lack even their daily bread, disbursements for the army and public works still increase.

These are the real difficulties, psychologically and morally, technically and financially, which have for the past and will for some time in the future hamper Turkey. All plans for reforms, rehabilitation, and reconstruction absolutely require the participation of foreign capital and capital does not flow to regions where it fears difficulties, intrigues, chicaneries: where promises are made but not kept; where the courts—to which final recourse must be had—are partial and corruptible; and where a permanent mist makes breathing difficult. In the relations between Turkey and the West, the clarification of mutual rights and duties can only be obtained if both sides will free themselves from the pre-war mentality.

Turkey, or rather its responsible representatives, must lay aside the sensitiveness of an oppressed people and the fear of persecution, an unfortunate trait inherited from the old Ottoman regime which saw an enemy in every stranger, too strong to be fought in the open but to be damaged by all possible subversive means. The proofs of this anti-social and anachronistic attitude are many and of daily occurrence. It is useless to hope for intimate collaboration and sincere friendship until, at least, where educated and highly placed persons are concerned, Turkey can enter into relations with western society without manifesting ridiculous suspicions. Turkey must be aware not only of its rights, but also of its obligations.

Everybody knows that France enjoys wide sympathies in Turkish intellectual and aristocratic circles; England is admired and feared for her financial and naval power; Germany dominates the military and commercial classes; and Russia hold many trumps in her hands, being a neighbour and ostensibly of anti-western orientation. Finally, the Turkish government in the execution of public works has inclined to favour the Germans, Belgians and Swedes. But some day Turkey will see that inevitably the help of Europe on a large scale is needed, and Italy should be ready for that day when it arrives.

However that may be, Turkey finds herself today at one of the momentous crossroads in her history, where swiftness, absence of illusions and clear vision are required.

An old oriental proverb says "A Turkish administrator needs an Armenian for accountant and a Greek for counsellor." The Turkey of today is a geographical, ethnical, political, and economic unit, destined to become in the future one of the most important factors in the Near East, and it will be the noble mission of Fascist Italy to assist in the development and prosperity of the new republic.

The New Labour Encyclical

Last month we published a short criticism of the new Labour Encyclical of the Pope. A more extended notice of the scope and purport of this encyclical appears in *America*, the leading Catholic weekly of the United States. From it a very clear idea may be formed of the Catholic position with regard to some of the most controversial social questions of the day.

The controversy which has raged—not without some heat—in European Catholic circles, as to Pope Leo's doctrine of ownership, or the right of property, is effectively dealt with. Both extremes are to be avoided: undue emphasis of the private and individual aspect of ownership (against which emphasis most of the active complaints were raised), and undue emphasis of its social and public aspects. Pope Pius lays down once and for all the solid distinction, that the right of property is a matter of justice, but its proper use is matter of other virtues.

"We reassert the fundamental principle, laid down by Leo XIII, that the right of property must be distinguished from its use. It belongs to what is called commutative justice, faithfully to respect the possessions of others. . . . The putting of one's own possessions to proper use, however, does not fall under this form of justice, but under certain other virtues, and therefore it is "a duty not enforced by counts of justice." Hence, it is untrue to contend that the right of ownership, and its proper use are bounded by the same limits; and it is even less true that the very misuse or even the non-use of ownership destroys or forfeits the right itself.

The State, therefore cannot take away man's natural right whether by "crushing taxes," or otherwise. But the State has the right to "control its use," as Pope Leo had declared, in accordance with the common good. "When the civil authority adjusts ownership to meet the needs of the public good, it acts not as any enemy, but as the friend of private owners." The grave obligations of "charity, beneficence, and liberality" rest upon the wealthy in disposing of their superfluous income.

There has been a "steady drift" in the Pope's opinion, towards the accumulation of undue wealth on the part of capital, with the consequent impoverishment of the workingman. Nevertheless it is a "false moral principle"—an error more subtle than that of the Socialists—to hold that "all products and

profits excepting those required to replace invested capital, belong by every right to the workingman." The only way to stop this devastating, worldwide process of the impoverishment of the proletariat is to stop accumulating profits and to supply "an ample sufficiency" to the workingman; so that "by thrift they may increase their possessions and... bear the family burden with greater ease and security, being freed from that hand-to-mouth insecurity which is the lot of the proletariat." "Unless serious attempts are made, with all energy and without delay," to put these recommendations into practice, "let nobody persuade himself that the peace and tranquillity of human society can effectively be defended against the forces of revolution."

Such a programme, however, cannot be realized without proper wages. This discussion of wages is one of the most detailed, and for the general public one of the most interesting features of the Encyclical.

The Pope's doctrine as to the reform of the social order takes a middle course between "individualism" and State absorption: the course which America, particularly in reference to domestic affairs, has strenuously defended for years.

It is an injustice, a grave evil, and disturbance of right order for a larger and higher organization to arrogate to itself functions which can be performed efficiently by smaller and lower bodies. This is a fundamental principle of social philosophy, unshaken and unchangeable, and it retains its full truth today. Of its very nature the true aim of all social activity should be to help individual members of the social body, but never to destroy or absorb them.

Society, therefore, should be "organic": in the true sense of the word, in that a "graded hierarchical order exists between the various subsidiary organizations." The Pope is even more specific: "the aim of social legislation must therefore be the establishment of vocational groups." Men should not be bound together "according to the position they occupy on the labour market, but according to the diverse functions they exercise in society." Such groups are necessary to the "natural and spontaneous development" of society.

He sees these vocational groupings, while far reaching, yet as voluntary, or private in their origin. In this his concept differs from the compulsory, governmental or syndical systems of the Fascist State. He appraises, however, both the strength and the weakness of the latter system.

The abuse of capital, not the system as such, has brought about present evils. This abuse has taken the form of the "capitalistic-economic regime, that has brought unlimited power not only to the owners, but even the trustees of invested funds" and "irresistible power" when exercised by men grasping, as it were, at the very soul of production, so that no one dare breathe against their will." This concentration of power, the characteristic of the modern economic order, is a natural result of "limitless free competition," and has led to a threefold struggle for domination. Here, in a profound paragraph, the Pope puts his finger on the heart of the international situation:

First, there is the struggle for dictatorship in the economic sphere itself; then the fierce battle to acquire control of the State, so that its resources and authority may be abused in the economic

struggles; finally, the clash between States themselves. This latter arises from two causes: because the nations apply their power and political influence, regardless of circumstances, to promote the economic advantages of their citizens; and because *vice versa* economic forces and economic domination are used to decide political controversies between peoples.

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A Liberal's Confession of Faith

In his address delivered on the occasion of a dinner held in his honour by the Academy of Political Science of the United States, reproduced in *Political Science Quarterly*, Mr. Lippmann, the well-known journalist, gave an account of what he considered to be the fundamental philosophical position of liberalism and why it was necessary to the world. After referring to the fact that we cannot be certain of anything in our national life, he said:

What then can we adhere to, since in our world we cannot be sure we have attained the truth? We can adhere, I believe, to the ways in which men have found the truth and to the spirit in which they have sought it. We do not know the answers to all our problems. Who do not even know what all our problems are. We have only to look backward into history to see how often men have been preoccupied with issues that did not matter while they overlooked those which changed the course of history. Is there any reason to suppose that we see our world in any truer perspective? I should suppose not.

We must assume that the future will surprise us. We must acknowledge that we do not know how our destiny will unfold. We must believe that in the kind of world we live in, where invention and discovery engender such rapid change, it is impossible for us to say: there is our goal and this is the straight road to it. We are compelled to say that the goal is hidden, that we can see only a little of the road, and that the road we see is not very clearly marked. We are explorers in a strange world, and what and what we must depend upon is not a map of the country—for there is no map—but upon those qualities of mind and heart and those distillations of experience which men have learned to depend upon when they faced the unknown.

This, perhaps, is the testament of liberalism. For underlying all the specific projects which men espouse who think of themselves as liberals there is always, it seems to me, a deeper concern. It is fixed upon the importance of remaining free in mind and in action before changing circumstances. That is why liberalism has always been associated with a passionate interest in freedom of thought and freedom of speech with scientific research, with experiment, with the liberty of teaching, with the ideal of an independent and unbiased press, with the right of men to differ in their opinions and to be different in their conduct. That is why it is

associated with resistance to tyranny, with criticism of dogma and authority, with hatred of intolerance and fanaticism, with distrust of suppression and repression, and all forms of centralized, rigid and alien direction of men's affairs.

This, many critics of liberalism say, leads to indecision and inaction. Mr. Lippmann admits that. But he queries further:

The question, however, is not whether it is easier or more exciting or more immediately effective in results to be illiberal, but whether the world we live in can be brought under civilized control without the gifts of the liberal spirit. I think it cannot be. In a stable, settled, and unchanging society custom and established truth may suffice. But in an unstable and changing society like ours, the unceasing discovery of truth is a necessity. For the only sure foundation of action is truth that experience will verify, and the great concern of the liberal spirit with human freedom rests at last upon the conviction that at almost any cost men must keep open the channels of understanding and preserve unclouded, lucid, and serene their receptiveness of truth. This concern with human freedom is not only a matter of resisting encroachment upon civil liberties. It is matter of personal honour, of seeking always in a spirit searching self-examination to confront the facts with a mind and with a heart that have no hidden entanglements. There are the entanglement of material things which push us to rationalize our self-interest in glorious abstractions. There are also the entanglements of our convictions, the deposits of pride, hope, vanity and stubbornness, which men often guard as jealously as their property. The liberal spirit is the effort, not of any cult, or sect, or party, but of any man or woman, to remain clear and free of his irrational, his unexamined, his unacknowledged prejudices, so that he may the more effectively make his little contribution "to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things."

The Charka and its Utility

Mr. Theodore Maynard puts forward the following justification of the *charka* in *The Catholic World*, a Catholic monthly of the United States:

I am inclined to think that the part of his programme that has been most effective is that part which has most often been jeered at—his revival of the hand-spinning wheel. Even Rabindranath Tagore when asked to lend the support of his

powerful example to the movement by spinning for half an hour a day is on record as having retorted with unbecoming levity, "If half an hour, why not eight hours?"

We might have expected the great poet to perceive that even half an hour's spinning done every day, in conjunction with millions of his obscure fellow-countrymen, would help greatly in effecting two things—the two things, by the way, that Tagore himself has been most interested in: the economic emancipation of India and her spiritual emancipation.

I hasten to explain that I do not believe, of course, that all that is needed for spiritual emancipation is a spinning wheel. But I take the *charka* to be a symbol, as well as a very practical instrument, and therefore let it stand for the whole revolt against industrialism. By fighting against the domination of Lancashire, whose machines have destroyed the greatest of the Indian village industries, Gandhi is doing much more than fighting for India: he is at the same time fighting the thing which degrades the spirit of man wherever this prime modern evil triumphs—the materialistic concept of industry. It is not a question here of a conflict between the civilizations of East and West, but of a conflict between God and Mammon.

And the spinning wheel is also the most practical means for supplementing the pitifully slender means of the *mot*. The vast mass of the people of India live always on the verge of starvation: and the failure of the monsoons inevitably brings famine. Though the *charka* will never produce food, when food is not to be had, it will at least provide the means of purchasing food except at times of the complete failure of the crops. No capital is needed to set one in operation: and any one can be readily taught how to handle the wheel, which is besides so little laborious that the aged and small children can take their part in contributing to the family fund. Moreover, the work is always done at home, and is non-competitive, since all are approximately equalized in its use. Should its re-establishment prove successful, tremendous encouragement will be given to other peasant industries, which have either perished, or are in danger of perishing, owing to the flooding of India by blinding trash of various kinds.

If Gandhi can re-establish the spinning-wheel—and he has very largely done so already—he can make the people of India economically independent, since their actual needs are few. That would give the whole country confidence, and increase the national dignity: and it would, practically, destroy the main reason for the British occupation: the need to find in India a market for British goods, especially cotton cloth.



The Missionaries and Education

Mahatma Gandhi's warning against certain aspects of the missionary activities in India has naturally focussed discussions on these topics. The Rev. W. Paton examines the relations between religion and education in *The National Christian Council Review*:

It is in regard to the use of education as a missionary method that questioning has in fact mainly arisen. The simplest form of restriction has been the Conscience Clause, and as that Clause has been worked in certain Indian provinces, where a pupil may be withdrawn from religious instruction in an aided school on the request of the parent or guardian, or of himself if a major, I can see no moral objection to it. In Burma the Conscience Clause has been carried a little further, and is now a condition not merely of receipt of a grant-in-aid but of recognition. This is somewhat less self-evidently just, for it may be held as right that an institution offering a certain kind of education, and that only, to all its pupils, may, if it satisfies educational standards, be recognized as a school within the established system. The process of restriction is carried still further in modern Turkey, where a religion may be taught to children who already are adherents of that religion, but not to others even if they desire it. A fourth stage has been reached in the new regulations in China, which if carried out in practice will ensure that no religion of any kind shall be taught in the lower schools, and only as an elective subject in the upper schools and colleges, the idea underlying the proposals undoubtedly being that if no religion is taught in the lower schools it will not be 'elected' in the upper. The final stage is reached in Soviet Russia, where religion of all kinds is banned from the schools as intellectual and social poison.

Judged by the standards of freedom which exist in stable and fully democratic states I do not think that these latter types of restriction are intellectually or morally justified. It is nevertheless important to understand the forces which give rise to them. In the case of Turkey, and still more of China, one element in the new restrictions is undoubtedly the belief, which has its origin in influential centres of learning in the West, that religion is an old-fashioned affair, inimical to human freedom, to social progress, and to enlightenment. I imagine that the underlying thought is not different from that of the group of intellectuals in London who during the debates on the last Education Bill in the House of Commons wrote to the *Nation* protesting against the common assumption that some kind of religious education ought to be maintained in the schools, in view of the fact that religion was at best a harmless futility, and certainly should have no

place in education. Along with this has gone a still more powerful conviction, namely that the foreign school, i.e., the school established and maintained under foreign auspices, is a denationalizing element in the State. In any country where full national freedom has not yet been achieved, or is only being achieved, and the profound confidence engendered by long stability has not yet been reached, such a suspicion is natural, and only time and persistent and humble goodwill can demolish it.

The Decay of Humanism

"Christianity and the New Age" by Mr. Christopher Dawson is one of the latest books in the series "Essays in Order" which Mr. Jacques Maritain, the distinguished French philosopher and Mr. Wust is bringing out. In this book Mr. Dawson demonstrates the gradual decline of humanism since its glorious apogee in the age of the Renaissance. The following is the summary of his conclusions on this subject, made for *C. S. S. Review* by Father Verrier Elwin:

The Renaissance has its beginning in the self-discovery, the self-realization and the self-exaltation of Man. Mediaeval man had attempted to base his life on the supernatural. His ideal of knowledge was not the adventurous quest of the human mind exploring its own kingdom; it was an intuition of the eternal varieties which is itself an emanation from the Divine Intellect—*irradiatio et participatio primæ lucis*. The men of the Renaissance, on the other hand, turned away from the eternal and the absolute to the world of nature and human experience. They rejected their dependence on the supernatural, and vindicated their independence and supremacy in the temporal order. But thereby they were gradually led by an internal process of logic to criticize the principles of their own knowledge and to lose confidence in their own freedom. The self-affirmation of man gradually led to the denial of the spiritual foundations of his freedom and knowledge. In science, also, the growth of man's control over nature is accompanied by a growing sense of his dependence on material forces. "So we have the paradox that at the beginning of the Renaissance, when the conquest of nature and the creation of modern science are still unrealized, man appears in godlike freedom with a sense of unbounded power and greatness; while at the end of the nineteenth century, when nature has been conquered and there seem no limits to the powers of science, man is once more conscious of his misery and weakness as the slave

of material circumstance and physical appetite and death.

"Instead of the heroic exaltation of humanity which was characteristic of the naturalism of the Renaissance, we see the humiliation of humanity in the anti-human naturalism of Zola. Man is stripped of his glory and freedom and left as a naked human animal shivering in an inhuman universe.

"Thus humanism by its own inner development is eventually brought to deny itself and to pass away into its opposite. For Nietzsche, who refused to surrender the spiritual element in the Renaissance tradition, humanism is transcended in an effort to attain to the superhuman without abandoning the self-assertion and the rebellious freedom of the individual will—an attempt which inevitably ends in self-destruction. But modern civilization as a whole could not follow this path. It naturally chose to live as best it could, rather than to commit a spectacular suicide. And so, in order to adapt itself to the new conditions, it was forced to throw over the humanist tradition.

"Hence the increasing acceptance of the mechanization of life that has characterized the last thirty years."

It is significant, as Mr. Dawson points out, that almost the only original element in the thought of the new age should be the work of Jews. In physical science the dominant figure is Einstein, in psychology it is Freud, in economics and sociology it is Marx. The reason is, of course, that "the Jewish mind alone in the West has its own sources of life which are independent of the Hellenic and the Renaissance traditions."

The greatest danger to Europe is not "that we should actively adopt the Bolshevik cult of Marxian materialism, but rather that we should yield ourselves passively to a practical materialization of culture after the American pattern. The Communists may have defied mechanism in theory, but it is the Americans who have realized it in practice."

The realization of the decline of the humanist tradition and the prospect of the complete mechanization of Western civilization have produced a striking change in the modern intellectual attitude towards religion. The present generation, even the rebels, are beginning to feel the need for a recovery of the religious attitude to life which the European mind has lost during the last two centuries. It is only in France that this tendency has taken the form of a complete acceptance of orthodox Catholicism. Elsewhere, the old rationalist hostility to the idea of the supernatural and the transcendent persists side by side with the desire to find a new spiritual basis for civilization which will serve as a bulwark against the standardized mass-civilization of the new age.

White-Ants

"White-ants may be white but are not ants," says Mr. S. H. Prater, C. M. Z. S., Curator Bombay National History Society, in the *Indian State Railways Magazine*. We learn:

White-ants are not ants. In the manner of its development from the egg, in the structure of its

legs, its mouth parts, of its wings when it wears them, white-ant differs fundamentally from the ant. Its correct name and one less open to objection is Termite.

To those unskilled in distinguishing between them and the business is not simple, all termites are alike. Yet the termitologist recognizes some 1,200 different species. The majority of these dwell in Tropical countries.

Termites are an ancient race whose history goes back to the dawning ages of time. Many millions of years before man's appearance they had already established themselves in flourishing communities all over the world. Through untold ages the race has survived, has conserved its character and maintained its niche in the grand panorama of life on this planet.

The history of the Termite is a record of the ceaseless struggles of a weak and timid people against a relentless and determined enemy. Termites in tropical countries have no foes more dreadful more implacable than the ants. Between the termites and the ants there has been waged a merciless war which has continued unabated for millions of years. It would almost seem that Nature has destined the ant to become the exterminator of these weaker and comparatively defenceless insects.

It necessarily be the mother of invention then a adversity its grandmother. The persecution of these weak and timid creatures, their ceaseless need for defence against a voracious and ever aggressive enemy have gradually produced among the termites better and more efficient devices for countering the attacks of their hereditary foes.

The Indian Ordnance Factories

The Army Retrenchment Committee, now sitting, is giving its particular attention to the Government ordnance factories. The *Mysore Economic Journal* publishes a very timely article on them by Mr. F. S. Grimston, the former Director of Ordnance Factories:

The maintenance of a standing army is a heavy burden on the state and the expenditure involved thereby is usually regarded as a necessary evil, unaccompanied during peace time by any corresponding benefit to the community. The primary object of this paper is to show that in India something must be placed to the credit side of the account, and that the country does actually derive from the Ordnance Factories she has to maintain some very substantial benefits, usually overlooked.

The manufacture of modern armaments involves two essentials—lightness and interchangeability. The former necessitates the use of high-class materials and the latter great accuracy in manufacture, to ensure that component parts shall assemble correctly without having to be fitted or adjusted in any way. In order to ensure these two essentials a very rigid system of inspection is necessary. Let it be supposed, for instance, that certain parts of the breech mechanism of an 18-pounder field gun, on active service, require replacement owing to wear or damage by enemy fire. The new components must fit without the

necessity for adjustment by a skilled mechanic. No such mechanical adjustments are possible in the field. A very minute departure from standard dimensions would, in many cases, render the component incapable of functioning. In breech mechanisms of this kind there are many dimensions which must be kept within a manufacturing tolerance of two-thousandths of an inch, and in the case of certain rifle parts, one thousandth of an inch is the maximum departure from standard allowable. It may be mentioned that a cigarette paper is approximately one-thousandth of an inch thick. In order to maintain such standards of workmanship and material very highly organized factories are necessary. It is only natural therefore to expect that the Ordnance Factories should contribute to the introduction of mechanical and other processes into India.

The Ordnance Factories have, it seems to me, contributed to the introduction of technical education into India. The primary object of this was to enable Indians to fill posts on the staff of the Ordnance Factories, but since they are free to use this training in order to qualify for positions in private industry, the benefits conferred on the country is obvious. Every encouragement is given to manufacturers to visit these factories and inspect the processes, and members of the Ordnance Factories staff are sometimes deputed to advise the works of private firms in order to give advice.

An endeavour has been made to induce the more intelligent and better educated to enter the engineering profession and the various trades connected therewith. There has in the past been a tendency in India for the superior elements of society to favour the various writing professions and avoid the vocations connected with production. A change in outlook is, however, taking place in this respect and tradition is being replaced by enlightenment and scientific knowledge. It is interesting and instructive to witness a group of Rifle Factory apprentices, many of whom are drawn from the upper social strata doing manual work which they certainly would not have done twenty-five years ago. These lads realize that if they are to rise to positions of responsibility in the engineering profession they must possess real knowledge which must come in through the finger tips and cannot be acquired only through book learning.

A Supreme Court for India

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C. I. E., ex-Advocate-General, Madras, pleads strongly for a Supreme Court for all India in *The Indian Review*.

The idea of a Supreme Court for India has entered upon a new phase after the Round Table Conference. It was originally an idea of the politician. The lawyer was not very much in favour of it. It is intelligible that it should be so. The politician keen on establishing for India equality of status with the Dominions naturally desired to have an institution that he conceived to be in a manner indicative of that status; and the lawyer desirous of having an efficient tribunal for the correction of the errors of the High Court and

for the securing of uniformity of decisions in the various provinces should be satisfied with the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Nevertheless the sentiment in favour of the Supreme Court has been steadily growing. It was first moved in the form of a resolution by Sir Hari Singh Gour in the Legislative Assembly in 1921. By a unanimous vote of the Assembly it was decided to elicit the opinion of the country. Renewed in 1922 it was rejected as inopportune. It was brought up again in 1923 and was defeated by a large majority, though Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Eardley Norton were in favour of the motion. Mr. Motilal Nehru was opposed to it and contributed not a little to its defeat. That may be said to be the turning-point in the history of the idea.

Since then Dr. Bessant's Home Rule Bill adopted by the I.L.P. in England and read once in the House of Commons, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's book on the Indian Constitution, the Draft Constitution of Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar and Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar, two ex-presidents of the Indian National Congress, and that of Mr. Ranganaswami Aiyangar have all been published and they all support the idea of a Supreme Court. Mr. Motilal Nehru himself has in the draft Constitution which bears his name given his support to the institution.

The Simon Report and the Dispatch of the Government of India treated the federation of India as a far-off ideal and did not provide a federal court for India. At the Round Table Conference the Princes surprised everybody by their assent to the idea of federation not as a remote ideal but as one immediately capable of a fair measure of realization. A federal court became at once an essential part of the new Constitution. The Lord Chancellor therefore took it for granted. The question then arises as to whether this federal court should or should not also be a supreme court of appeal from all the Indian High Courts.

Sir Amberson Marten, the retired Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, in a paper read by him before the East India Association on the 10th of March last, urged the conclusion that "for a federal India, a Federal Supreme Court was desirable and it should be a final Court of Appeal from the High Courts in India, subject in some exceptional cases to a further appeal to the Privy Council."

It must be added however that at the recent Madras Advocates' Conference held in Easter last, Mr. Ranganachariar, a public man of the front rank and the leader of the Nationalist party in the Assembly, showed the greatest reluctance to the transfer of appellate jurisdiction from the P. C. to a Supreme Court. Notwithstanding this hesitancy of some of the men of the older generation, there is clear and unmistakable indication that opinion is overwhelmingly in favour of a Supreme Court taking over the appellate jurisdiction of the P. C. It is needless to add that the Madras Conference was unanimously except for Mr. Ranganachariar's hesitation) in favour of it.

On the whole then it may be taken that the idea of a Federal Supreme Court is no longer likely to be a subject of controversy or serious dissent in Britain or in India. If there should be any differences, it can only be in regard to details.

Gandhi and Economics

In the *Calcutta Review* for July Mr. R. Sreenivasa Acharlu estimates the service of Mahatmaji in a machine-ridden world.

Gandhiji has spiritualized economics as he has spiritualized politics. Said he, "Whereas religion to be worth anything must be capable of being reduced to terms of economics. Economics must also be capable of being reduced to terms of religion or spirituality." (Y. M. C. A. speech). It must represent years of meditation and communion with suffering and Human Nature. In his scheme of Religion-cum-Economics, as he terms it, there is no room for exploitation. His ideal is that Capital and Labour should supplement each other. They should be a great family living in unity and harmony. (VIII. 34.) Spiritual economics based on faith in God, Truth and Love, of humanity teaches us that men in charge of machinery will think not of themselves or even of the nation to which they belong, but of the whole human race. (VII. 38.)

By a stroke of good luck, India may to-morrow send sales of fine textiles to Britain and other countries of the world and commence a chapter of wrongs and exploitation. She might thus wreak vengeance on history but would never save her soul. Her culture and her philosophy of Ahimsa point to a different moral. Her material progress must be based on the religion of humanity. What sublime economic principles are laid down in Gandhiji's statement, "I want India's rise so that the whole world may benefit, I do not want India's rise on the ruin of other nations." (VII. 11.) This is not narrow nationalism but universalism of the purest type.

Summing up, from the purely *paramarthika* point of view, Gandhiji considers machinery an evil and a curse, while from the *vyavaharika* point of view, he regards it as an inevitable necessity. But a machine is only a means for the progress of humanity and must be based on the ideals of Truth, Ahimsa and Love. It must be simple, life-giving, educative, creative, humanitarian and spiritual. Gandhiji has discovered one such machine—*The Spinning Wheel*.

Revision of Insurance Law

Revision of insurance law is a necessity, maintains the *Insurance World* in the face of the refusal of Sir George Ranney to the representation to the same effect. Writes the Editor:

In reply to our criticism with regard to the apathy of the Government in the matter of the revision of the existing insurance law, we have received a communication from the Government of India enclosing a copy of speech delivered by the Hon. Sir George Ranney, at the annual meeting of the Federation of India Chambers of Commerce and Industry held at Delhi in April last. The main point emphasized by Sir George was that there was no ground for emergency action in the matter of amendment of the Insurance Act. Proceeding he said that "any bill to revise and

re-enact the Indian Insurance Act would, I am afraid, be highly controversial and Government certainly felt that the atmosphere of the last twelve months was not a suitable atmosphere for undertaking legislation of that kind, because the controversial questions which would arise being the racial character and involving the whole issue of what is and what is not unfair discrimination are precisely the question which have come for consideration at the Round Table Conference." He further remarked that "these questions so far as the Government of India are concerned have been taken out of our hands for the time being and they will be settled in one form or other at the R. T. C." He had given an assurance that when this settlement has been reached the way will be cleared to take up the amendment of the Insurance Act.

It is quite clear that there is a wide divergence between the standpoint taken by Sir George Ranney and the point of view of the Federation. The former is obsessed with the idea of protecting the policy-holders while the latter representing the interests of Indian trade and commerce has put forward a more comprehensive demand, namely, the protection of Indian Insurance.

In the last issue of the *Insurance World* we have pointed out the defects of any scheme to protect the policy-holders only. The demand of the Federation is more reasonable and if the same is conceded it will ultimately benefit the insurer as well as the insured. But now that the Government have definitely decided not to take up the question of revision of insurance law till the R. T. C. has concluded its deliberations, we ask our countrymen attending the said Conference to take up the cause of Indian Insurance and fight for same. In the last issue we have already referred to the Protocol agreed upon at the International Conference on the Treatment of Foreigners held under the auspices of the League of Nations. We hope the Indian delegates would not surrender the privilege India has been entitled to under the said Protocol.

Education and Law and Order

An interesting sidelight is thrown by Prof. J. W. Gregory, LL. D., D. Sc., F. R. S., in the *Khalsa Review* in discussing the problem of Indian education and unemployment. We are amused to read:

Education in India is a factor of the highest political importance. According to the deliberate judgment of competent authorities learning has been longer and is more highly honoured in India than in any other country in the world, and on no other people has education a more direct and more powerful influence. Yet its existing higher education is widely condemned as mischievous and demoralizing. The Indian Universities are denounced as raising a race of unemployed and unemployable malcontents who are a hindrance to progress. Twelve years ago it was my lot to visit India as a member of the Commission for the Reform of Calcutta University. Before leaving this country I was emphatically warned by people of long Indian

experience that the Universities were such a menace to law and order, and such a danger to the country, that they had better be allowed to drift into inefficiency, and that it would be a serious mistake to improve these nurseries of disaffection and discord.

So impressive were some of these statements that I was glad of the opportunity that was afforded me to inspect the records of the Bengal police regarding the part played by the educational institutions in the political agitation of the pre-war years and especially as to their connection with the acts of violence for which some of the students had forfeited their lives. The testimony of the police was emphatic, that the students involved in this movement and in seditious crime came not from the University, but from the Middle Vernacular schools, which received no Government grant and were not under Government control. Many scholars entered Calcutta University with political views inculcated in those schools, but most of them soon settled down to their new work and lost interest in political agitation. According to the police reports, only the university failures supported the campaign of criminal sedition and dacoity. The testimony of the police was that the educated classes had been the most effective supporters of law and order, and had shown the fullest appreciation of the benefits of British administration.

Even today boys in High Schools, emotional and incapable of forming balanced opinion because of their youth and ignorance, perhaps are easily won over, to the methods of violence, and do not for obvious reasons easily give up what they imbibe then. But, the police perhaps are no longer sure of the University graduates. Science students and research scholars, we are told, are objects of their suspicion. They 'like' such educated men.

Origin of Art and Culture in India

In an interesting paper read at the last Patna Session of the Oriental Conference (published now in the *Tara-Bharati Quarterly*), Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji traced the various strata of Indian art, and summed up the whole history as follows:

If we were to trace the various strata of Indian Art, we could pose the following:

(1) The Pre-Aryan Art of India, connected with Pre-Aryan religion, earliest relics found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, suppressed or submerged during the centuries of Aryan supremacy in religion and culture, or perhaps existing in a flourishing state with the old religion side by side with Aryan religion and culture, and coming to its own probably in the middle (or first half) of

the first millennium B.C. with the re-establishment of non-Aryan cults and ritual and religious and philosophical notions in later Hinduism (Yaksha cults, Tree-deities *Chaitils*, Siva and other Hindu Gods, Yoga practices, *pyga* ritual: seals with animal figures, terra-cotta figures, copper figures, stucco portrait statues). This Art at its base seems to be connected with Sumerian Art.

We do not know what art the Austro people possessed; but it is quite likely that some elements of architecture and decorative art in India, South-Eastern Asia and Indonesia originated with the Austrians.

(2) Some rudimentary art, mostly borrowed from Assyria and Babylonia, as brought in by the Aryans: probably images in wood and clay and metal, and a little wood-carving, with some Assyrian motifs. (This is rather problematical).

(3) The Art of Aryan Persia—its own eclectic formation, with elements from Assyrio-Babylonian Art, and Egyptian, Asia Minor and Ionian Greek Art. This exerted a profound influence on a blend of (1) and (2) which was probably taking place during the middle of the first millennium B.C., and the result was—

(4) The first crystallized expression of an Ancient Indian National Art, in which the mixed Aryan and Non-Aryan people shared, in Maurya and Sunga times. Beginnings of Indian iconography.

(5) Advent of Greek influence, (a) Gandhara—remaining outside the Indian pale, a thing apart—unassimilated with the Indian tradition: (ii) absorbed Greek influence, leading to the strengthening of (4), which became more refined and more urban in

(6) Mathura (Kushana) and Amaravati (Andhra) Art of the early centuries of the Christian era.

(7) Development of (6) through free working of the native Indian spirit, and permeation of Indian philosophical and religious conceptions, into Classical Gupta Art, on which the subsequent art history of Hindu India was broad-based.

(8) Development of Gupta Art into mid-mediaeval and late mediaeval local schools: Pallava (with elements from the earlier Andhra Art of the South), Rashtrakuta, Pala, Orissan, Western and Central Indian, etc., etc.

(9) (7) and varieties of (8) pass into Indo-China and Java, where modified by the local native character and contribution, this is transformed to Hindu Colonial Art of South-Eastern Asia: to wit:—

(a) Mon and Burmese, (b) Khmer, (iii) Siamese, based on Khmer, but with modifications and refinement by contact with the Siamese race: (iv) Cham, with important modification, (v) Javanese: (a) Early or Hindu-Javanese (b) Middle Javanese, with an increase of the Indonesian character, and (c) Late Javanese, with still greater Indonesian influence. (vi) Balinese Early, Middle and Late, agreeing with Javanese.

(10) The Buddhist Art of Serindia, China, Korea and Japan in which (5)(ii) and (6) meet with fresh influences from Persia (Sasanian Art), and later on is further modified by (7) and varieties of (8). There is also profound modification by the native art and spirit of China.

Position of Women in Turkey To-day

By MRS. NILAMA DESAI, B. A.

TO estimate properly the exact position which women in Turkey have acquired to-day, we must turn back to the past, to the Turkey of Sultan Abdul Hamid. Only then can we have a true perspective of the vast changes that the Revolution has brought about in the lives of our Turkish sisters.

At the time when English women had just embarked on their fight for equality with men, having fully realized their strength and capacities for even the hardest job in life, during the Great War, women in Turkey were still enshrouded under their veils; Turkey, till then known as the Sick Man of Europe, had just begun to work out her political liberation and had no definite plans for the emancipation of her womanhood. Women had no status, either social or political, in society. They could not move out of their houses alone. If they did, that was always in a group, like so many moving black bundles, seldom speaking to anyone or even amongst themselves; they almost looked like silent spectres. They could not dare accompany their menfolk who moved about only with their kind or at times with European women. In the home, it was even worse. They were secluded in the harem which was sure to be not the best portion of the house. There was a mighty screen of entire separation standing between and dividing the two sexes. The almighty veil, the scourge of womanhood, was there, and denied to them the vision of the world outside. The veil was made of thick canvas and it completely hid their features. Besides, it entailed a number of physical discomforts; it was hot and uncomfortable, causing severe pain in the eyes by sudden exposure to the sun when thrown back and giving rise to a sort of squinting habit. Yet on no account was the veil to be discarded. Abdul Hamid was the most orthodox of the Sultans, and whatever little freedom women had gained during the time of his predecessor was lost to them during his regime. Polygamy was permissible. The law allowed the man the

privilege of divorcing his wife whenever he liked by simple words of repudiation, and taking to himself another one. Women were like slaves or rather mere chattels of the household—whose only goal in life was to find and keep good masters for themselves. They had no freedom in marriage and were given away in marriage to any man irrespective of age, culture, education and opinion. To dream of economic independence when such were the state of things would be nothing but a ludicrous dream.

There was very little of female education. The girls were not allowed to be educated in schools. They received their training, whatever it was worth, at home under the seclusion of the harem. Rich families, however, kept European governesses for their daughters, who thus indirectly came in touch with a culture diametrically opposed to their own. Some girls could speak and read French well, and this also initiated them into a wider outlook of life and gave them some idea about the conditions prevailing in other countries, gradually giving birth to a feeling of discontent and revolt in their hearts. A sort of self-consciousness as the creatures of a new era dawned on them. This new generation of girls comparing their lives with those of their sisters in Western lands, saw their degradation and realized the true nature of their status. The tortures of the harem and the antislavery institution of polygamy, with its paraphernalia of hate and jealousies—the ruin of a happy and peaceful home, gnawed at them.

Indeed, to summarize the situation, we might say that women of Turkey in those days were suffering from a terrible mental torpor and were surging with an inner feeling of revolt—a longing to free themselves from the shackles of social and economic bondage, which they dared not express but could not entirely stifle, and consequently a wide gulf separated them from their mothers.

It was the Revolution, the birth of a New Turkey, that brought the question of women's emancipation to the forefront. The young leaders realizing that with their women tied

down to the age-old traditions of social bondage, they would not be able to work out their country's liberation, tried to tackle the problem in a liberal spirit and saw with a deep foresight that education was the premier requisite in securing the liberation of women. Schools were opened and women like Halide and Nackie Hanoum played an important rôle in moulding the future of their unlucky sisters and in bringing forth a new awakening. Yet this was a far off way to the realization of the lofty ideal that the Young Turks had set before them.

Women did not avail themselves of the opportunities offered to them. The majority was against any sort of militant and radical attitude similar to that displayed by their European sisters; moreover, there was the extreme fanatical opinion to be coped with. Orthodox opinion was to be won over first before any progress was made. The Revolution brought to the Turkish women the right to travel freely. Turkish diplomats began taking their wives to other countries on the Continent and some adventurous spirits among women themselves went on their own initiative to Europe to see and study things for themselves. Needless to say, the ultra-radical movements prevalent on the other side of the Dardanelles and Bosphorous did not meet with their entire approval. The veil was no doubt discarded once for all in Turkey, and women began to enjoy the blessings and joy of a free and unhampered life. But at home all was not well, there was very little of progress. The Ulemas had succeeded in strengthening the public opinion against the discarding of the veil, citing the Koran in its support; the true spirit of the scripture was misjudged.

Then came the war. This offered a fresh opportunity to the Turkish woman to show her mettle. In the great national calamity, the Turkish women played their rôle very creditably. They took a very leading part in helping the distressed. Public health, education and child-welfare were all women's spheres of work, and they readily shouldered the responsibilities for these. The leaders of the feminist movement encouraged all these stray efforts. Meetings were held and there men spoke strongly in favour of women's emancipation. There was a very slow and what seemed to be rather a discouraging

response to this appeal, but at last it seemed that their efforts would not be in vain. Women gradually adapted themselves to their new responsibilities and began to take an active part in all progressive movements. But this was a mere beginning. To free the women completely from their shackles, there was only one specific remedy, a fiat from the existing Government. But how was that to be secured? The Government was confronted with strong opposition on every side—the orthodox Ulemas, the old Moslem tradition, the Imperial family, and the existing laws. All these had to be encountered and the Government had neither the strength nor the power to defy Islam and carry out their bold policy. It required daring and strong conviction, combined with a tenacity of purpose, to attain the goal, and it was left to Mustafa Kamal Pasha to handle the situation and deal the final stroke to fanaticism and bigotry. A new era had dawned. Mustafa Kamal Pasha was determined to carry out this bold policy and he was aided in his work by the prestige he had gained by becoming the country's saviour.

By a stroke of the pen the veil was banished from the land for ever. Women were given the right of free and unhampered movement. A new status was given to her both socially and politically on the nation's statute. She became economically independent and was on a footing of equality with men. A radical change was also made in the marriage laws. The girl chooses her own life partner instead of "being given away," and divorce is only permissible under the strict adherence of the Swiss Code, which was made compulsory in Turkey. The courts of law and not the whims of a man decided henceforth such a grave issue. This was an indirect blow to the harem system. Girls were allowed to attend public schools and co-education was advocated. This was a distinct step towards democracy. New Turkey required her sons as well as her daughters to bear this responsibilities, and the farsighted policy of Mustafa Kamal Pasha made Turkey what it is to-day. The women look upon their past as a shadow which has disappeared for ever. All shackles are broken and they are doing all they can to justify their newly acquired freedom.

The Music of the Atoms

A New Application of Sir C. V. Raman's Scientific Discovery

A very interesting application of a scientific discovery of Sir C. V. Raman was recently demonstrated in America. On April 17 last Dr. Donald H. Andrews of Johns Hopkins University played the hidden music of alcohol and other chemical substances in a Science Service radio talk over the nation wide network of the Columbia Broadcasting System, at Washington.

The music of the spheres, which up till now existed entirely in the poet's imagination, said Dr. Andrews, is being approached in a tangible way by recent developments in science and indeed was actually transposed and played by him as chords and runs on the piano in the course of his talk.

Sir Chandrasekhara V. Raman of Calcutta, India, has recently given physicists a new way of listening to, or really seeing, the music of the atoms.

The Raman spectrum, said Dr. Andrews, shows us that a molecule, such as one unit of water, is really a little musical instrument, much like a harp, playing its own characteristic tune.

"Of course you do not hear it if you hold a glass of water up to your ear because the tune is pitched many millions of times higher than the highest note on a piano or violin," Dr. Andrews said. "In fact, it is

really light and not sound that is given off. By photographing this light, however, we can detect the notes that are present, and can transpose them to a lower frequency just as you shift a chord from the top to the bottom of the piano. In this way the atomic music can be brought down to a range where we can hear it, and play it on any familiar instrument."

The chords of water, grain alcohol, wood alcohol, chloroform, benzene, gasoline, sulphuric acid were played in turn by Dr. Andrews.

Alcohol had rather a sweet-sounding chord, but chloroform, like wood alcohol, was harsh. Gasoline gave a very modernistic chord extending over the entire range of the keyboard. Benzene was rather melancholy. Sulphuric acid was also very modern.

The spectra or chords of several hundred different chemical compounds have been photographed and analysed.

These experiments also provide much new material for the musicians if they care to use it. Dr. Andrews closed his talk by playing a piece composed by Abram Moses, formerly of the Peabody Institute of Music in Baltimore. The composition was based on the chords of water, grain alcohol and wood alcohol.

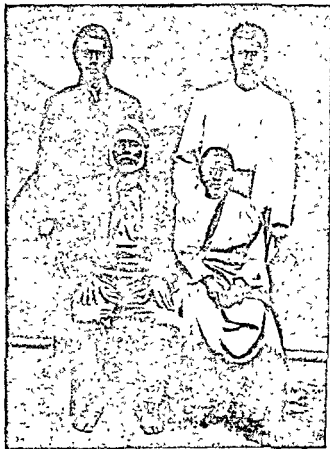
INDIANS ABROAD

This month, we shall suspend the usual monthly survey of overseas affairs to take into consideration the report on the emigrants repatriated to India, under the Assisted Emigration Scheme, from South Africa, issued by Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Swami Bhawani Dayal Saanyasi. This document is extremely painful reading and humiliating to the last degree for the people of India. It is not that Indian leaders and publicists are not taking sufficient interest in the fate of thousands of their fellow-countryman in the dominions and colonies

of the British Empire. As a matter of fact, this is one of the sorest spots in the Indian political consciousness. But it does sound incredible that after the publication of stories of such agonizing suffering, a suffering which the authorities of the other parts of the British Empire have done nothing to spare our unfortunate countrymen who have put themselves in their power, and the people and the Government of India have done nothing to alleviate, a wave of indignation should not have swept over the country and called for justice to these men.

The story of this repatriation of Indian emigrants from 1893 is well-known, and the problems, too, are perhaps as old as that date. There are three definite stages in the relationship of the emigrated Indian with the Natal Government. In the first, the South African Government pursued what has been aptly called a system of compulsory repatriation from 1895 to 1913. In the twelve years from 1902, when the Act 17 of 1895 imposing a tax of £3 annually on any Indian residing in Natal at the end of his term of indenture, became operative, the South African Government got rid of 32,506 Indians. Mahatma Gandhi's *Satyagraha* movement brought this system to an end, and the second stage is marked by the scheme of voluntary repatriation which continued for another twelve years from 1914 to 1926. The purpose of the Indian Relief Bill of 1914 was nothing else than eradication of the "Indian cancer," and 20,384 Indians returned from South Africa between 1914 and 1926. They gave up their right of domicile in exchange for the free passage (altogether costing the S. A. Government till 1926, £39,334), and they could never return to South Africa again. This second stage, too, ended and we are witnessing from 1927 the third stage in the policy which is known as "Repatriation under the Assisted Emigration Scheme" or the Cape Town Agreement. A bonus of £20 for every adult and £10 for each minor offered by the Union Government in addition to the cost of passage on behalf of each and all leaving the colony is a generous proposal. The promise of the S. A. Government to receive back any repatriated colonist returning within a period of three years on repayment of the bonus, the cost of passage, etc. looks still more generous. The scheme fulfilled at first all the expectations of the Union Government, but soon there was a fall in the number of people availing themselves of such a generous scheme, and the decrease caused, writes Sir K. V. Reddy, the Agent to the Government of India in South Africa, in his report for the year ending 31st December, 1929, "the greatest anxiety both to the Agent and to the Union Government." But is the repatriation of the emigrated Indian no ground for anxiety at all to any one on earth? "Out of a total of 7,500 returned emigrants (under the Assisted Emigration Scheme) only 73 or 74 have been able to return to South Africa again,"

writes Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi in his report, "It is certain that most of these repatriated emigrants will return to South Africa if they had the means to do so." This definite statement is based on the results of the enquiry made by the Swami himself into the condition of these returned emigrants, and his experiences and conclusions are supported by those of Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi and others who have studied the problem of the returned emigrants for a very long time.



Colonial-born children with their father who walked a distance of 2,500 miles and reached at their birth-place Natal, but were immediately arrested and deported to India. They had left Natal under voluntary repatriation scheme.

The problem is neither new nor unknown. The voluntary repatriation scheme ending in 1926 proved disastrous to the unfortunate colonists who availed themselves of it, and Mr. Andrews who at first lent his support to it, soon repented of the step. Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi finds that the repatriated colonists raise the same problems as the returned emigrants



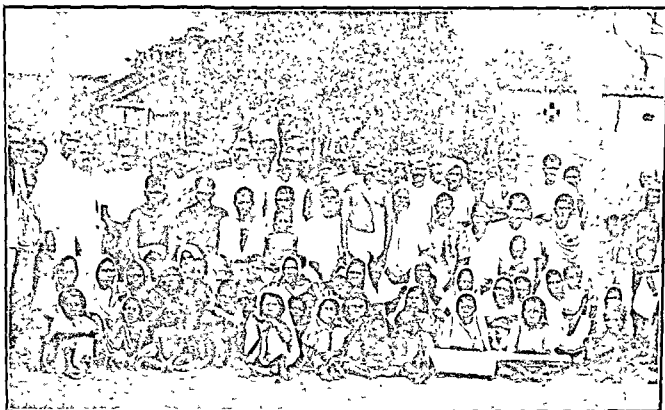
Some repatriates in Madras returned from South Africa under the Assisted Emigration Scheme

from other parts of the world to the Indian soil. The problem may be stated in as few words as its importance would allow. Many of the repatriates belong to a generation who have grown in the colony, were born and brought up there, and are used to the climate and conditions of life obtaining there. For them, the colony is in every sense the mother country, and in India they are in the midst of an alien people and in an inhospitable climate. To the others who left the shores of their mother-country many years ago, this land no longer appears as that land of plenty, offering a cheap livelihood, as they left her decades ago. Moreover, uprooted from the native soil, they have given up in the colony the old caste prejudices, and entered into marital and other social relationships which their own community in India would never tolerate. Wistfully as they returned to their villages, they were driven away, for they could not fit in with the social structure of the village community. Naturally, such a class of old repatriates or their colony born children are the victims of adventurers who hang about them from the port dock to the industrial slums where

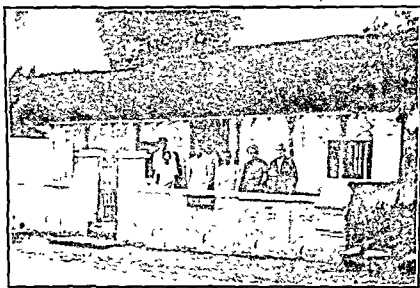
they finally drift. The bitter social apathy or antipathy of their countrymen is counterbalanced by the still bitterer economic ruin. The life they have been used to in the colonies offered a higher standard than that they are forced into in India. The colony born had better opportunities of educating himself in the colony, could expect a more remunerative job, and a higher standard of living. In India they have to forgo everything like that. Life is more merciless to him here, physically because of an uncongenial climate, socially because of a society in which he is a misfit, and economically because he is offered a lower remuneration and a lower standard of living.

How do they then fare in India? Let some concrete instances, culled from the report of Panditji and Swamiji, tell what no language can adequately bring home.

More than forty years ago, Gopal Chamar of Dhanbari, Dt. Basti, left his village with his wife for Natal as an indentured labourer. They had a child of six months named Guljar. Gopal worked for five years under indenture and afterwards as a free labourer in Natal. By his thrift and industry he was able to save some money and took fourteen *bighas* of land on lease. He grew maize and



The Victims of the Assisted Emigration Scheme in Calcutta



Natal House, Madras

Opened by the Government of India to provide shelter to decrepit Indian immigrants repatriated from South Africa under the Assisted Emigration Scheme

tobacco and was able to support his family which had by this time become fairly large. In 1927 Gopal was tempted by the bonus of £ 20 per adult and £ 10 per child to leave South Africa for India. Let Guljar, the eldest son of Gopal, tell the remaining story :

"I told my father to go alone and leave me along with my five brothers and the children in Natal, but he insisted, with the result that all of us had to leave Natal. We knew Mr. Sorabji, son of Kaka Rustomji personally and he told us not to leave Natal, but my father paid no heed to his

warning. None of us knew anything about the state of affairs in India with the exception of my father, who, however, imagined that things would be as cheap in India as they were when he left India forty years ago. Of course I had no idea of my motherland, for I was only six months old when I accompanied my parents to Natal. My brothers, their wives and children and my own family are all colonial born. We arrived at Madras and from there we went along with a guide to Calcutta. This guide took two rupees from each one of us. Neither at Madras nor at Calcutta did any one ask us if we wanted any work. From Calcutta we went to Cawnpore. Our father left us there and went to his village to see his relatives. He returned from there after fifteen days a broken-hearted man and died shortly afterwards. When he was on his death-bed he called us together and said, "Now there is no hope of my recovery. What will happen to you is my only anxiety. What a great blunder I made in bringing you all here," and he began to weep. We consoled him and told him that it was our own *karma* that had brought us here and he need not be anxious about us; he must depart peacefully. After our father's death we stayed for some time in Cawnpore and then left for Calcutta. Since then we have been living at Ghusrri near Howrah. We have spent all the money that we had brought and are penniless now.

It is very difficult to get any work here. In Natal I used to get Rs. 22 and a half with rations and my wife used to stay at home comfortably and look after the children. Now she, too, who had never worked as a labourer in Natal, has to labour hard in a jute mill. We get Rs. 2 and annas eight per week, but the mills do not work more than two weeks per month. The result is that we do not get even sufficient food. Once, or sometimes, even twice a week we get no food at all. Two of my brothers are dead and the unfortunate widows have to work hard in the mill to keep themselves alive. I have lost a nephew, who was ten years of age. We have got considerably indebted and I have to pay interest at the rate of one anna per rupee per month (i.e. 75 per cent per annum). We had never imagined that we shall have to lead such miserable lives in India. Had we only known about the real conditions in India we would have never dreamt of leaving Natal."

I saw Guljar and his family crowded in two rooms. They were more than sixteen or seventeen—men, women and children. One was suffering from some skin disease, another was down with malaria, while the third had another disease. It was so difficult to realize that they once belonged to Natal, for they were now so different from the healthy colonial born children of South Africa. They had the same old tattered clothes on their bodies which they had brought from Natal. With their very much limited means they could not get new clothes made for themselves here. These children recognized me and there was a gleam of joy in their eyes. They met one from their motherland, for Natal was really their motherland, their parents and themselves having been born there. They laid their bodies bare and pointing out their skin diseases told me "Look here, that's what we have got in India." They look forward to the day when they will be able to return to Natal. That day will never come.

A Natal returned emigrant who had left his wife and children in the colony, was robbed of all his money on his way from the steamer to the station by adventurers, a large number of whom are to be found in big cities like Calcutta. Being thus left penniless, this man was ashamed to go to his village and drifted to Matlabur. Here he has kept a Fiji-returned woman and has two children by her. Being without any employment he is on the verge of starvation. There are women deserted by their husbands and husbands whose wives have run away with other people.

There is a widow named M., who has eight children and who arrived from South Africa in May 1929. The eldest child is only eighteen years of age. M. sold away the right of these unsuspecting children for the petty sum of £10. each. She deposited Rs. 700 with the Special Officer, keeping a certain sum for expenses. In July, she withdrew Rs. 100, in August Rs. 150, in October Rs. 250 and in November Rs. 100. In December when I reached Madras she had only Rs. 100 in her account with the Special Officer and she had already insisted for the payment of that sum many a time. The children must be starving now. Of course, their return to Natal is almost impossible.

Sunbhagam, a young girl who was born in Natal, came away from South Coast Junction with her husband and a child of one year. The child died soon after their arrival in Madras in 1928. The husband also died shortly afterwards. She was now all alone. The bonus money had been almost spent, only Rs. 13 remaining out of it.

'Anywhere out of India' is the cry of the returned emigrants. Mr. Andrews was struck with it, and Pandit Benarsidas also met with the same cry. It has been repeated for years by each and every one of them whether from Fiji, Trinidad or British Guiana. It rang in the ears of Swami Bhawani Dayal Saanyasi, himself a Colonial born as he toured from Bombay to Bihar, to Calcutta and its suburbs, Howrah and Matlabur, and to Madras to acquaint himself with the conditions of his brothers from overseas. But no way is open to them. The repatriate colonists can not be happy except in the colonies—their homes—, they maintain; and all who have studied the question, from Mahatmaji and Mr. Andrews to Panditji and Swamiji, are convinced of this. But can it be arranged for? The former Voluntary Repatriation Scheme left no room for such efforts. 20,384 men were condemned to live in India. Let us cite the case of two such men:

Muni Gadu left South Africa with his three colonial born children—two sons and one daughter—under the voluntary repatriation scheme. Muni Gadu had left India when he was only a child and he could not trace his house or his family in South India. The climate of India did not suit these people because they were acclimatized to South Africa. He, therefore, left India with his sons Narayanswamy and Amasha Gadu and the

daughter. They managed to reach Dar-es-Salaam and from there they wrote to the Union minister for leave to enter Natal. This was refused. They therefore decided to tramp and eventually reached Mkuzi in Zululand. Tramping a distance of 2,500 miles is not an easy thing. But they took all these terrible risks of walking on foot on sands and through forests to enter their land of birth, for Narayanswamy, Amasha and their sister did not know of any country but South Africa. As soon as they reached the border of Natal they were arrested, prosecuted, declared prohibited immigrants and ordered to be deported to India. They knocked from pillar to post but no one heard their tale of woe. The courts declared that they had no right to open the case.

About four years ago, one man named Ramnath came to my house, Pravasi-Bhawan, in Bihar and told me that he was in great trouble and would commit suicide if he could not return to Natal where he had left his wife and children. Ramnath had left India for Natal with his mother when he was only an infant and he was practically like a colonial born Indian. I tried to console him. But what consolation could be offered! He had sold away his right of domicile in Natal and there was absolutely no possibility of his ever being permitted to reside there. I gave him a letter of introduction to Raja Sahab of Saryapura and asked him to give up all hope of returning to South Africa. But Ramnath was not to be deterred from his purpose. He reached Beira in Portuguese East Africa and walked all the distance of three to four thousand miles to see his wife and children in New Castle! The police got the news. Ramnath was arrested and deported to India!

Of the 7,600 and more who have returned under the Assisted Emigration Scheme, and all of whom pine for the colonial home, not more than one per cent has been able to regain their Union domicile. The bonus, the passage, etc., they can never earn in the period of three years of grace granted to them for the purpose. So, Swami Bhawani Dayalji warns us: "You can meet these Narayansamies and Ramnaths all over India—scores of them are to be found in Matlaburz and Howrah."

Has the Government of India done anything for them? It is to be remembered that the indentured immigration "was promoted and controlled by the Government and was at no time a voluntary and spontaneous movement of the Indian population." Yet, when the Union Government were throwing the people away as squeezed lemon's, the Government of India were indifferent. Wars have been fought between peoples on such issues. Even under the Cape Town Agreement the emigrant filled an explicit form which contained the following sentence:

"Hindustanki Sarkar Hindustan janewale Hinduonka sragata karneki ryavastha karengi aur jo lok kam karna chahata hoga unko kam dhundh dengi."

In the day of disillusionment the repatriate can nowhere see this helping hand of "Hindustanki Sarkar." Their callousness, dilatory methods and re-daptism would not allow them to mitigate the sufferings of a people whom they have allowed to be ruined by a cruel and treacherous Power whom they are always too eager to accommodate.

'The cry anywhere out of India' is a sufficient indictment of Indians as well. The vocal element in Indian political life is alive to their sufferings of their brothers from overseas, but so far they have made no great attempt to make the conditions of life suitable to such emigrants. If the village communities could be made more tolerant, life would be bearable to the new-comer, and in a few years, even the colonial born could be absorbed. But if the Colonies have barred and bolted their doors, we too have not flung open ours. Here is room for service for the public worker. Nearer at home, Matlaburz is a dark spot on the Swarajist Municipality of Calcutta, and the suggestions of Swami Bhawani Dayal on this particular area can be carried out without much difficulty. Nor are the conclusions of Swamiji at all unreasonable or revolutionary. They are simple, moderate in tone and straightforward, and may be summed up in the words of Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi as follows:

I. Under no circumstances should any repatriation of colonial Indians be encouraged.

II. It is most difficult for the returned emigrants to settle in India happily.

III. 'Colonial born' Indians will not be happy except in the colonies. This statement of Mahatma Gandhi is quite true and it is a sin to offer any temptations to the colonial born to leave the colonies.

IV. Those who have married in the colonies should not think of coming to India to settle here for there is little possibility of their being taken back into their respective social organizations. Marriage of their children will be an insoluble problem.

V. From the economic point of view it is very disadvantageous for colonial Indians to come to India. Certainly they are much better off there.

VI. So long as India is not herself free to manage her own affairs she is not in a position to give any material help to her sons overseas.

VII. Under no circumstances should our leaders or the Government of India be a party to any compromise with the South African or any other colonial Government which has for one of its objects the repatriation of colonial Indians.

VIII. I can quite realize that, in spite of all our warnings, a number of colonial Indians will still return to India entirely of their own accord. We have a duty to perform towards them. To use Mr. Andrews's words "they must on no account be allowed to go to destruction in the slums of Calcutta and Madras."

NOTES

The Congress Solution of the Communal Problem

The Working Committee of the Congress has prepared a scheme for the solution of the communal problem and suggested its adoption by the whole country. The Hindus of the Panjab and Bengal have not adopted it. These Hindus are the most affected by the scheme and their representatives have subjected it to detailed criticism. But this fact need not, as it certainly will not, make the members of the Working Committee anxious. If the communities in the Panjab and Bengal who have not approved of the scheme had been of the Muhammadan persuasion, the committee might have found reason for reconsidering the scheme.

Mahatma Gandhi has written in *Young India* :

"I do dare to ask the Hindus to accept this scheme because it is charged with the blessings of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Sir Madhavrao Aney, not to speak of the other Hindu members of the Working Committee."

But the question is, of how many "communally-minded" Hindus in the Panjab and Bengal are Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir Madhavrao Aney and the other Hindu members of the Working Committee the conscience-keepers. We should also like to know what efforts were made by the Working Committee to study the situation in those two provinces and to ascertain and conciliate the opinion of those Hindus there. It may be that most of the Hindus in these provinces are "communally-minded" and the Hindu members of the Working Committee are "nationally-minded". But the Working Committee gave a hearing not only to "nationally-minded" Muhammadans like Dr. Ansari but also to "communally-minded" Muhammadans like Maulana Shaukat Ali. For this reason the Committee would have been both logically and tactically right if it had given a hearing to "communally-minded" Hindus also.

It may not be utterly irrelevant to mention in this connection that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya took the leading part in putting into proper shape the statement on the coming constitutional reforms issued by the Working

Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha on behalf of the Mahasabha in March last from New Delhi—a statement which, though issued by a communal body, continues to be the most national, most non-communal and most democratic yet issued by any representative body in India. One will have to ascertain, therefore, whether the Pandit was more national or more communal at Delhi in March than he was at Bombay in July.

"As Nearly National As Possible"

The Working Committee states that its suggested solution, though communal in appearance, is yet as nearly national as possible and generally acceptable to the communities concerned. That it is communal in appearance is obvious. To us, it is also evident that it is *not* generally acceptable to the Hindu communities in two big Hindu minority provinces—though that fact may not count. We can neither assert nor deny that the scheme is as nearly national as possible, because the possibility has reference to the standard of compromise of the Congress Working Committee and to its power of pushing the compromise to the nearest possible verge of nationalism. The Committee has declared its readiness to accept a better compromise scheme, in the following words :

"The Working Committee has adopted the foregoing scheme as a compromise between the proposals based on undiluted communalism and undiluted nationalism. Whilst on the one hand the Working Committee hopes that the whole nation will endorse the scheme, on the other, it assures those who take extreme views and cannot adopt it that the Committee will gladly, as it is bound to by the Lahore resolution, accept without reservation any other scheme if it commands the acceptance of all the parties concerned."

We have no doubt that this declaration has been made in all sincerity. But it is futile, nevertheless. The reasons are obvious. The Congress is the only large representative organization which is non-communal in its declared ideals. No other organization is in a position to carry on *pourparlers* and negotiate with communal organizations. So,

who is to prepare an alternative or rival scheme? Moreover, it is difficult to attach any definite meaning to the words, "if it commands the acceptance of all the parties concerned." The Congress scheme itself does not command the acceptance of all the parties concerned. And, circumstanced as India is, it is impossible to frame a scheme which would command the acceptance of all the parties concerned—particularly as one does not know what parties the Working Committee has in view.

Pros and Cons of the Congress Scheme

Law-court fans and readers of newspapers are familiar with the habit of cross-examining counsel demanding that witnesses should reply either "yes" or "no" to questions asked, even though in many cases it may not be possible to give such monosyllabic answers. Devout followers of the Congress are at present in the mood to demand of all and sundry such monosyllabic answers to the question, "Do you approve of the Congress solution of the communal problem?" We are not in a position to give any such answer. Not that our inability to do so matters in the least. For we have no party, big or small, powerful or weak, at our back. We represent only ourselves. Monosyllabic answers being out of the question, we propose to make a few comments on the Congress scheme.

We have said before that the most non-communal, national and democratic manifesto on the constitutional reforms so far placed before the country is that embodied in the Hindu Mahasabha statement of March last. All other schemes are more or less communal. But we gladly admit that the Congress scheme is an improvement on all previous communal schemes. We shall now take the different sections and clauses one by one.

1. (a) The article in the constitution relating to Fundamental Rights shall include a guarantee to the communities concerned of the protection of their cultures, languages, scripts, education, profession and practice of religion and religious endowments.

This clause has our approval. Our only comments are two. There is no anticipation here of the need of the growth of a common Indian culture, nor the corresponding provision therefor. All our scripts may in future have to be scrapped and a scientific one adopted. We hope this

clause will not stand in the way of such adoption.

(b) Personal laws shall be protected by specific provisions to be embodied in the constitution.

This also has our acceptance. The personal law of both Hindus and Muhammadans allows polygamy on the part of males. Will this clause stand in the way of making monogamy the law of the land, as it is in all western countries and as it has been recently made in Turkey? So far as Hindu women at any rate are concerned, the laws of inheritance are unjust. Will this clause make it very difficult, if not impossible, to amend such laws? We find it stated in Webster's Dictionary, "The conception of *personal law* is common to races in the early stages of civilization, as the ancient Romans and the natives of India to-day; the conception of territorial law is a modern European development." We hope this development will not be considered bad because it is European.

(c) Protection of political and other rights of minority communities in the various provinces shall be the concern and be within the jurisdiction of the Federal government.

This is unexceptionable.

2. The franchise shall be extended to all adult men and women.

(Note: The Working Committee is committed to adult franchise by the Karachi resolution of the Congress and cannot entertain any alternative franchise. In view, however, of *misapprehensions* in some quarters the Committee wishes to make it clear that in any event the franchise shall be uniform and so extensive as to reflect in the electoral roll the proportion in the population of every community.)

We are against the indiscriminate adoption of adult franchise. But, considering the state of communal suspicion and bitterness to-day, we reluctantly agree to its adoption. As regards the alternative of making the franchise uniform and so extensive as to reflect in the electoral roll the proportion in the population of every community, there are several doubts. A uniform franchise may not reflect a communal population proportion. Which is the essential condition, uniformity of the franchise, or making it so extensive as to reflect communal proportion in population? And if both cannot be secured, which is to be sacrificed? Moreover, it is possible to choose a qualification for the franchise which will give some communities proportionally more voters than its population ratio. For these reasons, adult

franchise is the simplest and best under the circumstances.

3. (a) Joint electorates shall form the basis of representation in the future constitution of India.

This has our entire approval.

(b) That for the Hindus in Sind, the Muslims in Assam and the Sikhs in the Panjab, and N.-W. F. P. and for Hindus and Muslims in any province where they are less than 25 per cent of the population, seats shall be reserved in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures on the basis of population with the right to contest additional seats.

It will be remembered that at the Lucknow Muslim Nationalist Conference, it was resolved that for Hindu and Muslim minorities in all provinces who are less than 30 per cent of the population seats shall be reserved in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures on the basis of population with the right to contest additional seats. This was meant to exclude the Bengal Hindus (43.27 per cent of the population according to the census of 1921) and the Panjab Hindus (30.84 per cent of the population according to the same census) from the advantages of the resolution. *The People* of Lahore and others have stated that it is believed that at this year's census the Panjab Hindus have been found to be less than 30 per cent (about 26 per cent) of the population; and so to exclude them somehow from any advantage, Dr. Ansari in his presidential address at the Bengal Nationalist Muslim Conference changed "less than 30 per cent of the population" to "less than 25 per cent of the population," and this proportion has been accepted by the Congress Working Committee. It is to be regretted that the Congress has made itself a party to this palpable and deliberate dodge to deprive the Panjab Hindus of an advantage.

This reduction of less than 30 to less than 25 per cent has obliged the Working Committee to mention particularly some communities in some provinces. Let us take some examples. The Muslims in Assam are to have the aforesaid advantages. In 1921 they were 28.96 per cent of the population and they are now most probably much more, as several lakhs of them have emigrated to Assam from the Bengal district of Mymensingh. In 1921 the Panjab Hindus were 30.84 per cent of the population, and now they are believed to be somewhere near 26 per cent. Taking these facts into consideration, can it be argued that advan-

tages which Assam Muslims should have, can be justly or logically withheld from the Panjab Hindus? Sindh Hindus (including Arya and Brahma Samaj people) have had to be specially mentioned, because in 1921 they were 25.48 per cent of the population. If 25.48 per cent in Sindh can have some advantages, is it fair to withhold them from the Panjab Hindus, who are at present believed to form only 26 per cent of the population?

It is in fact unfair to deprive any considerable communal minority of any advantage which is given to any other considerable communal minority. In Bengal the Hindus are a minority, though a big minority (43.27 per cent). But its bigness may not be able to protect it from Muhammadan electioneering onslaughts. For, in some districts in the elections to local bodies, the Hindus have either secured no seats at all or only a very small number of seats, out of all proportion to their numerical strength in the district. Of course, if no communal minorities in any area were to be given any advantages, Bengal Hindus would not ask for any special provisions for themselves. But if communal minorities anywhere are to be given advantages, it is not right to withhold them from Bengal Hindus.

Though the demand of communal Moslems that the Muslim community should have 33 per cent of the seats in the Federal or Central Legislature, has not been acceded to by the Working Committee, yet the clause under comment may practically bring about the same result.

4. Appointments shall be made by non-party Public Service Commissions which shall prescribe the minimum qualifications, and which shall have due regard to the efficiency of the Public Service as well as to the principle of equal opportunity to all communities for a fair share in the public services of the country.

This section is an improvement upon the corresponding Lucknow Nationalist Muslim conference resolution and the corresponding provision in Dr. Ansari's Faridpur presidential address. The suggestion about non-party Public Service Commissions is good. In the course of a speech at a subjects committee meeting of the Hindu provincial conference at Burdwan, Mr. Madhavrao Aney explained the prescription of the minimum qualifications to mean nothing more than similar prescriptions in the case of competitive examinations, for example, where it is laid

down that candidates must have passed at least the Matric, the B. A., or some other examination: that does not mean that candidates of higher qualifications are to be excluded. If this is the correct interpretation, it should be formally stated. Dr. Ansari's corresponding provision demanded that appointments *shall be made* according to a minimum standard of efficiency. As that was in the mind of a Muslim Nationalist like Dr. Ansari, a formal interpretation of section 4 would not be superfluous, and would set apprehensions at rest. Provided that is done, the remaining words of the section would be innocuous.

5. In the formation of Federal and Provincial Cabinets interests of minority communities should be recognized by convention.

This we consider to be against the principles of responsible democratic government. The choosing of any persons to be members of cabinets simply because they belong to a particular minority community or command its confidence, though they may not command the confidence of the House, is a bad form of communalism.

6. The N.-W. F. Province and Baluchistan shall have the same form of government and administration as other provinces.

7. Sind shall be constituted into a separate province provided that the people of Sind are prepared to bear the financial burden of the separated province.

The N.-W. F. Province can very easily have the same form of government and administration as other provinces by being tacked on to the Panjab, without any extra cost. N.-W. F. P. formed part of the Panjab before Lord Curzon's days. Since its separation, it has been a deficit province, crores upon crores having had to be sunk in it. The population of this province is less than that of some Bengal districts. Yet it must have a separate Governor, Legislature, etc., at the cost of the Central Government, which means at the cost of the other provinces, who are all crying out for more revenue for "nation-building" departments.

The constitution of Baluchistan into a separate "Governor's Province" is an astounding absurdity. This British province has a population of 426,468! Just think of these few people having all the paraphernalia of a Governor's province, and that at the expense of the other provinces!

The proviso about being able to bear its own burden, attached to Sindh separation,

ought to have been attached to the section relating to N.-W. F. P. and Baluchistan also. As regards Sindh, it should have been laid down that the different religious communities there are to bear their share of additional taxation in proportion to their numerical strength. It is not just that the Musalmans are to call the tune and the Hindus are to pay the piper for the most part. Even at present, the Sindh Hindus pay most of the taxes.

In the course of his eulogium on the Working Committee's scheme, which production we have not been able thoroughly to grasp and therefore to appreciate, Dr. Munje has said in effect that as Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram of Sindh, a Hindu member of the Working Committee, has accepted the separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency, the Doctor cannot oppose it unless and until Sindh Hindus have pronounced their opinion on it. They have recently done so, against separation. Quite accidentally, when we were searching the other day for some other papers, we came across a small pamphlet entitled "Separation of Sindh: why it is inadvisable," by Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram, M. L. C. We make two extracts from its last two pages, 7 and 8.

The greater the number of Indian provinces and the smaller their size, the easier it is for the Government of India to stimulate provincial rivalries and set one province against another and thus retain its bureaucratic power. Apart from this, the constitution of numerous and increasingly autonomous provinces on linguistic and cultural bases involves serious risk of accentuating differences and disintegrating the nation.

It is my conviction that if India were to-day a self-governing nation and its relations with its western neighbours from the Hindukush to the Arabian Sea were not of the best, it would be regarded as a great strategic blunder to break up India's western frontier into small bits of puny autonomous governments like those suggested for the N.-W. Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Sindh. I would keep these strategic frontier tracts attached to large provincial governments and thus not only improve our arrangements for national defence but also give to the people of those tracts a larger share of the benefits of a reformed government by association with large provinces than they can hope to enjoy under a separate existence in view of the accepted policy of differential treatment to minor provinces and backward tracts. Any redistribution we effect now under the present feeling of security cannot easily be undone when we have our own national Government, for territorial readjustments are never the work of a day.

We have now come to the last section of the scheme, which runs as follows:

The future constitution of the country shall be decided. The residuary powers shall vest in the federating units, unless, on further examination, it is found to be against the best interests of India.

We have so often given our reasons for opposing the vesting of the federating units with residuary powers, that we do not propose to do so again now. We want only to point out that section 1, clause (c), taken with section 8 printed above, may not conduce to smooth working.

All compromises like the Congress scheme should be for a definitely fixed short period. But in the Congress scheme no such period is mentioned.

We are not opposed to any and every compromise. But to be acceptable, a compromise ought to be based on some uniformly applied and applicable principles, which the Congress scheme is not in all its parts.

In the League of Nations Minorities Treaties, there is no reservation of seats in legislatures for minorities. In this respect the Congress scheme goes against what may be rightly considered the collective political wisdom of most of the free nations of the World.

It is a good feature of the Congress scheme that it does not favour the perpetuation of communal majority rule in any province.

The Federal Structure Sub-Committee

Additions have been recently made to the membership of the Federal Structure sub-Committee. But whilst communal Muhammadan representation has been strengthened, not a single Nationalist Muhammadan has been nominated to it. This shows the Government's bias against Muhammadan nationalism and prepossession in favour of Muhammadan separatism.

The "representation" of women in the Round Table Conference has been from the start very inadequate. This defect ought to have been remedied. We do not know whether more Indian ladies will be nominated to the Conference, but obviously Mrs. Sarojini Naidu ought to have been nominated to the Federal Structure sub-Committee; as, besides being the most famous Indian lady in the political field, she has personal knowledge of both Indian India and British India.

Whilst there is more than adequate provision for the presentation of the communal Muhammadan viewpoint, such provision in

the case of the communal Hindu viewpoint has always been and continues to be utterly inadequate. So far as the Federal Structure sub-Committee is concerned, even in the enlarged sub-Committee there is no one to place before it the Hindu Mahasabha point of view.

But perhaps the most glaring and the most unjust omission is that not a single subject of any Indian State has been nominated to the sub-Committee to place before it the Indian States' people's point of view.

The States' People's Week

The General Secretaries of the Indian States' People's Conference have published the outlines and programme of the celebration of the Indian States' People's Week, from which we make the following extract :

It has been decided to celebrate the first week of August as the States' People's Week in four provinces of Kathiawar, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Bombay. The second week of August will be celebrated in the States of Rajputana and Central India, the third week in the Punjab and Orissa States and the fourth week in the South India States. The programme for the week will be the enrolment of members of the Conference and getting signatures of the peoples of the States to the mass-memorial to be submitted to the Congress President. Meetings will be held, if necessary, to propagate the objects of the Conference, explain its resolutions and support its minimum demands. A manifesto has been prepared by the authorities of the Conference which invites support from the public opinion of the world for the legitimate demands of the people of the States. The manifesto will be signed by all prominent workers of the States' People and will be distributed broadcast. A mass memorial has been drafted which supports the demands of the Conference for the fundamental rights of the people of the States to be embodied in the future constitution of India, for the provision of an appeal to the Federal Court for any breaches of these rights and for the representation of the people of the States directly by election on the Federal Legislature. This memorial is to be addressed to the President of the Congress and will be signed by hundreds of thousands of people residing in, and hailing from, States. The provincial offices are making arrangements to enlist members of the Conference from States under their respective jurisdictions. The services of devoted volunteers have been requisitioned by the central office for the purpose of celebrating the Week.

This celebration is a very timely move, and deserves the active support of all friends of the Indian States.

The Panjab States' People's Conference

Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar was arrested at the Panjab States' People's Conference, for the offence, we must believe, of indulging in an oral controversy with the Magistrate as to whether the conference was or was not a public meeting! The Sardar said that it was not, as admission was restricted to those who had obtained cards for the purpose; whereas the Magistrate, who wanted to enter and make others enter without a card, was of a contrary opinion.

The Conference was subsequently declared an unlawful assembly and dispersed, on the alleged ground that there was apprehension of a breach of the peace. Who were feared, or rather expected, to be the peace-breakers, we are not told, though that is the essential point. In order that the dispersal of a meeting may be legally justified, it should be shown that its organizers and members are or are likely to become an unruly mob whose intention is to break the peace. If any opponents of theirs, whether hired or not, seek to create a disturbance, it is the duty of the police and the executive to enable the organizers of the meeting to carry on, not to disperse it. If this rule were not followed but its opposite, every meeting, however peaceful and harmless, would lie at the mercy of hooligans, of the official or non-official variety.

Mr. Amritlal Thakkar of the Servants of India Society, affectionately called 'Thakkar Bapa' [Father Thakkar] in his province for his character, beneficent achievements and age, was chosen to preside at this conference. In his very ably argued and soberly worded address, he showed that the Princes have made no sacrifices by agreeing to join an All-India federation.

This is no longer a matter of controversy, for the memorandum prepared by the special organization of the Princes' Chamber admits this in terms. To those princes who feared lest their joining the federation would involve too heavy a sacrifice of their sovereignty, the memorandum gives the assurance in private, which however has been made public by an enterprising journal in Bombay, that the federal list of subjects which has been drawn up by the Sankey Committee contains not a single subject over which the states exercise any kind of control at present. The memorandum, therefore says to the ruling princes in effect: "No doubt we have ourselves indulged in a grouse at the Round Table Conference that the Federation cuts too large a hole in our sovereign powers, but their exalted and unexalted Highnesses would be very much mistaken if they took this seriously and refused to come into the

Federation. All this lament about sacrifice at the Conference was meant for the consumption of British India, so that British India would not force upon them the democratic ideas which it hugs to its bosom. Our talk served its purpose too; with its aid we were able to resist any inroads upon our real internal sovereignty which some of the British Indian politicians would otherwise have made, and we shall enter into the Federation now without the least impairment of our powers."

Mr. Thakkar believes that "the federation

that is now proposed not only does not make the princes give up any powers which they possess at present, but makes it possible for them to obtain a share in the control of matters which they have already surrendered to the Government of India for administration."

This would not be a matter for concern to the people in the States, if the new powers secured to the states would be exercised by popular representatives instead of by the autocratic rulers. But both the chambers of the federal legislature are, in so far as the states' representatives are concerned, to be composed of their nominees, if the princes so choose, which means that the princes and not their subjects will be the beneficiaries of the great improvement that will come about in the position of the states as a result of federation, the people of the states remaining just where they are.

Mr. Thakkar desires, as all modern freedom-loving men must, that the states' representatives at the federal legislature should be elected by their people. He has shown convincingly that the Princes would lose nothing by such a method. He has also shown that, if the states' representatives were not chosen by their people, not only would the States' people be handicapped in their struggle for liberty, but that nomination by the Princes would be equally hurtful to the interests of British India and galling to her self-respect. Responsibility at the Centre in the Sankey type of federation would in practice be no responsibility at all. Mr. Thakkar, therefore, urges the representatives of British India at the Round Table Conference to insist in an unflinching manner upon the election of the States' representatives by the States' people.

The People of the Indian States do not desire the federal idea to be frustrated. All that they desire is "that the federation should be of the genuine type:

(1) that it should comprehend not merely subjects which the princes no longer control, but all subjects of real all-India concern;

(2) that elected representatives of the people should sit in the federal legislature;

(3) that fundamental rights of citizenship should be guaranteed by the federal constitution and should be enforced by the federal judiciary:

(1) that residual powers should vest in the federal government and not in the governments of the provinces and the states ;

(5) that the federal government should exercise rights of paramountcy over the states' governments so long as these are not brought under popular control.

An Indian Airman

Birajmadhav Gupta, a young Indian student, who is now studying mechanical and electrical engineering at Hamburg in Germany, joined the North German Flying Club and learnt aviation there. He has



Birajmadhav Gupta and his colleagues
Birajmadhav is seen at the extreme left

now won this institution's preliminary certificate as an airman and has been permitted to wear its gold-crested cap.

Tagore Week in December Next

The Tagore Septuagenary celebrations committee has decided to celebrate the Poet's completing the 70th year of his crowded life during the last week of December next in a manner befitting and bringing out his many-sided genius and achievements. There are to be two literary conferences in Bengali and English, dealing with the poet's contributions to literature, a musical conference with demonstrations of Tagore's songs, staging of a Tagore play, presentation of addresses

and a purse to the poet, a garden party to meet the poet, a *Rabindra-Jayanti Mela* or Tagore Septuagenary Fair, consisting of an Exhibition, Amusements, Sports, Games, Athletics and Popular Lectures, and publication of the "Golden Book of Tagore" and a similar volume in Bengali.

At the Exhibition arrangements are to be made to exhibit Rabindranath's paintings; available manuscripts of his works; different editions of his works; translations of his works in many different languages of the world, which would fill many shelves; works on Rabindranath in Bengali, English, French, German and other languages; portraits, sketches and photographs of the poet at different periods of his life and of his activities during his tours in the East and the West, gifts and presents to the Poet from different countries of the world, which would be a unique collection of great interest; works of arts and crafts by the students of *Kala-Bharan* (Arts College), *Sri-Bharan* (Women's College), and *Sri-Niketan* (Rural Reconstruction Institute) of Visva-Bharati; Bengali art products and artistic home industries, old and new, collected from the entire province; and pictures of the Bengal school of painting.

Sir J. C. Bose, the President of the celebrations committee, who is now the oldest personal friend of the poet living, has suggested that the committee should publish a volume of selections from his poems to be selected and illustrated by the Poet himself. Should Rabindranath Tagore agree to and be able to carry out this proposal, it would be a memorable production.

Rabindranath's Birthday in Paris

Institut de Civilisation Indienne of Paris celebrated Rabindranath's 70th birthday at a meeting attended among others by some of the most distinguished authors, savants and citizens of France. The signatures of many of those present at the meeting who have sent their greetings to him can be easily made out; for instance, those of S. Charl  ty, Comtesse de Noailles, Madame L  vy, Sylvain L  vy, A. Foucher, Mme. Foucher, Jules Bloch, Paul Pelliot, Ivan Stchoukine, etc. It is interesting to note that Madame L  vy has signed her name as *Didi-ma*, because when she was at Santiniketan with her husband Prof. Sylvain L  vy, she was called *didi-ma* (grandma) by

the little children there. The Indian ladies and gentlemen present at the meeting have signed their names either in their vernacular

scripts or in Roman script. These can be made out by their friends and relatives in different provinces of India.

S. Charley
~~John de Madras Asiatic Society~~

~~Livingstone~~

J. H. de Madras

Alie Berillon

Lucie Berillon professeur honoraire au Lycée de Madras

Yvette de Madras

Marjorie

Wm. G. de Madras

Myra de Madras

Eug. de Madras

Mr. de Madras S. R. de Madras

Winifred de Madras

Marie de Madras

De Madras

de Madras

Madras

Madras

Madras

Madras

L. Rama Krishna



Maurine York

Jules Road

विज्ञानमय प्रकाश

Deep Marayan Singh

Dea Singh

[Popkum

Jayaram

Jules Bloch

Paul Pellier

A. Cully

M. Cully

Home Journal

Living Umbria

Akshanguli

W. W. W.

W. W. W.

W. W. W.

W. W. W.

J. C. Labrousse

G. W. W.

J. C. Labrousse

W. W. W.

W. D. D. D. D.

Arinash Nayyar

A. P. W. W.

W. W. W.

Miss Mathu Ketzar

W. W. W.

W. W. W.

Ivan Stehaukine

J. C. Labrousse

W. W. W.

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Georgette Dean

Margot Oijey

Juliette Roche.

Michael J. Orack

Marguerite Cox.

H. Lemelle.

Bisshun Shumshere

Gorb Palanj Tarapouala.

G. Schille (Bates) Hersch

J. H. Schille

R. Berthelot

M. de Birkman

J. van Baarda (Batesia)

Leitend van Baarda

E. Muruyean

B. Tulin

J. Krummenger

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माइती लेवी

L. Hornburger

Rene Mideing

M. H. H. H.

G. Chalon

G. Chalon

H. Bond (Chon)

H. Bond

Schedar

H. B. Mest

J. Mest

Classe de Saint Remy

Kajjo Tchikaw

G. H. H.

Ogawa H.

(C. H. H.)

(H. H. H.)

Bisshun Shumshere

माइती लेवी (Batesia)

M. H. H.

Y. H. H.

Y. H. H.

Y. H. H.

Y. H. H.

Files of Old Bengali Newspapers

Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji, with whose historical researches and contributions the readers of the *Modern Review* are familiar, is now engaged in writing a history of the Vernacular Press in India. He will be very much obliged if any reader of the *Modern Review*, who happens to possess the files of the following newspapers, will kindly allow him to consult them:

1. Sumachar Durpun (1840-41; 1851-52)
2. Sumachar Chundrika
3. Sambad Provakar
4. Gyananweshun
5. Sumbad Bhaskar
6. Education Gazette (1856-60)
7. Hindu Patriot (1853-56)
8. Somprakash (first 3 years)

An Explanation

Sister Nivedita's articles in this and the July number of *The Modern Review* having been printed from unused MSS. in her own hand, we did not suspect that they had been previously published. But we regret to be informed that "The Ship of Flowers" has been published in her "Studies from an Eastern Home," and the article in our current number, in *Prabuddha Bharata* for March, 1929. We apologize to the publishers of that book and that periodical.

Disturbances in Indian States

Recently there have been sanguinary disturbances in several Indian states, such as Kashmir, Pudukotta, Junagadh, Mysore, and Rewa etc. These are greatly to be regretted. Their real causes may not be easy to discover in every case. But not only in very recent times but earlier, many of these disturbances may have been brought about by that modern Goddess of Accident who amuses herself by falsifying, by all available means, the statement of Indian publicists and the claim of Indian princes that there is no communal problem in the Indian States.

In Kashmir the disturbances were demonstrably due to the activities of mischief-mongers who had gone to that State from the Panjab. In Pudukotta, the earlier disturbances are stated to have been due to heavy taxation. The more recent troubles there were due to a Kallar-Muhammadan conflict

in a village in that State. The Kallars are a Hindu caste there and are heavily indebted to the Mussalman money-lenders. Islam forbids usury. But Peshawaris in and outside Calcutta in Bengal are among the worst usurers in the country. Evidently, they have their duplicates in the Southern Presidency.

Over and above some immediate and exciting cause or other, it is most probable that the disturbances in the Indian States are due to the general discontent among the people there. Such discontent may or may not be directly political or administrative in their origin. But in the last resort indigenous governments, if not foreign governments too, are responsible for social and economic maladjustments also, particularly when they are autocratic. For, if autocrats can do whatever they like for their own pleasure, why can't they do what they like for making all classes of their subjects enlightened, prosperous and happy?

Agrarian Troubles in U. P.

At a meeting of *Lisans* (cultivators) held on the 20th July last in Pindra (Jahsil Benares), Babu Purushottamdas Tandon said:

A government carried on in the interests of the people would not tolerate such a huge waste on the army and the administration and would not continue the existence of a social structure which was based on glaring inequality and injustice. He was not an enemy of landlords. He wanted them also to co-operate in the attainment of Swaraj. They should entertain no fears, but they could not be allowed to oppress the tenants and to monopolize all the good things of the earth. They should be cheerfully prepared to make sacrifices that would help in their own moral uplift, while benefiting their poor countrymen.

Low prices of grains had made it impossible for the tenants to pay the rents in full. As a matter of fact, in a large number of districts non-occupancy holdings had become entirely uneconomical. The price of the total produce was insufficient to meet the cost of cultivation.

Mr. Tandon then referred to the reports of enquiries into the alleged oppression practised by landlords and Government servants in several districts. This was an intolerable state of things and could not be allowed to continue long, but pending a readjustment of revenue and rent and while the truce lasted, he exhorted the audience to carry out the directions given by Mahatma Gandhi and the Provincial Congress Committee. He advised non-occupancy tenants to pay at least one-half and occupancy tenants to pay at least three-fourths of the rent for 1930 *fasli*, but he made it clear that, if they paid so much, they could demand receipt in respect of the whole rent of the year.

A non-official resolution relating to the agrarian situation in the U. P. was moved last month in the U. P. Council by Rai Rajeswar Bali in an able and lucid speech.

The demand for a committee to determine the principles on which rent and revenue should be readjusted was accepted by the Finance Member on behalf of the Government. But he opposed the first part of the resolution that any consideration should be shown to the zamindars in respect of their revenue payments for 1338 *faski* which has just now ended. No division was, however, challenged when the resolution was declared carried by the deputy president.

In the course of his speech Rai Rajeswar Bali said:

If the zamindars had not been able to collect even half of their demand, the question was whether it was fair that the Government should insist on payment of the whole of their revenue. During the budget session the Finance Member had accepted a formula that the Government would not make an attempt to collect more than a fair and reasonable proportion of the collections made by zamindars as land revenue. If the assessment was 45 per cent with the cesses, a zamindar could not be reasonably expected to pay the full demand out of his 50 per cent collections leaving only 5 per cent for himself. After all they had establishments and many expenses which were not personal. All their obligations could not be met out of the 5 per cent left to them.

As president of the Zemindars' conference at Rae Bareilly, the same speaker observed:

Forces of lawlessness and disorder got the upper hand in some districts; and people who posed as Congress volunteers openly attempted to excite the mob mentality against the zamindars. At some places, the zamindar's property was threatened with destruction, at others, violence was openly preached against him or his Karindas; and in my district one zamindar and one Zuleidar were actually murdered. The zamindar was to be openly insulted and he was to be disobeyed even when he asked the villagers to extinguish a fire which had broken out in the neighbouring village and which was imperilling the lives and property of their own people. The local Congress Committees let loose forces which they could not, and in most cases would not, control, and that the zamindars were generally more the oppressed than the oppressors.

We have tried to give above some idea of the tenants' and the landlords' versions of the case within the limits of our space. Impartial men belonging to the United Provinces may be able to ascertain by extensive touring who are most to blame for the present situation—the kisans, or the zamindars, bearing in mind all the while the fact that the world economic depression which has affected the whole of India was not brought about by either party in particular. Outsiders like

ourselves may be allowed to make only a few general observations.

In the present crisis the landlords may not have been able to make adequate collections from the tenants in the U. P. or other provinces of India. But it will be conceded that their income in normal years leaves a margin for savings. Hence, they ought to be in a position to tide over difficulties in abnormal years. If any of them have no savings or are in debt in addition, the profligacy or imbecility of themselves or of their ancestors may be mainly responsible for that deplorable fact. Profligacy and imbecility cannot, however, demand charitable consideration.

As regards the tenants in the U. P., it is difficult to say definitely what small percentage of them is generally above and what large percentage is below the margin of subsistence. But it appears to be a fact that even in normal years they are just able to exist. Hence in abnormal years it should not be a matter for surprise if they reach the limit of patience or if their friends among the intelligentsia are not able to hold the balance quite even between them and the landlords. Not that we advocate or extenuate any deliberate bias or partiality, or zamindar-baiting. What we mean is that it is normal human benevolence to lean towards the hereditary drudges rather than towards the hereditary idlers.

Temperamentally and as a matter of reasoned conviction, we are against methods of violence. But landlords in India, as elsewhere, must choose between two alternatives—being bought out or being pushed out; for land nationalization is looming on the not very distant horizon.

Retrenchment on the Railways

The attitude of the Government towards industrial disputes in the past has generally been that of unconcerned spectators, whatever loss, trouble or inconvenience they might cause to the public. Hence the decision of the Government of India to appoint a court of inquiry to consider and settle the differences between the Railway Board and the All-India Railwaymen's Federation in relation to the question of retrenchment on the railways, is a welcome departure. This decision ought to have come much earlier than now, earlier than

the railwaymen's threat of a general strike. The successful working of all undertakings depends partly on the contentment and alacrity of the workers. They should not, therefore, be driven to the stage of using threats of any kind. Moreover, what is done under pressure is not as graceful and dignified as what is done voluntarily. This may have been one of the reasons why the Labour Commission has suggested that "there may be a case for the appointment of a tribunal even if there is little danger of disturbance and no clamant demand for action on the part of the public."

Public services in India are notoriously top-heavy. The higher officers are paid too much and the lower too little. The railways are no exception to the rule. When, therefore, retrenchment becomes necessary, the obvious and just thing to do is to reduce the salaries of the higher officers to a sufficient extent for such period as may be necessary. The "Lee concessions" should go at once. But the railway authorities had proposed to dismiss 30,000 men. This may imply that they had been, for years, paying wages to 30,000 more men, at least to thousands of more men, than were absolutely necessary to work the railways. This is hard to believe. Supposing, however, that owing to the slackness of traffic and consequent reduction of the number of trains, due to economic depression all over the world, some reduction in the establishments may be effected without loss of efficiency, why the reduction should be effected only or mainly among those who live from hand to mouth rather than among those who live in comfort, nay, even in luxury and can save something for the rainy day, it may not be hard to understand, but it would not be easy to justify. As the dismissal of 30,000 workers must mean taking away the bread from the mouths of some 120,000 of their dependents also, such a thing should never be done unless proved to be absolutely necessary. Jobs are not going abegging in British-ruled India, that so many men can be sent adrift in a nonchalant manner.

We should like to know the terms of reference of this court of inquiry.

Equality for N.-W. F. Province

It has been stated repeatedly by officials and non-officials alike that the people of

the North-Western Frontier Province want the same form and kind of government and administration as the "Governor's Provinces" would have. With this desire we have every sympathy. This desire can be fulfilled in two ways: one, by giving their Province the status of a "Governor's Province" with all its paraphernalia; the other, by amalgamating it with the Panjab. The report of the North-Western Frontier Province Subjects Committee states that "a common view expressed before us by the non-official witnesses was . . . that, if the Central Government were not ready to grant a subvention that would place the inhabitants of the province in respect of government activities on a reasonable equality with the Panjab, they had no objection to re-amalgamation with the Panjab." But it would appear that the Government of India's recent heavy borrowings in London at high rates of interest were a myth. It would also seem that all talks of retrenchment and the peripatetic retrenchment committee's activities, too, were perfect myths. What is a fact is that the coffers of the Government of India are full to overflowing, after meeting all the various requirements of the people of British India, and that, therefore, that Government is anxious to make the N.-W. F. Province a full-fledged Governor's Province by giving it a permanent annual subvention of one and a half crore of rupees. Hence the idea of re-amalgamation with the Panjab has not been seriously considered.

The latest political maxim would appear to be, you may call the tune but need not pay the piper, provided you are what you are.

We have a shrewd suspicion that, as the Congress had at Karachi and recently again at Bombay agreed to the constitution of the N.-W. F. P. into a "Governor's Province," and as the people of that province had clearly manifested pro-Congress tendencies, the Government could not afford to be outdone by the Congress in generosity to that region—albeit at the general taxpayer's expense!

Mahatma Gandhi and Fine Textiles from Lancashire

It is said that Mr. Horace Alexander has expressed a hope that if Mr. Gandhi could be shown the misery in which Lancashire textile operatives of the mills which export goods to India, live, he might agree to

allow Lancashire to sell the finer qualities in the Indian market, as Indian mills do not produce similar things. We have no such hope, or rather, fear. Mahatma Gandhi knows that India does not want any foreign textiles at all, whether fine or coarse. There was a time when we made all the fine and coarse textiles we required, and we shall be able to make them still. It does not, moreover, require greater intelligence and patriotism than the Mahatma fortunately possesses, to perceive that the fine stuffs of Lancashire would displace some of the coarse stuff of India.

"Lead us not into temptation," Mr. Horace Alexander, with your fine stuff.

The Aga Khan and Lancashire

Maulana Shaikat Ali's threat that if the Hindus would not accept his terms, he would conclude a treaty with the English (had he not done so already?) and make arrangements for selling their cloth, has not been forgotten. An English public 'servant' of India has written that as the Hindus had resolved not to trade with Britain, Britain should trade with Moslem India through the Moslem port of Karachi. This bears a family likeness to Sir Muhammad Iqbal's demand that there should be a Muslim State in India which would include Sindh, Baluchistan, N.-W. F. Province and the adjoining districts of the Panjab. Now comes the news that the Imam of a mosque in London has announced that a company has been projected to sell Lancashire goods in India with His Racing Highness the Aga Khan as its great patron and director. Long live H. Rac. II's patriotism and statesmanship!

Bengal Jute Bill "Killed"—

though there was no bloodshed.

By 61 votes to 18 the Bengal Council rejected the motion of Dr. N. C. Sen-Gupta to refer the Bengal Jute Bill of 1931 to a select committee.

The British group and the Moslem group combined with the Government in opposing the motion, with the result that the Bill was 'killed.'

The object of the Bill was to secure the regulation of the total area of land cultivated with jute through the agency of union boards according to the directions of a central board to be set up for the purpose.

The Minister in charge opposed the motion, as, in his opinion, the bill was impracticable. He further suggested intensive propaganda in rural areas

for the purpose. The Minister asked the hon. member to wait, as the Government of India had taken up the question of setting up a central committee which would be charged with the duty of looking after the interests of the jute industry from the field to the factory.

The British group represent those who want to make money by buying raw jute cheap, and the Moslem group are supposed to represent the jute-growers (most of whom are Moslems) whose interest lies in getting a proper price for their produce by limiting the area to be cultivated according to the demand. So there ought not to have been any unholy combination between the two groups: but in fact there was.

As for the bill being impracticable, it was not beyond human ingenuity to make it "practicable" through a properly constituted select committee. As regards intensive propaganda, can the Minister hold out any hope that the propagandists will not be treated as H. M.'s guests in Buxa Fort? Lastly, as regards the proposed central committee, it is expected that, if it materializes, it will favour the factory rather than the field.

Bengal State Aid to Industries Bill

The Bengal Legislative Council this afternoon passed the State Aid to Industries Bill 1931 introduced by the Minister, Mr. K. C. M. Faruqui. The object of the bill is to obtain statutory powers to enable state aid to be given for the purpose of encouraging the cottage industries. The Minister congratulated the House on the addition of the bill and stated that it would satisfy popular demand.

Yes, if the State actually gives money to honest and capable entrepreneurs.

The Best Protection for Minorities

In the course of a recent debate in the British House of Commons, Col. Wedgwood said:

The best protection for a minority is a vote on a common roll. What protects the Catholic minority here, what protects the Jewish minority here, is the fact that the Jews and the Catholics have votes for every member of this House. If the Catholics and the Jews had communal representation in this House, their protection would be infinitely less. I am perfectly certain that that is so, and that the ordinary Indian nationalist, knowing that to be so, asks for a common roll, not only because it is democratic but because it is, in fact, the best protection for minorities.

Allahabad and Calcutta Universities

Allahabad, July 22.

It is reported that the annual block grant of about Rs. 7,00,000 given by the Government to the Allahabad University, has been reduced this year by Rs. 51,000 in view of the financial crisis.

The Calcutta University Post-graduate Departments teach a much larger number of students than the Allahabad University. Yet the latter's *reduced* grant amounts to about Rs. 6,16,000. Calcutta would thank its stars if it could get this reduced sum.

Bengal Hindu Conference

The Bengal Hindu Conference, held at Burdwan this year, damned the Congress solution of the communal problem with faint praise in one of its resolutions, and passed one or two more political resolutions. But most of the resolutions, which were many, related to non-political subjects. The addresses of the Chairman of the reception committee and the President, both of the Vaishya caste, dealt mainly with non-political subjects. These are good signs. For, though we do not minimize the importance of Bengal Hindus occupying as influential a position in the legislatures as their education, ability, public spirit and services to the public, contribution to the public coffers, and numbers justify, it is mainly by their character, intellectual achievements, economic standing and social vitality that they can expect to survive and thrive and serve humanity.

It is to be noted that, though Burdwan is comparatively a sleepy hollow, the organizers of the conference showed commendable zeal.

"Will Gandhi Compromise?"

Rev. John Haynes Holmes, who is now in Russia, has contributed to *Unity* of Chicago, which he edits, an article with the above heading of which we got an advance type-written copy from Berlin. It begins thus:

It is disquieting to find, disquiet abroad many hearts lest Mahatma Gandhi be persuaded in the forthcoming Round Table Conference in London to compromise the claims upon the British, and thus in some measure give over the cause for which so many gallant souls have suffered and died in India. Those who cherish suspicions and

fears of this kind do little credit to Gandhi, and can have little real knowledge of the man. Yet are their forebodings at least understandable.

We do not think the Mahatma could or would compromise in any essentials, though he might rightly agree to some temporary "adjustments" in matters which are not essential. But let us hear the conclusion of the Rev. John Haynes Holmes.

It is to be remembered that Gandhi, by statesmanship as consummate as his heroism is sublime, has now led India to a position in which a man less strong than himself must hold out till what he asks is granted. For India is now committed to the cause of freedom, exactly as America was so committed in the Revolutionary War. After Lahore, and the Declaration of Independence, and the raising of the national flag, the nation cannot retreat even if she would. She has put her hand to the plow, and cannot look back. After all that has happened, all that has been proclaimed, all that has been suffered, India would become the laughing-stock of the world, and the contemptuous joke of Englishmen, if she should take less than what she has set out to gain. Worse than this, by any policy of compromise or surrender, she would become the shame of her own people. Her martyrs would cry out from their graves. The tears in her myriad prison-cells, the blood on her countless paving stones, would find tongues to clamour their reproach. If India is to survive at all, she must survive in spirit—worthy of her cause, faithful to her dream, whole in soul, if not in body. Of all living men to-day, the Mahatma must see and know this fact, and therefore will not forget it.

But not India alone but the world has issue here. There are some things that cannot be compromised. The freedom of a nation is one, for it is either free or it is not free. The soul of a people is another, for it is either true, or it is not true. The sanctity of a cause is still another, for it is either served, or it is not served. Gandhi has won the allegiance of millions of men and women outside his own country and thus untouched by his own nationalistic cause, through that higher cause of love, and non-violence, and soul force, which, alone in history, he has made so peculiarly his own. He is to-day the guardian of this universal cause of the spirit, as well as of the specific cause of India. When he sits at London, he will sit as the representative of the millions of his own land who see in him their liberation from subjection, but also of unnumbered millions in other lands who see in him their liberation from violence, and who see in him their liberation from death. Gandhi has taught mankind a better way of life. Can he make that way succeed, and therewith prove its worth? It is this which he must answer in London. And if he fails, the heart of the world will break!

Never in all history has one man faced so great a challenge as Gandhi must face in Britain. Never in all history has there been a man so fitted in mind and spirit to answer this challenge, and therewith save humanity. We pray for him who is not only India's but the world's Mahatma, because we trust him, and therefore would help him to stand fast.

Sir Victor Sassoon Leaves India

Sir Victor Sassoon, Chief of Messrs. E. D. Sassoon and Co., which is one of the biggest industrial and commercial firms in India, has decided to shift the scene of his business activities to China. In his opinion India in the near future will cease to be a suitable investing ground for outside capital. In China, on the other hand, the foreign business man is welcome and there is plenty to do also in that rejuvenated country. Of course the main cause of the "decadence" of India from the foreign business man's point of view is the current antagonism of Indians to foreigners. This may be due to the fact that, although India is tugging mightily at her chains, she is not yet free. This struggle has not made her attitude towards foreigners very sweet. But the history of India has always shown the Indians to be amazingly tolerant of foreigners and foreign institutions. The present dislike of foreigners, therefore, is the direct outcome of India's subjection. She has also been shamelessly exploited by her political lords in the economic way. That is why we find foreign *entrepreneurs* looked at with suspicion in India. One never knows who is who among foreigners in India. A missionary might be in secret harbouring military motives. A military man or a Government official may be secretly (or openly) helping the economic exploitation of India. A tradesman may be a believer in political oppression. This difficulty of distinguishing between the good and the evil type of foreigner has placed all foreigners under suspicion. When India becomes free, things may change greatly. There is every ground to believe that in a self governing India genuine commercial enterprise with foreign capital will not be hampered.

China is free and poor,—poor in economic skill as well as in capital. The days when she had to look through eyes of hatred and suspicion at all foreigners are over. It is therefore natural that the Chinese should find it to their advantage to get men like Sir Victor Sassoon to adopt their country as a business place. India first of all is industrially more advanced than China. Indians have had much more training in Commerce and Industry than the Chinese. Indians have also been far more exploited and hampered in their

progress by aliens. It is, therefore, unlikely that foreign business men will ever be so useful in India as they would be in China. Yet, with independence coming to her, India will present a less gloomy prospect to the Wandering Capitalist who prefers profit to politics.

Tariff Board in Bengal

The Tariff Board came to Bengal in the third week of July. They are now holding an enquiry into the paper and wire, wire nails and electric cable industries. They have visited and are visiting in connection with the paper industry the Titagur Paper Mills, the India Paper Pulp Company, and the Bengal Paper Mills in Bengal, the Upper India Couper Paper Mills in Lucknow and the Andhra Paper Mills in Rajahmundry. They are also taking evidence from the Paper Importers' Association, the Paper Traders' Association, and the Controller of Printing and Stationery.

There is a high duty on imported paper at the present moment. Indian paper mills are apparently protected by this duty to the extent that they produce varieties of paper similar to imported goods. The duty on such articles as do not compete with Indian mill-made goods is purely a tax on the consumer and an obstacle to the expansion of the printing and publishing industries. A lowering or the abolition of the duty where it acts as a pure tax may in the first instance greatly increase consumption of paper. Secondly, numerous men will find employment as compositors, printers, readers, authors, binders, book-sellers, etc., etc. An increase in the sale and publication of books and magazines will also be beneficial to the community.

Among imported goods which compete with home articles the question of reducing or abolishing duty will be more complicated. The main idea on which everything will converge is whether the Indian *paperwallah* really needs protection or whether he merely wants to take advantage of the duty to put up his price and indulge in high dividends and wasteful management. No doubt opinions will differ, but let us hope the Board will decide matters in favour of National economics and not Company shareholders.

Kesoram Cotton Mills Ltd.

We have received some samples of goods produced by the Kesoram Cotton Mills Ltd. of Calcutta. The mill originally belonged to Europeans and was called the Bengal Cotton Mills. It was started about 60 years ago. It came under Indian management about 12 years ago and is now managed by Messrs. Birla Brothers Ltd. It is incidentally the largest spinning and weaving mill in Bengal and has 90,000 spindles and 2,000 looms.

The articles produced by the mill are quite decent and appear to be made with an eye to strength and durability. There are also some knitted articles, socks, *genzies*, etc., which are produced by the knitting department of the mill. In point of price the mill produces goods which can be purchased with ease by the poor. We believe the idea of mass production of cheap and durable articles of wear is economically as well as morally sound in these hard days. We hope the mill will stick to this policy.

This Propaganda

When one reads what interested Britishers have to say on the vileness of the propaganda carried on by the Indian Press, one feels as if the Indian Press were particularly obnoxious in the matter of false propaganda. But anti-Indian propaganda, as carried on in Britain, usually goes miles in advance of Indian Press writings. Among the intelligentia the nature of the propaganda is different from what one finds in the popular papers. In the first the tone is statistical, economic, historical, moral or humanitarian. Figures depicting the great boon that British rule has been to India in every way, restrained and dignified statements of economic lies and half-truths, subtle fabrications and twisted accounts in the garb of history, outbursts against alleged immoral institutions and practices and rapturous recitations of what India would be in the society of nations if only she could remain under British governance for a millennium or two longer: such is the stuff served out to the educated Britisher.

In the popular branch of the propaganda things are found which may easily serve as inspiration to writers of six penny fiction (who sometimes help the propagandists by

staging things in India). The writers of the cheap propaganda stuff have an easy job on account of the insular stupidity of the average half-educated Britisher, who is willing to believe anything about a foreigner, the more so if the foreigner's pigmentation differs from his own. Let us take an example:

In the Cassell's Magazine for May 1931, there is an article with the title "Asia's Secret Societies." It is written "by a Victim" who remains "anonymous for obvious reasons." Even a cursory perusal of the article makes this anonymity all the more obvious; for seldom have we come across such a string of idiotic lies against so many nations in so little space. The Near and Middle East, Turkistan, Persia, Turkey, India, China, all eastern countries are so infested with Secret Societies and their billion members that the people of these lands are born, are married, eat, drink, dress, travel, engage in trade, contract maladies or die only with the sanction of of some secret society or other. They have also to perform esoteric ceremonies as often as they do something. Although most eastern countries have been malignd by the writer of this article, India gets the lion's share of his malice (for obvious reasons too). He writes:

The Secret Societies of India, for instance, are far more powerful than the official political parties, which are merely the outward and visible executives of wealthy cliques, composed of high-caste people who largely seek their own ends.

The head-quarters of one of the most active of these Secret Societies was traced at one time to Dacca, in Bengal, and its directing influence was entirely confined to Hindus. Mohammedans as a rule are not admitted to its Councils or membership. Its methods are modelled on those of the old pre-revolutionary Russian Nihilist plan—that is an inner circle, composed of unknown directors, and two outer circles of executive officers. In every Hindu village this society has an active agent and its sources of intelligence are quite equal to those of the police.

Then the writer proceeds to add to his writing a subtle personal touch by recounting some of his "experiences."

I remember trying to be present at one of their ceremonies, but the Societies' spies were too clever for me. How could I guess, at the time, that the ash-besmeared old yogi, who sat by the roadside and to whom I have (*sic*) given alms, was one of the leaders of this criminal organization? Covered with rags, he had the appearance of one of the many helpless cripples one sees throughout India. And yet he was the man who gave the signal

to his confederates to call off the meeting as soon as my presence was discovered.

It takes, indeed, a really clever *yogi* to discover a man's imaginary presence at an imaginary meeting of an imaginary secret society! The writer does not, however, leave his readers in ignorance of the proceedings of the meeting. He says:

Nevertheless, I am well aware of what goes on at these initiation ceremonies. Some silver coins are thrown into a bowl of oil and an aromatic paste is then dipped into the liquid. The new members touch their eyes, ears and nose with the paste and then, forming it into a small ball, fix it to the end of a dagger.

By this they are pledged to secrecy and agree to carry out loyally the orders of their leaders.

We hope the anonymous writer is no relation of Mr. Edgar Wallace. For we are next told:

At one time the society used to levy taxes upon the poor peasants. An order would be placed at a Hindu shrine in a village instructing the headman to deposit a sum of money under a certain tree. Woe betide the village that did not obey the command! Their cows would die by a mysterious poisoning; their haystacks would catch fire and even children would be kidnapped.

This British writer says, the Secret Society men are all Hindus. And yet they would kill cows by poisoning! The man is not clever enough to avoid telling easily detectable lies.

The writer says nothing about the Secret Societies of foreign tradesmen, missionaries, etc., which also wield tremendous power in India. Their methods are even subtler than those depicted above. For they have killed by mysterious poisoning, not cows but entire industries, reduced whole populations to dire poverty, and of their secret ceremonies nobody knows anything.

'The Burden of Swaraj'

The above is the title of a recent publication dealing with the present political situation in India with some suggestions. The author, Mr. K. M. Parkayastha, is a scholar of distinction and has shown a keen power of analysis in this book. His dissection of the political mind of present-day India is interesting and his views on the various aspects of government, political reform, constitution-making, etc., are, generally speaking, impartial and academic. That the author is not obsessed with anti-British feeling could be proved from his treatment

of the question of safe-guarding British interests. He says:

It has been estimated on very high authority that there is an investment of private British capital in India to the extent of £500 millions.... some measure of safeguard for the existing British interest should not be unreasonable to ask for or difficult to provide.

The author might have contended with these "high authorities" that as the valuation of British capital in India is based *not* upon what the British *actually* invested but upon the *earning power* of what they invested, and as this earning power belonged to *Indian* circumstances and not to any peculiar quality of the capital or the investor, the high market value of British Indian industrial capital is no index of British claims on India. It may be suggested that for the correct estimation of such matters one should make researches like those indicated in the chapter on "British Capital in India" in the *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries* by Major B. D. Basu. At another place the author recommends:

"To meet India substantially on her own terms would thus appear to be the only course left open to Great Britain."

This is no brief-holding for the British imperialist.

The book is well written and well got-up.

Protective Tariffs

Protective tariffs and bounties are factors in the development of new industries in a country. It goes without saying that it is incumbent on the organizations that receive the benefit of protection to develop their industries in such a manner as would benefit ultimately the country and the people to which they belong. Still more so is the case with the receivers of bounty. Further, this development should be on such lines as would substantially aid allied or subsidiary industries. In any case, the interests of existing indigenous industries should be looked after, so that no hardships may come on others, while a few are being protected and fostered.

According to the reports we receive from time to time, this is not the case with the industries that are receiving help in the above ways in this country. In last month's issue of this journal will be found an article on the Tata Iron and Steel Co. If what has

been stated in that article to be true, then it is about time that legislation were enacted forcing this and similar concerns to realize that they owe a duty to the people whose bounty they are receiving.

We have also received reports that since the coming in of Protection in the paper industry, the import of foreign pulp has gone up considerably, while purchases of indigenous grass and other raw materials have gone down proportionately.

The industrial and commercial legislation of this country is singularly faulty. Sufficient care is seldom taken to safe-guard Indian interests. For example, the mining laws of this country with regard to the granting of Approval Certificates, granting of mining and prospecting rights, etc. are nothing short of being iniquitous, as far as the average Indian is concerned. The same is the case with the fixation of tariffs. This is done without the least thought as to the ultimate result to indigenous enterprise. The very high duty on imported matches may be cited as a case in point.

The very heavy duty on matches gave an impetus to local concerns in the beginning. The industry was in a fair way to prosperity, when a very powerful foreign concern dodged in inside the wall and all the rosy dreams of the budding Indian concerns melted into thin air. No provision had been made for intrusions of this nature. The camouflaged name of this concern is Western India something.

It is a wonder to us that the elected members of the legislatures do not take a little more interest in these matters. Only now and then, when a powerful organization like the Bombay Textile group start a commotion, we see the legislators wake up. Directly the commotion is over, commerce, industry and Indian enterprise are expunged from the programme, excepting when necessary for use as a handle for some political propaganda.

The full discussion of the problems involved in the question of Protection is not within the scope of these notes. But it may be laid down as an axiom that no protection or bounty should be given to any industry without guaranteed safe-guards for the interests of Indian capital, labour and enterprise. And India in these instances should mean real India and not "(India) Ltd."

In any case revision and drastic measures are clearly indicated in the cases of Match,

Steel and Paper industries, if the interests of the people of this country are to be considered at all.

Franco-British Entente in India ?

The following paragraphs, which appeared in *Advance* on June 21 last, would lead one to ask whether there has been any entente between Great Britain and France, so far as India is concerned :

Put not your trust in judges : Mr. Justice Buckland might very well have observed in dismissing Mr. Jitendra Chandra Bannerjee's application invoking the extraordinary original criminal jurisdiction of the High Court for a judicial enquiry into what is known as the French Chandernagore Raid. Rankin C. J. had given him hopes about a month ago that an application moved on the Original Side might bring justice to his client. Of course he had not said so in so many words, as he was careful to add the proviso "if it lies at all." Mr. Bannerjee thought it was a distinct encouragement held out to him to move on the Original Side and so on Monday last he appeared before Mr. Justice Buckland. The latter asked him to go back to where he had come from, as his application, if it lay at all, was one which ought to have been made on the Appellate Side. But lest the advocate should actually go back to the Appellate Side, Mr. Justice Buckland had the courtesy to point out to him that he had already moved such an application before the Appellate Side and that it had been dismissed.

The lay public will be hard put to it to follow the arguments which High Court Judges have employed to throw out Mr. Bannerjee's application. But the broad facts of the raid are before them. A number of police officers trespass on a foreign territory, enter a private garden house at dead of night and shoot down a young man in the course of the scuffle which follows. The French Government at Chandernagore take lying down this invasion of their sovereignty and forgo the right of a sovereign to punish crimes within its own borders. The Government here refuse to prosecute the men who commit this outrage and withhold their sanction for prosecution by any private party. The Advocate-General defends this attitude on the part of the Government and himself declines to exercise the powers that he has got under the Letters Patent. Faced with these facts, public confidence in law and justice vanishes into thin air.

Public confidence in law and justice has not, however, vanished into thin air. For, judges and lawyers are still as busy as they were in, say, the third week of June, 1931.

We have not been able to follow later developments of the case, if any.

Coastal Shipping in Britain and India

British ship-owners in England and India have pretended to look upon Mr. Sarabhai

N. Haji's Coastal Shipping Bill as an unprecedented enormity in the commercial history of nations. In answer, the history of the navigation laws of Britain and other countries have been made to yield examples of similar enormities. But here is the latest instance, culled by *Liberty* from a British journal, the *Liverpool Journal of Commerce*:

"Recently the British Coasting and Near Trade's Shipowners' Association passed a resolution requesting Government to take into consideration the present condition of affairs in regard to the British Coastal Trade and to remedy the same by an Order-in-Council under the British Customs Consolidation Act, 1853, excluding all foreign vessels from carrying cargo from one British port to another. This, the Association argued, was the only way to protect British shipping from unfair competition and assist a national industry to recover a reasonable measure of return on labour and outlay and keep in operation an industry which was essential to the nation's well-being and security."

The Bengal Government and Opium-smoking

The following is part of one day's proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council:

The House circulated the Bengal Opium Smoking Bill, 1931, which provided for the control of the practice of smoking opium. The intention of the Government in introducing the Bill in its present form was to carry out the obligation of the Government of India under the terms of the First Geneva Opium Convention of 1925 to suppress smoking of opium as speedily as possible and with this end in view it has been provided in the Bill to register persons who were already addicted to opium-smoking in Bengal and to permit such persons only to indulge in the practice. Any persons, other than such registered smokers, indulging in the practice, would render themselves liable to prosecution and punishment.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Haridhane Dutt and Sir Nilratan Sircar advocated the total suppression of the evil, as in the opinion of the latter registering a vice meant its recognition and toleration.

The Minister, in reply, pointed out that the persons addicted to the vice were mostly Chinese, who were foreigners, and so they had got to handle these people very delicately and to a certain extent respect their habits.

Dr. Dutt informed the House that he had received a letter from the Chinese Council, urging him to use his influence to see that the evil was totally suppressed.

This is a peculiar method of giving effect to the terms of the First Geneva Opium Convention of 1925. Why make Bengal the object of derision of the world by trying to disguise official cupidity in the garb of philanthropy?

"Respect their habits," is a delightful phrase. If foreign debauchees of a different

description come to India, will the Minister register them and provide brothels for them?

A high medical authority has informed us that opium-smokers do not die if obliged to give up the habit.

An Indian Boy Wins a Shooting Prize

Debendranath Bhaduri, an Indian boy of fourteen, who is a student of the Taunton School, Somerset and is also a member of the O. T. C. of his school won the student's prize for shooting at the Empire shooting Test, which took place last March.



Debendranath Bhaduri

Victimization of Students

When Mahatma Gandhi's terms of the truce with the Government were published, we had to point out an omission. That students who had been imprisoned or expelled from school or college for non-violent offences connected with

satyagraha, would not be prevented from re-entering college or school or otherwise victimized, should have been included in the terms of the settlement. As it was not done, it would be idle now to urge that the spirit of the truce is being violated by the principals and head masters of many institutions in Bengal and Assam. But we do urge it nevertheless.

Dacoities and Unemployment

According to Mr. Prentice, who is in charge of Law and Order in Bengal, there were 1,419 dacoities in the province during the six months or 181 days from January 1 to June 30 of this year. This means that in Bengal, on an average, during each of these days there were eight dacoities. Dacoities sometimes take place in broad daylight, but generally at night—say during the four hours from 11 p. m. to 3 a. m. So every night, there was a dacoity somewhere or other in Bengal every half an hour. This proves two things: that the police do not deserve all the praise which has been showered upon them by this Excellency and that, and that food and raiment are hard to get owing to recent famine conditions and to chronic unemployment among landless labourers, peasants and farmers with small holdings, and educated young men. What passes for political robbery by the last-mentioned class is most probably due in part to unemployment.

This problem should engage the serious attention of Bengal zamindars and capitalists in particular and the public in general. Those who have cultivable land, forests, and money can help to ease the situation. In spite of Bengal being congested, agriculture can be further extended here, as there are some six millions of acres of cultivable land not yet brought under cultivation. Many industries can and ought to be started. If the Government of India gives up to Bengal the revenue derived from jute (a Bengal monopoly), schools can be opened all over the province for universal primary education, and these schools can provide employment for thousands of unemployed educated youth. If the Government of India will not make over to Bengal this big amount, which does not justly belong to it, the Bengal Government ought to float a big loan and out of its interest finance universal primary education in Bengal.

The Royal Commission on Labour

According to Dr. Besant's organ *New India*, every aspect of the Labour problem has been given consideration by the Royal Commission on Labour—wages, hours and conditions of work in factories, housing, health, welfare, the habits and social customs of the worker, his position under the existing and the new Constitution and the growth of the Trade Union movement. In the opinion of the same journal,

The aptest comment was made by *The Daily Herald*, that no Englishman could read the terrible story without a sense of shame that such terrible conditions have not only been possible under British rule, but actually grown with it. While such would be the obvious impression on those accustomed to a rapidly growing code of social and economic legislation and a fairly high standard of administration, to those in India who are daily compelled to realize the scandalous neglect of all that is vital to a Nation's welfare, the descriptive portions of the report will seem very much of an under-estimate. But even in this form, the report will bring home to readers abroad the destructive character of foreign rule.

Such being the revealing character of the report, it is no wonder that *Forward* of Glasgow has written

"If this is all that British rule has been able to accomplish in the course of a century, then there is precious little danger of the Indian National Congress or any other Indian Government making the conditions of the Indian masses much worse."

Great Britain and India's Public Debt

In pre-British India there had been no such thing as a public debt. Today the people of India have to bear the burden of a colossal public debt, the interest charge on which they can ill-afford to pay. This money, if it could be used for the material, moral and intellectual advancement of India, would be well spent and bear valuable fruit in the near future. But as much of the money raised through these "national" loans had been squandered by the Government in one way or another, that portion of our national resources which is used for the purpose of paying interest on these debts remains sterile from the standpoint of national well-being and progress. In order to find out how much of our "national" debt was incurred by our rulers for their own selfish and imperialistic purpose and how much was raised for meeting expenses which were genuinely chargeable to India, the Karachi Congress had appointed a Select Committee consisting

written by the Secretary of State for India in 1872:

"The extraordinary case of the great Mutiny of 1857-58 is the only case which gives even plausibility to the war office representation; in that case, altogether unprecedented in the history of British India, the Imperial Government was compelled, under the imminent risk of losing its Empire in the East, to make one of those efforts which are at times inseparable from Imperial powers and Imperial obligations. It must be remembered, however, that, if similar exertions had been called for by war in any other part of Her Majesty's dominions, not only must the same effort have been made, but the burden of it must necessarily have been borne, in greater part, at least, by the Imperial Government, but, in regard to the Indian Mutiny, no part of the cost of suppressing it was allowed to fall on the Imperial Exchequer: the whole of it was or is now being defrayed by the Indian taxpayer."

Incidentally it should be noted that the expenses of the Boer War were not only entirely met by Britain but she also paid the Boers £3 millions for rehabilitation of farms destroyed during the war. The Committee say:

"Thus the burdens and obligations which have fallen upon the people of India from the last India Company amount to over 112 million sterling made up as follow:

Cost of the first Afghan War	15,000,000
" " " two Burmese Wars	14,000,000
" " " Expeditions to China	6,000,000
" Persia, etc.	
On account of Company's Capital and dividend. ...	37,200,000
Cost of the Mutiny. ...	10,000,000
	£ 112,200,000

It is but fair that India should now claim to be relieved from the burdens of expenditures which were wrongly put on her shoulders."

After the East India Company the Indian Exchequer was managed no better by the Government of India. The same story of charging imperial expenses to India was repeated perhaps at greater length. The Public Debt under the Crown is divided into two sections, productive and non-productive. Among the non-productive items can be seen such heads as expenses of the Abyssinian Expedition, Second Afghan War, Operations in Egypt and N.W. Frontier, Burmese War, etc. During the Great War "India" met enormous bills in behalf of Great Britain which the latter country coolly passed off as India's "Gift" of cost of military operations undertaken by India. These items together make up Rs. 397 crores. Further we find:

Thus, under this head of "External Wars," a claim of over 397 crores is made.

The expenses incurred in the maintenance of

India Office, Aden, Persian and Chinese Consulates, Ecclesiastical Charges, etc., estimated at £20 million, are charged on the ground that these are Imperial charges, and so should fall on the Imperial Exchequer and not on India.

It is claimed that the deficits of Burmah budgets since 1886, aggregating to about 15 crores and the interest charges and Railway deficits of about 22 crores and a share in respect of the expenses of Indian defence calculated at 1 crore a year amounting to 45 crores for the period since 1886, aggregating in all to 82 crores, should be made good to India.

This is the "most lamentable" operation, and the losses resulting from these transactions, amounting to about 35 crores, it is claimed, should be made good by Great Britain.

The policy of encouraging Railway construction by the system of guaranteeing interest on the Capital sunk has led to considerable waste, and in many cases the cost per mile of a Guaranteed Railway is double that of a State-built Railway.

Many or most of the Railways were built out of Military considerations, and only of late they have been able to pay their way. Strictly, a considerable amount of this so called "developmental" expenditure should be charged to Military expenditures. Be it as it may, the recommendation confines itself to only the expenses of admittedly strategic lines in the N.W.F. Province and at Aden costing about 33 crores, which should be paid by Great Britain.

When the Railway properties were acquired by the State the acquisition was made under conditions that added considerably to the burdens of the people. The Companies were entitled, under the terms of their contracts, to be paid the market value of their Shares or Stock, at the date of acquisition. Because of the Guaranteed Interest payments, the market price of these Stocks and Shares went up enormously when the State was about to acquire the properties. The Companies thus obtained a high price which was not warranted by their assets or by the return from their revenues. This is an unjustifiable burden to be imposed on the people of India amounting to about 50 crores.

The fixed rate of exchange provided in the Contracts of the Railway Companies occasioned enormous losses to Indian revenue, but the actual amount of loss is difficult of determination, and a deduction on this account must be made before taking over the debt said to be incurred on Railway account.

As regards the other "Productive" debt items, such as Irrigation, Posts and Telegraphs, etc., no claim is suggested, although the extravagance of building a new capital at Delhi is criticized and the Buck Bay Reclamation scheme in Bombay is condemned.

Thus the total claims advanced are as follows:—

Under the Company	Crores	Crores
External Wars	...	37
Capital and Interest	...	37
Cost of Mutiny	...	10
		112
Under the British Crown		
External Wars	...	37
European War: "Gifts"	...	189
Cost	...	171
		397

Miscellaneous Charges	...	20
In respect of Burmah	...	82
Reverse Council Losses	...	35
Railways	...	83
Total Rs. 729 crores		

The Committee come to the following conclusion:

The present "Public Debt" of India amounts to over 1100 crores. Taking into consideration the ever growing material and political gain to Great Britain as the result of possessing India, and in consideration of the suppression of Indian industries and talents the Committee recommends that Great Britain should follow in dealing with India the precedent she set in releasing Ireland of her share of the National debt of the United Kingdom when Ireland was made a Free State. Every principle of fair play now requires that if India is to start on a new era of National Self-government, it should start freely and without any burden, if any progress is to be achieved at all India cannot afford to bear any additional taxation. The only possibilities of progress for India therefore are: the application of the national revenues to national purposes, and it is only by reducing the national expenditure on the civil and military administration of the country to suit its own requirements and freeing India from the liabilities for the public debts not incurred in her interests, that saving can be effected, which would be applicable to the advancement of India in the matter of education and sanitation and other national means of regeneration.

Mr. J. C. Kumarappa adds to the report two notes which are summarized as follows:

In the First Note, it is suggested that a claim be made in respect of annual Military Expenditures on such amount as may be shown to be due to Imperial Interest as apart from the requirements of Indian defence. A standard is adopted and over and above that whatever is spent is to be borne by Great Britain. According to the calculation given, about 540 crores, out of a total expenditure of 2128 crores, would seem to be due to be returned.

The Second Note deals with Interest payments on claims. There it is suggested claiming all interest payments made in respect of the items challenged in the report. The calculations show that another 536 crores, out of a payment of 1050 crores, would appear to be due to be given back.

Mr. Kumarappa also thinks that the extra expenditure on account of Burma should not be claimed unless Burma were made a separate province. This is quite right; for if we start on the work of gauging inter-provincial liabilities or the claims of individual provinces, it would lead to provincial jealousy and ill-feeling. For instance, most of the funds squandered by the East India Company came from Bengal and the longer the period that any part of India has been under the British, the

more would be its claim, generally speaking, upon Britain. Francis Henry Skrine, I. C. S., wrote in his book *India's Hope* (p. 39):

The province (Bengal) proved of immense value during the era of struggle and consolidation. Its revenues enabled the East India Company to carry on the warfare in which it was involved and to pursue the policy of annexation which was forced upon it.

The Committee would have done well to have claimed a share in the War Reparations on account of the numerous soldiers from India who died and were disabled on the battle-fields of France and Mesopotamia. India could also claim a large sum for all the Indian soldiers who have ever died or been disabled in any battle fought for the "Empire."

Critics of the report there have been many among Anglo-Indians. *Capital of Calcutta* says:

The balance-sheet embodied in the Report is the sort of document which might be expected from a "shady" lawyer acting on behalf of a fraudulent bankrupt. In a word, the debts are elaborated but the assets are concealed.

So saying *Capital* (A Ditcher's Diary, July 30, 1931) proceeds to "elaborate" the Assets as befits, shall we say, a fraudulent but highly solvent party. It says:

On the 31st March, 1931, the total interest bearing obligations of the Government of India not covered by productive assets amounted to less than 200 crores.

Capital forgets that this does not disprove India's claims upon Britain. It may be that whatever little money that was genuinely put into productive use out of the enormous sums borrowed by the Government in the name of India, is yielding high profit and is paying the interest charge on ill-spent borrowings. But this would prove only the great productivity of India and not the wisdom or the "non-fraudulence" of the British. The question is whether or not the British have misappropriated so much money for imperialistic expenditure from out of the Indian exchequer. If they have, they should pay it back. If they have any counter-claims upon India on other grounds, they should also state them clearly.

Those British economists who are, like Ditcher in *Capital*, in the habit of overstating the British-managed assets of India, always omit to explain the details of such management. If they did so, it would clearly show how, from the standpoint of national

economy, such over-statements are "fraudulent." Prof. Findlay Shirras* has said:

"It is interesting to note that while the total debt, productive and unproductive, on March 31, 1918, amounts to £336.5 millions, the value of the State Railways and Irrigation Works alone (capitalized at 25 years' purchase) is estimated at £581,000,000.

These figures, no doubt, exclude the millions that India had to shoulder on account of the Great War. Moreover, such statements merely prove that the State Railways and Irrigation Works are *secret sources of taxing the already overtaxed Indians*. For what else could they be when their actual cost price (which is not necessarily the price that was paid by the British rulers of India to their British builders, contractors or suppliers of materials) does not justify their high yield of profits. When a nation pays for a productive enterprise, such as a Railway or a canal, it should not be made to pay for the use of such state-owned capital goods at a rate higher than should pay for the lowest world rate of interest on such stock, normal depreciation and maintenance with economy. Will the Government-owned productive departments stand scrutiny on this basis? Moreover, if our national productive enterprises prove highly profitable, would that justify the British in misappropriating our funds? If one man could pay interest, from his income, on £1,000,000, would that justify another man in forging a pro-note in his name for that amount?

Another set of critics attempt to point out how India has gained enormously in many indirect ways by remaining under British rule. It could be said in answer to them that we have lost much more through the destruction of our trades and industries by the British. The British have constructed and instituted many things in India; but all with a view to consolidate their own economic hold upon us. If we have been able to make some profitable use of these British institutions, we have done so in spite of the exploitative genius of Britain. Let us take a recent instance of indirect loss due to our British connection. The Great War caused us tremendous loss of trade, which would not have occurred had we been totally dissociated from the British. Probably it would have given us a chance to make big profit along with the other neutrals.

Professors Shah and Khambatta* have calculated this loss at 100 crores, which is an underestimate.

Retrenchment

The scientific and the cultural departments of the Government have all along been starved for funds and handicapped by lack of co-ordination with the controlling supreme heads, who have up till now shown practically no interest in these departments, the only exception being perhaps Lord Curzon.

These departments, for example, the Archaeological, Zoological and Geological Surveys—have only recently got into their stride and have already very substantially added to the cultural and scientific knowledge about India, thereby advancing our claims regarding a position amongst the civilized nations of the world. The economic gain has also been, directly and indirectly, very great, as any one conversant with the work of these departments is well aware. It is impossible to give fuller details about the cultural, scientific and economic gains in these notes, but we hope to give more details in our next issue regarding some of these.

The discovery of Mohen-jo-Daro made by the Archaeological Survey, the Anthropological, Medical and Economic Zoological work done by the Zoological Survey, the economic, stratigraphic and palaeontological work done by the Geological Survey are all achievements of the first magnitude in the cultural sphere. As such, every educated Indian should take pride in these and insist that these departments be substantially strengthened by money grants and appointment of additional highly trained Indian officers.

There is some wild talk about total suspension of work in these departments for a number of years. This would be nothing short of a calamity and the Government will be execrated throughout the civilized world, if they thoughtlessly carry out this mad project.

In our opinion, retrenchment is impossible in these departments as the grants made at present are hopelessly inadequate, as it is. All that the Government can do is to try to eliminate duplication of work and to bring about increase of efficiency in these departments.

* *Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India*, 1st Ed p. 276.

* *Indian Finance and Banking*, 3rd Ed. p. 235.



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The Problem of India's Over-population*

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(A Discourse read in the International Population Congress at Rome,
September, 1931)

ACCORDING to the provisional census report of 1931, the present population of India is 351.5 millions, or 18 per cent of the world's total population. From 1872 to 1921 the population of India increased by 113 millions, of which 59 millions were due to territorial expansion and census improvement, thus leaving a real increase of 54 millions in the course of 49 years, but in the single decade from 1921 to 1931 the population increased by 32.5 millions. Since there has been scarcely any territorial expansion during the period, this increase might be regarded as approximately real. As far as the decennial

increase is concerned, during 49 years this increase varied from 9.6 per cent in 1881-91 to 1.2 per cent in 1911-21, but the increase in the last decade was as high as 10 per cent.†

As compared with Europe, the growth of population up to the year 1921 was low in India. In the 50 years from 1870 to 1920, for instance, the population of Europe increased by 47 per cent as compared with 20 per cent in 49 years from 1872 to 1921 in India. While the final results of the last census in various countries are not yet known, the population in England and Wales increased by 5.52 per cent in the last decade‡

The slower growth of the population in India in the earlier years was due to a higher death-rate rather than to a lower birth-rate. While from 1880 to 1910 the average annual birth and death rates in England and Wales, France, Belgium, Germany,

* In preparing this article, the writer has utilized his address on "Population and Food Supply in India" in the World Population Conference in 1927 (vide "Proceedings of the World Population Conference, 1927," London), his article in the *Modern Review* on "The Wastage of India's Man Power" (1927), and "The Problem of India's Poverty" (1929), and also his books on *Production in India* (Calcutta, 1921) and *The Industrial Efficiency of India* (P. S. King and Sons, London, 1930). Of the other references, the most important are the following: *Census of India, Agricultural Statistics of India, Statistical Abstract for British India, Annuaire Statistique (Paris), International Agricultural Statistics, The Relation between Cultivated Area and Population* (Sir Daniel Hall), etc.

† The population increased by 1.5 per cent in 1872-81, 9.6 per cent in 1881-91, 1.4 per cent in 1891-1901, 6.4 per cent in 1901-11, and 1.2 per cent in 1911-21.

‡ Census of England and Wales, Preliminary Report, 1931, p. 1 (table).

Italy and Spain were respectively 3.11 and 2.2 per cent, thus leaving a surplus of '91 per cent a year, those in India from 1885 to 1910 were respectively 3.64 and 3.08 per cent, with a surplus of only .56 per cent a year. During the period 1911-21, the death-rate in India amounted to as much as 3.41 per cent as against a birth-rate of 3.68 per cent, thus leaving a surplus of only .28 per cent a year, but from 1885 to 1921 the average birth-rate was .48 per cent a year and from 1921 to 1931 it was as high as over 1 per cent a year, as compared with .55 per cent in England and Wales and over 1.58 per cent in Japan.*

The growth of population in India was not only the highest in the last decade, but there is every reason to believe that in futuro the natural growth of the population will also be as high as at present, if not higher, unless conscious effort is made towards the limitation of the family. There are several reasons for such an anticipation. In the first place, the growth of health movements all over the country, such as baby weeks, child welfare work, maternity benefits, and anti-malarial campaigns, are bound to reduce the death-rate, especially among the infants. In the second place, the gradual abolition of such practices as pre-puberty sexual relations, prolonged lactation, abortion, infanticide, continence among married men after a certain age, and enforced widowhood among the high-caste Hindus, will have some effect upon population growth. In the third place, the increasing control of famines and epidemics will also be a factor in the more rapid growth of population.

There is, however, a slight tendency towards a decline in the birth-rate. From 3.81 per cent in 1901-1910 it fell to 3.63 per cent in 1911-20 and to 3.43 per cent in 1921-28. But this decline will be a very slow process. The universality of marriage and the cult of ancestral worship are likely to remain in force for some time to come. Moreover, the recent Child Marriage Restraint Act, which prohibits marriage of boys and girls before the ages of 18 and 14 respectively, will take a long time to produce any appreciable results. Even if the birth-rate falls, there will also be a fall in the death-

rate. At the rate of the present growth, the population in India will be about 468 millions by 1960—that is an increase of 33 per cent in a generation. —

EXTENT OF OVER-POPULATION

That the present population is more than can be supported by national productivity cannot be doubted. In his paper on "Population and Food Supply in India" in the World Population Conference in 1927, the present writer showed that the *per capita* food supply, as indicated by the yield of the principal crops, was .83 million calories in 1921. As there has been no appreciable increase in the food supply* since then, the *per capita* food supply would amount to .75 million calories for the present population as compared with 1 million† calories, which are essential for the human body. In other words, on the basis of absolute requirements, there is a food supply for a population of only 264 millions, or 75 per cent of the present population.

Man cannot, however, live on the absolute necessities of life. In the five years 1909-1913 the average food consumption was 3,091 calories per person per day in the United Kingdom, that is 473 calories or 18 per cent more than what was absolutely necessary. It has been estimated that the average area for food supply, including drink, wool, fibre, and other raw materials, amounts to 26 acres in the United States, 25 acres in the United Kingdom, 21 acres in France, and 1.83 acres in Denmark.

It has been found that by raising pork and potatoes a hundred acres of land can feed 70 or 75 persons in Germany, that is, 13 or 15 acres per unit of population. The area needed by a person for a decent living depends upon several factors, such as fertility of the soil, intensity of culture, nature of food, climatic conditions and cultural ideals.

How much land will be required by a

* The area under cultivation varies from year to year. It was 496 million acres in 1919-20, fell to 468 million acres in 1920-21, and rose to 265 million acres in 1922-23. It was 260 million acres in 1928-29.

† The Food (War) Committee of the Royal Society adopted the figure of 2,618 calories as representing the minimal daily energy required by the unit of population, or 95,570 calories, or roughly 1 million calories a year.

* The population in Japan increased by 7.9 per cent from 1925 to 1930. *Osaka Asahi* (newspaper) June 30, 1931.

person for a decent living in India is difficult to estimate. Increasing internationalism and a rising standard of living indicate that a person would need the same area of land in India as in the West. The tropical climate of the country, the prevailing vegetarianism among the people, and the spiritual nature of national ideals would, however, indicate that Indian people may be satisfied with a much lower standard. Owing to the fact that a large part of the land in India is poor in fertility and the distribution of rainfall is irregular and uncertain, the area of arable land that a person would need in India might be fixed at 1.5 acres. On this basis the optimum population that India, with her 480 million acres of arable land, will be able to support would be 320 millions. Since only 55 per cent of its area is at present cultivated, the present optimum population which India can support would therefore be 176 millions, or 50 per cent of the present number. The extent of over-population in India would thus amount to one-third from the point of view of absolute necessities of life and one-half from the point of view of a more liberal standard of living.

The immediate effects of over-population are famines, epidemics and under-employment. From 1860-1861 to 1899-1900 there were several famines in India, of which seven were most disastrous, and affected an area varying from 54,000 square miles to 475,000 square miles and a population varying from 20 millions to 68 millions. Since the beginning of this century there has not been any widespread famine in India. But the vast majority of the people live constantly on the verge of starvation—a fact which is admitted even by the Government. "There is a vast amount," says the Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India in 1927-28, "of what can only be termed dangerous poverty in the Indian villages—poverty, that is to say, of such a kind that those subject to it live on the very margin of subsistence."

The relative poverty of the Indian people can be best indicated by the comparison of the national income. In 1924, for instance, the *per capita* national income was only Rs. 74* in India as compared with Rs. 294

in Japan, Rs. 351 in Italy, Rs. 537 in Germany, Rs. 741 in France, Rs. 1,319 in England and Rs. 1,717 in the United States. It is a well known fact that the *per capita* amount of food consumed by the Indian masses falls far short of that of the prisoner. According to the enquiry of the Bombay Labour Office, even the industrial workers in Bombay, who are much better off than the rest of the masses, consume the maximum of cereals allowed by the Bombay Famine Code but less than the scale prescribed for jails.

Famines have been accompanied by epidemics. In the period from 1901 to 1920 the recorded mortality from plague amounted to 9.5 millions. The influenza of 1918 and 1919 alone was responsible for 8.5 million deaths. In 1928 the death-rate was 2.55 per cent in India as compared with 1.20 per cent in Germany, 1.34 per cent in England and Wales, 1.56 per cent in Italy, and 1.65 per cent in France. This high death-rate naturally lowers the average life of people in India. The average length of life is in fact only 24.7 years in India as compared with 49.3 years in Italy, 52.2 years in France, 55.6 years in England and Wales, and 56 years in Germany. In short, the death-rate is twice, and the average length of life less than half, as much as in some European countries. This low average length of life has a great effect on the material and moral development of the country. If the first fifteen years, which represent the debit side of life, are subtracted from the average life, the average creative period in India becomes only ten years as compared with about thirty-five years or more in the countries mentioned above.

Under-employment including unemployment, is still another effect of the over-population in India. At a very conservative estimate, an average cultivator does not have more than eight months' work in the year. The size of farm cultivated by farmers and their assistants amount to 2.25 acres per head in Bengal as compared with 21 acres in England and Wales. Moreover, subdivision and fragmentation, which have been going on in India, have made a considerable number of farms uneconomic. The artisan class fares scarcely better than the cultivator. Moreover, the increasing unemployment among the educated classes has attained such an alarming proportion that several provinces have had to appoint committees

* Refers to the year 1901-1902. The national income of India has been put as high as Rs. 116, but the accuracy of the last estimate has been seriously questioned.

of enquiry in order to know how to deal with the question.

CAUSES OF OVER-POPULATION

In spite of the heavy mortality caused by famines and epidemics, the population in India has grown beyond the productive power of the country. This over-population in India has been brought about by the lack of conscious control of the numbers on the one hand and the inability of production to keep pace with the population growth on the other. In fact, over-population in India cannot be explained on the ground of the growth of population alone. It has been pointed out that the rate of population growth until recently had been much slower in India than in Europe. Although Europe has sent a large number of persons abroad, and annexed territories in different parts of the world for the supply of food and raw material for her growing population, she has also partly solved the question of her over-population by increasing her industrial efficiency or productive power within her own territories. The normal growth of productivity in India has been interrupted by various causes, especially within the last century, and this retarded growth of her productive power is partly responsible for her present over-population.

Of the world's land area of 57.2 million square miles, India occupies 1.8 million square miles, or 3.2 per cent. Excluding the uninhabitable regions of the earth, the comparative land supply in India is, however, much higher. The density of population per square kilometre is only 68 in India as compared with 75 in France, 134 in Italy, 138 in Germany, 169 in Japan, 196 in Great Britain, and 269 in Belgium. What is more important to a country is the proportion of its arable land, in which the advantages of course lie with new countries like Canada, Argentina, Australia, and the United States, where *per capita* arable land varies from 2.55 to 1.17 hectares. The *per capita* arable land is .45 hectares in India as compared with .54 hectares in France and .65 hectares in Spain. But it is much higher than in Italy, Germany, Belgium, Great Britain and Japan, where it varies from .33 to .09 hectares.

India is fairly rich in fisheries. The freshwater fisheries of India are surpassed only by those of the United States. Besides, there

are extensive areas of brackish, foreshore, and deep-water fisheries along her 4,500 miles of coastline. Forests and minerals are also important resources of a country, both for their direct and indirect use. In the supply of forests, countries like Brazil, Canada and the United States have the advantage. The forests, including permanent pasture, in India are rich in variety but limited in quantity, being only .12 hectares *per capita* as compared with .26 hectares in Italy, and .50 hectares in France. The minerals in India are similarly rich in kind but poor in quantity, except iron and water. India possesses 3,000 million tons of iron-ore and 27 million horse-power of water resources, thus standing fourth in the world in the possession of the former and third in the possession of the latter.

These resources of India are, however, not properly utilized for productive purposes. As the present writer has shown in his treatise on *The Industrial Efficiency of India*, under the present productive system, India wastes about three-fourths of her arable land, forests, fisheries and minerals. The low productivity of India is best indicated by the yield of her agricultural products. In 1929-1930, for instance, the *per hectare* production of rice was only 14.9 quintals in India as compared with 33.9 quintals in Japan, or 44 per cent, that of wheat was only 6.7 quintals in India as compared with 25 quintals in Belgium, or 27 per cent, and that of cotton was only .9 quintal in India as compared with 18 quintals in Egypt, or 18 per cent. In fact, the agricultural productivity in India, which is by far the most important industry, is only 45 per cent of the average of Belgium, the United Kingdom and Germany.

India wastes a large part not only of her natural resources but also of her capital and labour resources. In the same treatise as mentioned above, the present writer has shown that India wastes about two-thirds of her capital resources owing to inability to mobilize social savings into national capital, to introduce modern tools and technique into productive processes, and to make full use of the existing capital goods. Similarly, India wastes about two-thirds of her labour power owing to the ill-health and the ignorance of her people. In fact, as compared with the average standard of productivity in most of the industrially advanced countries, India is only one-third as efficient. It is

the industrial inefficiency of India which is the cause of her low productivity and is partly responsible for her over-population.

The causes of industrial inefficiency of a nation may first be sought in the physical environment of its country and the racial qualities of its people. But although the tropics and the sub-tropics do not encourage the growth of physical energy to the same extent as the colder countries, the necessities of life are also fewer in the former as compared with those in the latter. Moreover, natural environment can be to a limited extent modified by human intelligence. Industrial efficiency depends, however, more upon mental qualities than upon physical energies. As far as the mental qualities of the people are concerned, it may be pointed out that India has not only contributed to philosophy, science, religion, medicine and arts, but had also supplied other nations with highly specialized articles from the time of the early Romans down to the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Ill-health, arising from chronic starvation and disease, as well as ignorance, which prevail among all classes of people, are detrimental to the growth of efficiency. Here is a vicious circle: ill-health and ignorance are both the causes and effects of industrial inefficiency. Social and religious institutions, such as the caste system, untouchability, child marriage, the joint family system, the purdah (seclusion), and the fatalistic conception of life, have also hindered social development and consequently industrial efficiency. Moreover, the loss of political power and the consequent moral and intellectual deterioration of the people, the establishment of an extensive foreign rule with its policy of new mercantilism (that India should become a producer of raw materials and a purchaser of finished products), and the organization and control of public utilities and key industries by foreign enterprise are also among the factors interfering with the growth of industrial efficiency among the indigenous people.

It is the inability of India to develop industrial efficiency and to apply modern science and art to productive processes which have retarded the growth of her national wealth. Although large industries, such as the cotton and jute mills, have grown up in the country, there has been a more rapid decline in arts and crafts. Instead of highly manufactured articles, as formerly,

more than half of India's present exports consist of raw materials and unmanufactured articles, and about three-quarters of her imports consist of manufactured goods. In fact, dependence upon agriculture as a means of livelihood has increased in India within the past generation. From 1891 to 1921, the proportion of the population supported by agriculture has increased from 61 per cent to 73 per cent. The proportion of agricultural population in India is 73 as compared with 40 in France, 34 in Germany and 32 in the United States.

The retarded growth of industrialism has not only interfered with the productivity of the people, but also the growth of modern outlook on life among the masses. It must be remembered that the two most important events in the Western world which have brought about the social, political and industrial changes are industrialism and mass education, in both of which India lags behind.

PROSPECTS OF PRODUCTIVITY

Although the increase in industrial efficiency will lead to the growth of production, there is a limit to the extension of productive power under the present state of development of science and art. On the basis of absolute necessities, or a liberal standard, India needs an increase of 33 or 100 per cent as much food supply as at present. The realization of such a standard of life is not an easy task.

In the first place, the natural resources of India are only fair. Of the total area of arable land, 55 per cent is already in use. Any intensification in cultivation would operate only under conditions of diminishing return. The unappropriated 45 per cent of the arable land is inferior in quality to that already under cultivation. Any improvement in production, therefore, would require irrigation, drainage, fertilization, acclimatization and other scientific treatment. As to other resources, the conservation and development of fisheries, forests and minerals require the acquisition of enormous capital and special technique.

The low national income does not leave much margin of saving for supplying capital resources in India. A large part of the savings is either hoarded or invested unproductively. Although the nationalization of the Government and the Indianization of the army might relieve India of at least half, if not

of enquiry in order to know how to deal with the question.

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Ill-health, arising from chronic starvation and disease, as well as ignorance, which prevail among all classes of people, are detrimental to the growth of efficiency. Here is a vicious circle: ill-health and ignorance are both the causes and effects of industrial inefficiency. Social and religious institutions, such as the caste system, untouchability, child marriage, the joint family system, the purdah (seclusion), and the fatalistic conception of life, have also hindered social development and consequently industrial efficiency. Moreover, the loss of political power and the consequent moral and intellectual deterioration of the people, the establishment of an extensive foreign rule with its policy of new mercantilism (that India should become a producer of raw materials and a purchaser of finished products), and the organization and control of public utilities and key industries by foreign enterprise are also among the factors interfering with the growth of industrial efficiency among the indigenous people.

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In the first place, the natural resources of India are only fair. Of the total area of arable land, 55 per cent is already in use. Any intensification in cultivation would operate only under conditions of diminishing return. The unappropriated 45 per cent of the arable land is inferior in quality to that already under cultivation. Any improvement in production, therefore, would require irrigation, drainage, fertilization, acclimatization and other scientific treatment. As to other resources, the conservation and development of fisheries, forests and minerals require the acquisition of enormous capital and special technique.

The low national income does not leave much margin of saving for supplying capital resources in India. A large part of the savings is either hoarded or invested unproductively. Although the nationalization of the Government and the Indianization of the army might relieve India of at least half, if not

more, of her military expenditure, which amounted to 58 crores of rupees in 1928-29, India has to pay a large amount of interest on her foreign public debt, which amounted to 353.0 million pounds sterling in 1928-1929. Moreover, the establishment of Self-government or Dominion status may lead to the withdrawal of a large amount of foreign investment, which amounts to about 600 million pounds sterling.

The greatest defect in India's productive system is, however, inefficiency of labour, which arises from ill-health and ignorance. Some idea of the extent of ill-health in India can be had from the fact that 70 per cent of the population in Bengal and practically all the rural population in Madras are infected with hookworm. Moreover, malaria, from which no part of India is free, causes 13 million deaths and debilitates many millions more every year. What is equally detrimental to the growth of industrial efficiency is colossal ignorance among the masses. According to the census of 1911, over 92 per cent of the whole population was illiterate.

India has the potentialities of developing highly specialized commodities in which she once enjoyed a great reputation. There is also the possibility of building some modern industries. "There is little doubt," says Sir Edwin Pascoe, Director of the Geological Survey of India, "that her vast resources in iron ore will one day give her an important, if not dominant, place in the steel of the world." But the development of such industries will require time.

Even if India immediately adopts a strong policy of national economy and begins the reconstruction of her industrial systems, it will take several decades before she can acquire sufficient efficiency and capital for the full utilization of her resources and for the solution of the problem of her food shortage.

A nation, however, needs other things besides food. It must provide all those necessities which are required for the moral and intellectual development of a progressive people. Moreover, a nation must maintain its standard among other advanced nations. The standard of life in India cannot be raised to the same level as that in Europe and America, but it must be a comfortable and respectable one. In order to raise her standard even to that of Japan, India must increase her national dividend

four times as much. Even when she can raise her productive power to the average productive capacity of industrially advanced countries, and can utilize all her resources, over two-thirds of which are at present wasted, as noted before, India can increase her productivity only three times as much. In short, it will take several decades before India can secure a decent standard of living for her people. During this period, the population, if unchecked, will grow faster than the increase in productivity.

CONTROL OF NUMBERS

Any increase in production alone, therefore, cannot solve the problem of over-population. The increase in productivity must be accompanied by the control of numbers. This control may consist either in the reduction or the stabilization of the present population. But the fundamental principle is to regulate the population according to social needs or the productive capacity of the country.

The reduction in the existing number of the population can be brought about either by emigration or by bringing down the birth-rate lower than the death-rate. Emigration as a method of reducing the numbers is only a palliative measure, as will be shown below. To bring the birth-rate lower than the death-rate involves some difficulties. In the first place, the population is the physical basis of national life, and any proposal for reduction will be objectionable to public sentiment. In the second place, the reduction in numbers is bound to increase an older age in population composition and thus to encourage conservatism and hinder social progress. India, which has been for centuries ruled by old traditions and old people, needs youthful vigour and social regeneration. In the third place, once the birth-rate begins to fall lower than the death-rate, it may lead to national decay or "racial suicide." Moreover, as the voluntary reduction is bound to begin in the upper classes of society, such classes may be extinct before long, causing social stagnation. It is not meant that the so-called upper classes have any intrinsic mental qualities which the lower classes lack; but they represent some cultural achievement, the loss of which will be detrimental to social progress.

Like reduction, stabilization in numbers can also be brought about by two methods :

namely, encouraging the emigration of population in excess of a certain number or by equalizing the birth and death rates. As in the case of reduction, emigration is not a solution to the problem of stabilization. Stabilization has also some defects, such as increase of an older age in population composition, but not to the same extent. It also fails to take care of the present excessive population. Moreover, since the adoption of the policy of stabilization will not be followed by immediate results, the problem of over-population will continue to increase before stabilization can be effected.

Stabilization has, however, some advantages. It will be more readily acceptable to the public. Even if reduction in numbers is desired, stabilization will be the first step in this direction. Once the people are used to the idea of stabilization, they may be more easily induced to accept the policy of reducing the numbers. Moreover, if the population can be kept stationary for a generation and rapid progress is made in national productivity, there will be a possibility of estimating more accurately the extent of over-population and of determining a definite population policy.

That emigration alone is not a method of solving the problem of over-population has already been mentioned. Emigration can reduce the present number only if the birth-rate and death-rate equalize each other. As a method of stabilization, emigration implies disposing of over three million population a year, which is the present excess of births over deaths. India has neither her own colonies nor the political and financial power to acquire any in the near future; nor is there any country in the world which can absorb such an enormous population. The number of Indians in British and foreign colonies amounts to a little over two millions after a hundred years of emigration. Moreover, emigration is not an unmixed good. It is mostly the comparatively young and

enterprising people who emigrate, thus depriving the mother country of their energy and enterprise.

The immediate problem before India is therefore the equalization of the birth and death-rates. On the basis that there is an excess of births over deaths of over three millions a year, and there are over 6.5 million households, the stabilization of the numbers in India would mean the reduction of a household from 4.9 persons to about 4.1 persons.* This implies both the desire on the part of the people to take to voluntary limitation of the family and familiarity with the means of achieving this end. Dissemination of the knowledge and the means of birth control among the people is a comparatively easy matter, but the creation of the desire for the voluntary limitation of the family means the development of a new attitude towards life.

The creation of a new attitude in a country where religion inculcates that every woman should marry and every man should have a son implies a complete change both in the religious doctrine and philosophy of life as well as in the social, political and industrial background. In order to bring about such changes India needs compulsory education, universal suffrage, abolition of caste and other social evils, industrialization of production, and the raising of the standard of life. It is only a new awakening among the masses and a higher appreciation of the moral and intellectual values of life and a greater desire for material goods which may lead them to adopt the conscious limitation of the family and thus to secure wealth and welfare to themselves as well as to their posterity.

* The number of households refers to the census of 1921. Owing to the existence of the joint family system, it is difficult to estimate the exact size of the family in India in the sense understood in the West. According to the enquiries made by the Bombay Labour Office, the working class families have been found to consist of 4.2 persons in Bombay, 4.65 persons in Sholapur, and 4 in Ahmedabad.



Conditions of Wage Workers In Mysore State

II: "OUTSIDE" LABOUR AND COGNATE PROBLEMS

By ST. Nihal Singh

I

THE Kannada-speaking people of Mysore do not take kindly to industrial labour. They love the land too dearly to be easily parted from it.

Their holdings are usually small—rarely above ten acres and sometimes only two or three acres in area. They are often fragmentary. Two or more plots are separated by a field or fields, which complicates the problem of cultivation.

Seldom is the peasant free from debt. The usurer's hand lies heavy on his shoulder. Between the tribute levied by the State and the exactions of the money-lender, little is left of the harvest garnered.

The land is nevertheless a symbol. It is a symbol of freedom, tattered though that freedom be. It gives the peasant a sense of independence. He works for himself—he is no hireling.

II

The roots of the *Vokkaligar* (as the man of the cultivating class is called in this State) descend into the soil far deeper than those of the paddy that he grows in his "wet" land or of the *ragi* (a species of millet) that he raises on his "dry" holding. Poverty exerts a powerful pull on them. It has a wrenching, tearing action. As it tugs at him, he trembles. Even his roots are disturbed. But they are resilient as well as tough. More often than not they hold.

There does not seem to be any limit to the cultivator's capacity to constrict his desires—to narrow even his elementary, supposedly undeniable, wants. His ability to do without things—to go on short commons—is highly developed. So is his ingenuity for making a little go a long way.

And yet there is nothing mean about the man. Penury has not killed in him the instinct to give. He shares his little

with the stranger. The prince who lavishes his bounty out of his plenty looks like a niggard compared with this horny-handed son of toil, burdened with debt.

I speak from experience, I have enjoyed the hospitality of both.

III

In certain parts of the State the rainfall is generous, the soil is rich and general conditions governing farming operations are favourable. Vegetation seems to grow with small effort—almost of itself.

Agricultural operations are conducted in a lacadaisical fashion in such parts. I have noticed peasants going to the fields at an hour when elsewhere half a morning's work would have been done. I have seen them returning to their homes when the sun was still pretty high in the heavens.

Much the same may be said of even some parts of the State where the rainfall is scanty and little has been done—or done successfully—by the Government to provide irrigation facilities. The Kannada-speaking farmer pursues his calling in a leisurely manner and seems incapable of intense application.

The work-day is particularly short in the *malnad* (hilly) and semi-malnad districts. There the farm worker has yet to discover the meaning of strenuous labour as understood in other countries and even in nearby districts in British India.

How much of this is temperamental and how much physiological, I cannot say. But I must say that I have been appalled at the utter inadequacy of effort to improve the sanitary conditions of the State.

The *Arogya Shastra* (sanitary science) may be taught in schools. The Sanitary Department may issue roseate reports from Bangalore and by skilfully piloting visiting sanitarians may secure high encomiums from them. But I have travelled thousands of miles in the interior, wherever possible,

* The first article in this series appeared in *The Modern Review* for October, 1931.

unchaperoned by officials. I know having seen with my own eyes, that in actual practice life is led in open defiance of the sanitary laws.

Arrangements for the disposal of refuse even when they exist are primitive in the extreme. The water-borne system of sewage is virtually unknown. Incineration is little practised and seldom with the due precautions. Gutters do not always exist, and when they do, they are almost invariably open and evil-smelling, except when some exalted visitor is expected.

Malaria and hookworm, needless to say, thrive. The lassitude of the people must be partly due to the debilitating effect these diseases have upon the physique of those subjected to them.

IV

Sanitary conditions are no better in the neighbouring Madras Presidency. Nor is the outlook upon life materially different.

But Nature is not so bountiful. Even to procure a scanty portion of rice and *rasam* (pepper-water) the agricultural labour there must toil long and hard. Often the problem of living can be solved only by emigrating to some place offering better prospects.

The Tamil is, therefore, hardy, industrious and thrifty. But all the advantages are not in his favour. He lacks the gentle manners of the Kannadi man.

In going from Mysore to Madras, one is struck by these differences. The people living in the strip forming the eastern border of the State—the Kolar District—appear to be a cross between the Kannadi and Tamil race-groups. They are wonderfully good at conserving water and applying it economically to raise crops which can be nurtured only with intense effort. Conditions of life and work in this corner of the State offer a contrast compared with those in the interior.

V

These physiological and psychological factors have an important bearing upon the supply of labour for industrial and certain other classes of work. They make it impossible for Mysore State to be self-sufficing in this respect.

Another factor increases Mysore's need for labour drawn from outside its border. The population is small compared with the area. There are only some 6,557,871 persons in nearly 29,500 square miles.

More than fifty years have elapsed since the great famine devastated the "Mysore Province," as it was then called. Though recent censuses have shown considerable increase, the population is small considering the size of the territory. The density is much lower than in the Madras Presidency or in Cochin or Travancore.

Some Mysoreans may not hesitate to assert that the population is adequate not only for the ordinary requirements of the State but even for "developmental work," as they would put it. There is no lack of contentious spirit or of casuistical skill in the State.

These Mysoreans would, however, be unable to deny that labour engaged upon certain types of undertakings is largely or entirely recruited from the Madras or Bombay Presidencies. For instance :

(1) Most of the large coffee plantations in the Hassan, Kador and Shimoga Districts employ workers from "Below the ghat"—that is to say, the low land lying round about Mangalore.

(2) Non-Mysoreans figure prominently in the population in the Kolar Gold Fields.

(3) Projects for impounding water by the million cubic feet for various purposes have been and are being executed with the aid of thousands of men and women imported from the eastern districts of the Madras Presidency.

(4) Workshops, factories and mills are run with a considerable admixture of Tamil, Telugu and Mahratta labour.

The presence of large numbers of "outsiders" on "developmental work" can be explained only by admitting that, if Mysoreans have the capacity to be self-sufficing in this respect, they certainly lack the will.

VI

The employment of outside—chiefly Tamil-speaking—labour in the State has a distinct reaction upon Mysoreans. It makes them look upon Tamils as an order of beings specially created by Providence to drudge for them.

In so doing the Kannada-speaking Mysoreans forget, of course, that the Tamils are an intellectual race, with a remarkably vital civilization of their own which, despite its amalgamation with the Aryan culture, has retained some of its original characteristics. As I have pointed out elsewhere,* the

* "Men & Matters In Mysore—XII : What of Tomorrow? *The Hindu Illustrated Weekly* (Madras), June 28, 1931.

Madras Brahman carried away so many of the posts in the Mysore Civil Service that the door of that Service has been virtually slammed upon him as well as other non-Mysorean Indians. As I wrote :

"Mysore, I must hasten to add, has a brand of its own Civil Service—the 'M. C. S.' created by Sir K. Sheshadri Aiyar during his long tenure of the Dewanate.

"In the competitive examination prescribed by that Madras statesman, Mysoreans found themselves no match for alert men from Coimbatore, Tanjore, Rajahmundry, Palghat and the 'water-logged' region of Travancore. Ayyas and Raos were outclassed by Aiyars.

"A postern gate made it possible, however, for the 'also ran' to get in. Relatives of influential officials and graduates belonging to the Muslim and backward communities were also permitted to enter the 'excluded ranks' without going through the travail of passing any competitive examination. Heart-burning continued nevertheless.

"Each time that a Mysorean occupied the seat of the mighty, he found some way of keeping non-Mysoreans out. Finally, during the last decade, a ukase went out from the Secretariat that slammed the door shut and barred it against 'outsiders'—non-Mysore Indians being 'outsiders'.

"So far as I know, this is the only administrative act of Sir M. Visveswarayya that, in my view at least, is tinctured with parochialism. Probably the Ayyas and Raos who found themselves outdistanced in the competitive race caught him in an unguarded moment and got their wish.

"A peculiar plea is advanced to justify this policy of exclusion of Madras and other Indians from the 'M. C. S.' Without this safeguard, it is said, Mysoreans would be nowhere in their own State.

"The men who talk thus nevertheless insist that Mysoreans must be given unfettered opportunities outside Mysore. The State, they add, is unable to absorb all the men turned out of the various faculties of the Mysore University. Were other Indian States and British India to erect barriers, the plight of many Mysore graduates would be sad.

"At the moment of writing, an intensive effort is, in fact, being made to secure India-wide recognition of the degrees conferred by the Mysore University upon engineering graduates. Such recognition is sought, not merely or even largely as a compliment to the other Indian Universities, but with a view to making it easier for Mysore engineering graduates to obtain employment elsewhere.

"I deprecate the setting up of ring-fences round any part of India. Every artificial barrier that exists must come down. Otherwise national aspirations will be an utter delusion."

I fear that the presence of a considerable percentage of non-Mysorean wage-earners constitutes one of the causes of the apathy that is displayed towards solving the problems that is displayed towards solving the problems and connected with mining, planting and industrial labour. Little in the way of welfare work is attempted even in the large cities.

The movement to organize labour unions is still in its infancy. The "recognition" of unions is left to the will of the employers. Even the Mysore Government justifies its refusal to treat with union representatives upon the plea that they are "outsiders."

High-handed action taken against labour-leaders (who happen to be of Tamilian stock) by reactionary officials, rouses little public indignation—certainly no effective action by way of protest. (I shall have more to say concerning these matters in an article that will appear later).

There is another side to the question, however. The fact that many of the wage-earners who create wealth in Mysore are drawn from outside the State invests the labour problem here with a wider interest.

The conditions in which Indians, no matter where they were born, live and work in whatever part of India—or, for that matter, of the world—should, in any case, interest any and every Indian. But unfortunately India is passing through the parochial stage. Everything is viewed through a narrow, provincial slit in the curtain of life.

This is particularly the case in Indian India. Officials connected with the administration of even a State that claims to be progressive do not hesitate to raise the cry of "domestic issue" in the attempt to burke discussion.

I have been much disappointed to find that Mysore, with all its reputation for enlightened rule, is no exception in this respect. But no matter how much some of its officials may wish to isolate it from the rest of India, in many matters and especially so far as labour is concerned, it is dependent upon the neighbouring Presidencies. Its future development is, indeed, conditioned to no small extent by its ability to draw a cheap and plentiful supply of workers from contiguous British-Indian districts.

VII

Mysore's dependence upon "outside" labour was brought home to me within a few days of my arrival on my present visit to that State. At the suggestion of the Dewan-Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza Mohammed Ismail, a friend of many years' standing—I went to Thippagondanahalli, where a large reservoir for impounding 1,471,000,000 cubic feet of potable water (in the first stage) and 3,037,000,000 cubic feet in the final stage, for

Bangalore (about twenty miles distant) was being constructed. There, to my surprise, I found at work a large number of labourers drawn from various parts of India. Before writing of them I shall give a brief description of the project, of which the State is proud.

The site is well chosen. The dam is being built in the bed of the Arkavati river in a narrow gap between two hills. The land in the immediate vicinity is, for the most part, waste or of little agricultural value; and is hemmed in with hills.

Every advantage that the engineer's soul could crave is available here. The narrow gap across the valley necessitates the construction of a dam that is remarkably short for the vast amount of water to be stored. When completely finished it will be only 1,460 feet in length at the top.

The project reflects great credit on the Public Works Department. Mr. M. G. Rangaiya, who presides over that department, and Mr. John Bhore, his immediate predecessor and, for the time being, Consulting Engineer to the Mysore Government in respect of this undertaking, are exceedingly competent engineers. They would have risen to the top of their profession anywhere in the world.

Nature has a way of upsetting human calculations. In framing estimates wise engineers therefore make it clear that they are basing their figures upon certain contingencies.

In this case the rock formation necessitated deeper excavation than was anticipated. A "fault"—to use a geological expression—was discovered.

No sound engineer could lay the foundations of the dam on dikes of soft, crumbling matter running through the rock. It was therefore necessary to continue the excavation until the solid rock-bottom was reached.

At the time of my (first) visit digging operations were in full swing. I found many Pathans at work driving crow-bars into the dike. The broken mass was being loaded into baskets which women carried on their heads from the pit over ramps and dumped upon selected spots on the brow of the embankment.

These women looked strong and energetic. They were mostly Waddars from the Madras Presidency. So I was told by the engineer who kindly showed me around the works. Waddars were, he added, a "forest tribe" and were adepts at earth work.

The Pathans, with their sturdy physique, were particularly good at excavation. Each of them could do as much work as four ordinary men. A Pathan earned as much as two rupees a day.

I asked him how much a Waddar woman earned.

"They are all on piece work," the Engineer replied. "So are the Pathans, for that matter."

He appeared to be fencing. I therefore pressed him for a more direct reply. So far as I could gather, few of the women made more than eight annas a day.

Later I met another engineer, who said: "These coolies from British India are very well off. They get better wages here than they do in their own districts. That is why they come here. We can have any number of them we want. They are very well off indeed."

VIII

I was pressed for time on that occasion and could not examine conditions as well as I should have liked to do. I therefore returned to Thippagondanballi a few months later when an opportunity presented itself.

The sun had risen high and was sending down scorching shafts. I made my way to the far end of the dam site.

From this position I had an extensive view of the operations. Near where I stood was a pool of water. A substantial looking wall held it in check. On the other side of it was the deepest portion of the dam site, which, when finished, will rise 145 feet above foundation in the river. The rock ran in a line varying in height. All along its face men and women were hard at work, like an army of human ants, digging and carrying away material. Far above this scene of human activity appeared, at the edge of the horizon, a line of bungalows in which the men who directed the labourers lived and worked.

The sight would have held me captive but for the foul smell with which the spot where I stood was permeated. I soon found that the place was used as an open-air lavatory.

When I complained of the filthy conditions in which the labourers stationed near by were working, a high official asked me what else I could expect. Most of them were Waddars, he pointed out, without the most elementary notion of sanitation.

They may be primitive people, I replied, but what had been done to civilize them? Had any latrines been constructed near the works site? Had the Waddars been taught to use them? Were scavengers employed to keep these latrines clean, if such conveniences existed, or were the scavengers meant merely for the bungalows that the "superior staff" occupied as residences and offices?

The high official winced at those questions. Evidently the idea of building latrines for the work-people or employing scavengers to keep those latrines clean have not occurred to any one in authority. Or it had been dismissed as soon as it suggested itself.

They were "only Waddars"—good enough to take work out of—but not worth the trouble of teaching them sanitary habits.

IX

This attitude prepared me for the sort of housing provided for the workers. The hovels were of the meanest description imaginable. Usually a mud wall rose to a height of eighteen inches or two feet. Above this was a peaked roof formed of rude poles to which were fastened leaves or straw. The sloping thatch reached nearly to the ground and, at its highest point, was seldom more than six or seven feet high. A narrow door, so low that it was impossible to enter it without stooping, let in the only light and air that penetrated into the interior. It served also as a chimney to let out the suffocating smoke when the fire was lit for cooking. From a distance a settlement of these huts appeared to be, not human habitations, but straw stacks.

When talking with the Engineer in charge of the project at the time, I was surprised to learn that the workers had to pay for even those wretched hovels. The "materials" were provided by the Department. The cost was deducted by means of monthly instalments.

The Engineer was an economist. He seemed proud of the system.

It did not occur to me to enquire if it was of his own invention or if it was a part of the general scheme. I am sorry the matter escaped me at the time.

The whole transaction seemed petty to me. What comparison could there be between the few thousand rupees recovered from the Waddars and other workers on

account of "housing materials" and the Rs. 5,000,000 or more to be spent upon the works?

Why are Governments sometimes so stone-hearted?

Why should such a practice exist under personal rule—under "Rama Rajya"—as Mahatma Gandhi would put it?

X

Mr. Rangaiya—the Chief Engineer of Mysore State—is a man of fine instincts. I was therefore not surprised to find, upon paying a third visit to the place, that my complaints had not gone entirely unheeded.

Near the principal works site and near the hutments lining motorable roads, latrines had been installed. The Executive Engineer—a new man—told me that sweepers were employed to keep them clean.

I also found that pipes had been run from the water tank built near the offices and residences of the engineers to convenient points in the various settlements where the workers dwelt, so that water for domestic purposes may be readily available for them. Unfortunately there, was little water flowing in some of these taps when I tested them; but I dare say it was running later on when there was not so much pressure on the supply. I was assured that early in the morning and late in the evening the pressure was high enough to permit it to flow with a strength and volume that would permit the workers to fill their pots quickly. I hope this was the case.

The new Executive Engineer told me that he did not like the system of recovering the cost of "housing materials from the coolies." He gave me to understand that he meant to move the Government to authorize him to write it off.

I wonder if he has done so; and with what result.

XI

Even at works of much greater magnitude little provision is made for workers' welfare. The Krishnarajasagara project is a case in point.

The scheme, in its conception as well as its execution, is magnificent. The site for building a dam to create a reservoir capable of holding 49,299 million cubic feet of water has been chosen a short distance below the confluence of three rivers—the Cauvery, the Hemavathi and the Lakshmananirtha.

The joint stream is almost a fifth of a mile (910 feet) in width here. Strange to say, a stone bearing upon its face a finely incised inscription in Persian has been dug up in the vicinity showing that somewhere in this region Tippoo Sultan had decided upon building an anicut for purposes of irrigation.

The dam constructed to hold up the onrushing waters is more than a mile and three-quarters in length (8600 feet, including the weir portion). Some thirty million cubic feet of masonry have gone into its making. Its length dwarfs its height.

The solidity of the structure, challenging the flood waters to do their worst, impresses even a casual visitor. What Indian can behold this splendid work done by his own countrymen without alien assistance, without feeling his blood flowing faster in his veins!

The reservoir is designed partly for hydro-electric and partly for irrigation purposes. When the flow of water in the river is not enough in volume to generate at Sivasa-mudram the requisite amount of current, it is supplemented with water released from the "lake," some fifty square miles in area. A sufficient quantity will be left after fulfilling this need to enable some 120 000 acres of land to be irrigated, provided the precious liquid is scientifically utilized.

The total cost of the scheme will not fall very far short of Rs. 70,000,000. Money has not been made available as rapidly as it could advantageously have been utilized. The completion of the scheme has therefore been delayed; charges on account of interest and sinking fund have accumulated on the amount spent during the unnecessarily long period of construction; and the people have been unable to derive the benefits of irrigation as early as they might have done had the Government pursued a more enlightened financial policy.

The cost debited to the hydro-electric undertaking is nevertheless yielding a net revenue of "4 to 6 per cent." It has been suggested to me that the Government has been much too lenient in assessing this liability, which actually is only a paper transaction, for the irrigation undertaking is operated by itself. This means that the cost debited to the irrigation portion of the scheme, which directly adds to the people's burden, is unduly heavy.

Whether this contention is correct or not I cannot say. The data necessary for judging are not available. But there is much

agitation against the amounts that the State proposes to levy as "contribution" from holders of land in the region to be irrigated.

According to an official estimate, the area, when irrigation is fully developed, will yield crops worth Rs. 25,00,000

XII

This magnificent scheme has been largely built with the aid of "outside" labour.

Shortly after it was taken in hand plague broke out and wrought much havoc in the "camp." Workers fled to their villages.

After the plague subsided, much effort was needed to coax back the labourers. In time they lost their fear of being struck down by the epidemic and it was possible to obtain the thousands of men and women needed for building the huge dam.

During 1921, when I first visited the State, I was conducted over the works. The visit was hurried. I was expected only to gain a bird's-eye view of the enterprise and had no time to examine anything in detail or to gain a glimpse of the conditions in which the workers lived.

During my present visit I have taken the opportunity to make a close study of the works. At the invitation of the Chief Engineer of the scheme—Mr. (now Dewan Bahadur) K. R. Seshachar I spent several days at the Inspection Bungalow, which commanded an extensive view of the dam. Mr. N. Sarabhoja, the Executive Engineer, and his immediate assistants, took great pains to show me round.

Attention was being concentrated, at the time of my visit, upon the completion of the waste-weir. The labourers at work there were largely Madrasis. The stone work was being done by men from Coimbatore, who are famed for their skill and command higher wages than most other craftsmen.

The men who supervised the work were on the contrary, Mysoreans. They were, with hardly an exception, Brahmans. Mr. Sarabhoja (himself a Brahman) told me that, in obedience to orders from the Government, he was encouraging non-Brahmans as much as possible. But he naturally could not get rid of Brahmans in order to create posts for non-Brahmans. Nor was there a plethora of suitable non-Brahman candidates.

XIII

Much thought has been bestowed and some expense incurred upon beautifying the

site. The top of the dam (over fifteen feet in width) has been turned into a motor road. On either side of it has been built a parapet, neat but a little too high to enable one to look over it with comfort. It is lit at night with a profusion of lights which look like gleaming beads when viewed from Chamandi Hill, in the lee of which lies the Maharaja's capital.

Herr G. H. Krumbiegel, who for years has been in the employ of the State and holds the posts of Director of Horticulture and Economic Botanist, Consulting Architect, and Visiting Professor of Town Planning and Civil Design in the Mysore University, has designed an extensive sunken garden, descending in a series of grass-terraces to the bed of the channel. Water is allowed to pour over the tops of the terraces in a channel specially constructed for it, in a cascade. Trees have been planted which, when grown, are expected to produce a beautiful landscape effect. Flower beds dot the grounds here and there and a parterre of foliage plants set out in a formal design adds to the ornamental effect. It is intended to make this one of the beauty spots of Mysore.

An image of Canvery Amma, the guardian goddess of the river, is enshrined in a niche in the side wall of the dam, with steps leading down, in diamond-shape, on either side of it from the top of the dam to the gardens. People of every caste and degree in life render it obeisance. This may, in time, turn Kannambadi Dam into a place of pilgrimage as well as a pleasure resort for the citizens of Mysore City.

XIV

I wish some of this artistic skill had been directed towards creating healthy, beautiful surroundings for the thousands of men and women, mostly non-Mysoreans, but for whose ungrudging labour, paid for at low rates, the

dam and the auxiliary works would have remained only an engineer's dream. Any effort or money spent in that direction would not have been wasted.

I am sorry to have to note that *twenty years after the work on the scheme was begun*, the workers still "live" in wretched hovels. I would not have the heart to house dogs in them. Certainly no one who cared for his horse would stable it in one of these huts, provided that by some miracle the horse could be got into it.

The less said about sanitary measures for safe-guarding the workers' health the better.

The authorities evidently think that they have done enough in the way of medical relief by employing a "sub-assistant surgeon" at the works. Even in Ceylon (let alone countries in Europe and America) a man with such a qualification would not be permitted to use a surgical instrument.

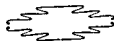
No one at the Dam appeared to have heard of welfare work. Certainly no attempt was being made to provide "visual education" or healthy amusement for the labourers.

Nor did I see any sign of activity in the way of teaching mothers how to take care of their children. I was not shown a single *crèche* where mothers could leave their little ones to be cared for in healthy surroundings while they toiled.

Unless my eyes deceived me, women were permitted to carry heavy head-loads and to perform other hard tasks almost up to the time of confinement. Provision for maternity benefit did not exist.

I do not wish to imply that the "superior staff" was stone-hearted. But I must say that it was oblivious of the modern concept of the employer's duty towards the workers. Judged by results and not by professions, the higher authorities, too, seem to be equally oblivious of it.

(The third article of this series will appear in *The Modern Review* for next month).



Victor Jacquemont's Interview with Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Lahore*

[Victor Jacquemont was sent to India on a scientific mission by the authorities of the Paris Museum of Natural History. He reached Calcutta in the month of May, 1829. During his short stay in Calcutta he had an interesting interview with Raja Rammohun Roy. Soon afterwards he left Bengal and, passing through Delhi, penetrated into Western Tibet. He came back to Delhi and started from that place on a tour through the Panjab and Ka-hmir in 1831. He wished to see the whole of Southern India but he fell ill and died in December, 1832. His diary, in six large volumes, is an interesting work. Besides his accounts of well-known persons and places, it contains his scientific (geological, botanical, etc.) investigations.]

Lahore, 11th March, 1831.

"One approaches the city through a wilderness relieved here and there by gardens. At the entrance to one of these charming retreats I observed from far off a brilliant group. My guide (the son of the Wazir) told me that they were Messieurs Allard, Ventura and Court. They welcomed me as if they were old friends."

"M. Allard belongs to Saint Tropez. An officer in the old (Royal) army, he served under Joseph Bonaparte at Naples and in Spain. He was Marshal Brune's aide de-camp during the 'Hundred Days.' In 1818 he left France for Constantinople. After a short stay in Turkey he proceeded to Persia. . . . From that country he passed on to Kabul where Shah Ayud, the brother of Shah Shuja, was still reigning. There in Kabul he met M. Ventura. Hearing the praises of Maharaja Ranjit Singh—both of them left for the Panjab. The Maharaja took them both in his employment. On many occasions he had the opportunity of testing their merit. Especially, in one of the expeditions to Peshawar, M. Ventura, by a desperate cavalry charge rallied the retreating Sikh army and led them on to victory. . . . Messieurs Allard and Ventura succeeded in inspiring the Maharaja with a high opinion of the French and often they received from him valuable presents."

"Messieurs Court and Avitabile should also be mentioned. . . . M. Avitabile belongs to Naples. He served for a short time in the French army. He seems to have linked his fortunes with those of M. Court who left

the French service in 1818. . . . They were together in Persia for several years. Then they came to the Panjab where M. Court is in command of one or two regiments of infantry. For some time M. Avitabile has combined financial work with the charge of a regiment. . . . Up to this time he has had no quarrel with the Maharaja in connection with his accounts. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, however, is a bad accountant and would have misunderstandings even with the best accountant in the world. . . ."

"Messieurs Allard and Ventura live together in a grand building built by themselves on the ruins of a Mughal palace. The style is semi-European and semi-Persian. . . . Part of the building is reserved for the zenana of M. Allard where he has but one wife. . . . M. Ventura also has but one wife—an Armenian—who is lodged in a Mughal tomb close to this house. . . . A harem is a necessity for Europeans here. . . ."

Lahore, 12th March, 1831.

"The day after my arrival at Lahore the Maharaja ordered his French officers to bring me to the Durbar. . . . The Maharaja was seated on a cushion in one of the allys of the garden (probably the Shalimar gardens). . . . To his right and left were a dozen chiefs seated on a Persian carpet. . . . The Maharaja began in Hindustani which I understand, and he could understand quite well the rhetorical flourishes which I had prepared in that language for the beginning of the interview. 'Often have I seen Bonaparte, and for a long time I have been wishing to see the Bonaparte of the East.' Here the Maharaja curtsied to me most affably. He asked me questions about my travels. But speaking in Urdu was too much of a strain for him and his Panjabi, which I could follow but imperfectly, was translated to me by M. Ventura."

"The conversation lasted two hours. . . . He asked me several questions about the English soldiers."

The Maharaja, "Do they fight well?"

Jaquemont, "Very well."

The Maharaja, "As well as the French?"

Jaquemont, "Nearly as well—since Napoleon taught them the art of warfare."

* Translated from the French by B. R. Chatterji.

The Maharaja. "Are the Indian Sepoys of the Company good fighters?"

Jacquemont. "I have heard so. There has been no war in India since I came here, so I have only heard people talk about these things."

The Maharaja. "But what about Bharatpur?"

Jacquemont. "I was not in India at the time of the taking of Bharatpur. Moreover Bharatpur was but a ill-fortified place; it could not hold out against European military science."

The Maharaja. "Bharatpur not well fortified!"

Jacquemont. "Certainly not... Indian warfare is but child's play. In the battles fought by Bonaparte forty thousand soldiers perished in each action."

The Maharaja. "So I have heard often from Allard Sahab. Have you seen Bonaparte?"

Jacquemont. "Many times."

The Maharaja. "Have you seen him from close quarters?"

Jacquemont. "Just as I see Your Majesty. And like Your Majesty he was of a small stature and thin in his youth, and like Your Majesty, by his valour and his wisdom he became a king and the most powerful king of the world."

The Maharaja. "Nevertheless he was defeated and taken prisoner by the English."

Jacquemont. "He was betrayed. There were traitors."

The Maharaja. "What are the sciences you are acquainted with?"

I was going to give a long list when M. Allard asked me in French to say "all the sciences." So I repeated in Hindustani "I know all the sciences."

The Maharaja. "Do you know the art of warfare as well?"

Seeing me hesitate M. Ventura replied promptly: "He knows the science of war, but he has not practised it himself."

The Maharaja. "Do you know political science?"

M. Allard. "He is a profound scholar of that subject."

The Maharaja. "What conquests can I undertake at present?"

Jacquemont. "With troops so fine and so well-disciplined Your Majesty can easily conquer any country of Asia which is not already occupied by the English or the Russians."

The Maharaja (with the most affable bow to me). "But what province should I first

think of taking? Tibet? You have been there."

Jacquemont. "Your Majesty would only have to send there your Gurkha regiment. But that country is miserably poor."

The Maharaja. "What is the use of conquering such a country? I want lands which are rich and prosperous. Could I not have Sind? It is said that there is plenty of money there. But what would the English say to such a project?"

Jacquemont. "If the English are not pledged to protect the provinces on the right bank of the lower Indus, Your Majesty can certainly invade those parts without exposing yourself to a war with the English."

The Maharaja. "I hear much about the Russians nowadays"

Jacquemont. "Because they are making extensive conquests in Persia."

The Maharaja. "What do the English say to that?"

Jacquemont. "They don't bother themselves much about it."

The Maharaja. "But what would they do, if a Russian army advances to attack them?"

I was tempted to say what I believed to be the truth that in that case the English would offer many apologies to the Maharaja to excuse the necessity of pushing their frontier from the Sutlej up to the river Indus and seize his territory—but I gave the more discreet answer: "Won't Your Majesty be able to spare the English the trouble of pushing back the Russians with an army so well-disciplined and led by such able French generals like these (pointing to Messieurs Allard and Ventura)?"

The Maharaja. "The English and I have but one heart and one mind."

The next day the Maharaja talked to me about Kashmir which I was going to visit. "It is a paradise on earth, but beware of the men—they are liars and thieves. But the women are beautiful indeed! What do you think of these?" And he pointed to five lovely young girls, who came out of a tent close to us, and insisted on hearing my opinion of them. They were the most beautiful women I had seen in India and in any country their beauty would have been admired. "They are charming!" I exclaimed. And the Maharaja laughed a hearty laugh.

Norman Thomas—A Man of Vision

By SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D.

MOST Americans are highly patriotic and exclusively nationalistic. They are inordinately proud of Americanism and of the tradition for which they think it stands. But I know a number of Americans whose love of their native land is neither narrow nor exclusive. One of these is Mr. Norman Thomas, the leader of the Socialist party of the United States. He has that cosmopolitanism which is unwilling to build a sense of values only in American terms. He has that intellectual integrity which holds that the human race can never remain *prisoned in a jealous, insane patriotism*. One also learns to admire Mr. Thomas because of "the depth of his sense of justice and the degree to which his mind is open."

His deep concern for the welfare of humanity overleaps national boundaries. "My heart is very heavy about the present situation in India," remarked Mr. Thomas to me. "I have written considerably about India in the American press, and have also written very earnest protests to England in private letters."

Norman Thomas, who is a friend of Premier Ramsay MacDonald, has repeatedly stated India's case in American papers. He holds that the energies of the British Labour Government have been diverted from its proper functions into a preservation of imperialism. He insists that if to grant self-government to India meant "the downfall of the Labour Government, it might at least mean the salvation of the Socialist ideal which is worth many months of power or seeming power in office for a party whose main preoccupation must be to pull Tory chestnuts out of the Indian fire. Let it be said at once that the American which hangs on to the Philippines has no right to give the British any advice. But we who care for the honor of Labour or Socialism or the peace of the world have a right to plead with our comrades for the sake of a common cause."

Norman Thomas is not a spinner of ethereal Utopias. To hear him talk is to be convinced that he has a fine sense of realities. To him the success of Socialism

under the leadership of the British Labour party in England is a matter of extraordinary concern to the workers of the whole world.

Mr. Thomas is an optimist, who knows that cynicism is the essence of optimism. He still hopes that the Labour party will find some honorable way out of the difficult situation in India. "To believe otherwise," asserts the distinguished American Socialist, "to think that the Labour Government may go down in history as the ruthless policeman who successfully or unsuccessfully tried to suppress India's aspiration for freedom, is to believe that international socialism will have received in the house of its friends a wound that its enemies could not possibly inflict. It would almost seem as if there were some satanic lord of the universe, some grim and cynical cosmic jester so to order affairs that the MacDonald who opposed the imperialism of the World War should be the champion of British imperialism in India and that the party which has advocated the emancipation of the worker in England should divert the country's thought and energy and resources to maintaining by military force the hated power of the British Raj in India."

Norman Thomas stresses the fact that the individual is always a member of society, not a Robinson Crusoe on his island or a Simeon Stylites on his pillar. As a social member, his salvation depends upon co-operation and not on selfish individualism. India should be a free cooperating member of the Family of Nations. Coercing imperialism should be replaced by voluntary co-operation. The policy of England toward India should be one of bold conciliation. I quote Norman Thomas:

"Grant all the difficulties. Grant that the MacDonald Government inherited a situation which it did not make. Grant, moreover, that there is nothing in the history of movements for national independence in recent years or in conditions in India itself to make one predict the easy and orderly establishment of self-government in India. Nevertheless the British Labour Government has drifted. It has followed old lines of re-

pressions and has scarcely seemed aware of the depth and strength of Indian sentiment. Unquestionably the MacDonald Government in its handling the Indian issue has expressed the instinctive and overwhelming sentiment in England. But it has made Socialism seem the ally of imperialism which is a terrible price for anything else it may accomplish."

When Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald came to America, Mr. Norman Thomas more than once called on the British Premier to solicit his friendly intervention on behalf of the political prisoners at Meerut; but he found no opportunity to get the Premier to consider the subject. He also wrote a personal letter to Mr. MacDonald asking him to release the Meerut prisoners. The letter was obviously opened by a secretary, for the answer was most perfunctory. I was told. This is a tragic hour for international socialism.

One suspects that Mr. Thomas has little illusion about the liberalism of the British Labour party. It is, he admits, mostly made up of imperialists. H. G. Wells, Bertrand Russell, Henry Nevins, Norman Angel and many other bigger and lesser figures of the Labour party are at heart imperialists. The English nation, as a whole, exudes the bad odour of imperialism. There is a proverb, "Scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar." Norman Thomas would have it amended to read: "Scratch an Englishman and you will find an imperialist."

Norman Thomas is an unusual man. He is internationally famous as a leader in the Socialist and labour movement in this country. He is the author of a number of books and pamphlets, and numerous magazine articles, interpreting current world problems. He was the editor of the *World Tomorrow*, and associate editor of *The Nation*. He was also the editor of the *New York Leader*, an interesting but short-lived attempt at a labour daily newspaper. He is now a contributing editor of *The Nation*, and the *World Tomorrow*; but he devotes most of his time to the League for Industrial Democracy, with headquarters in New York City. He is the executive director of the League.

Mr. Thomas has taken part in many free speech fights on labour's behalf, twice submitting to arrest and both times winning vindication at the hands of the law. He has been a candidate on the Socialist ticket, for the Governorship of the New York State and Mayorality of New York City, each time pooling a large vote. He was also the Socialist

candidate for the Presidency of the United States in the 1928 presidential election.

Norman Thomas is forty-six years old. He graduated from the Princeton University in 1905 at the age of twenty. Six years later he was graduated from the Union Theological Seminary with the degree of B. D. But he never thinks of attaching "Dr." before his name, and has never professed theological orthodoxy. I like to address him as Neighbour Thomas.

His life is dedicated to the service of humanity. In 1906 and 1907 he was a worker in the Spring Street Neighbourhood House, a social settlement in the heart of the New York tenement district. During the serious unemployment crisis of 1914, Neighbour Thomas and his wife ran one of the largest unemployment workrooms in New York City.

As a student of international affairs, a friend of oppressed minorities and advocate of international peace and co-operation, Norman Thomas perhaps is as well known in Europe as in America. He served on the American Commission for conditions in Ireland in 1920, presenting the since famous Senatorial report. This report was the high-light of the agitation which led up to the Lloyd George agreement creating the Irish Free State.

Both on religious and economic grounds he courageously opposed American entrance into the late "War to End War" (1914-1918). He helped to organize the American Union Against Militarism, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. "If there is one thing that is clear in the teaching of Jesus it is his thoroughgoing disbelief in violence," said Norman Thomas. "Yet the Church that calls itself Christian is in practice loyal not to Jesus but to the prophet of the sword. The Church has failed to take account of the imperialistic plotting of the alleged Christian powers." The son and grandson of clergymen, Norman Thomas was once a pastor of a Presbyterian church in New York City. But when the Great War came, he gave up church work and became active as a Socialist and pacifist. The agony he endured as a conscientious objector, one can learn best by reading his book, *Is Conscience a Crime*.

In politics Norman Thomas is a Socialist. Socialism is for him more than a programme; it is a philosophy, a creed and a vision. "I am a Socialist" explains Mr. Thomas,

"because in our modern world it seems to me that Socialism affords our best hope of utilizing our immense resources of material and skill so as to abolish poverty and the terrible insecurity of the workers, reduce the menace of war, and increase the measure of freedom and fraternity in our world. Socialism is no infallible panacea, but it does afford our best hope of comparatively peaceful progress toward that fellowship of free men which is the only Utopia worth while. Socialism may propose changes that may correctly be called revolutionary. Yet the more widespread is the acceptance of its point of view, the more likely are we to escape that violence which heretofore has popularly been associated with the notion of revolution."

In spite of its tremendous mechanical competence, there is in the United States bitter poverty. The poverty is due to the unfair distribution of production. Under the present system, 1 per cent of the population obtain 20 per cent of the national income; 10 per cent, receive 40 per cent of the total income, while the poorest 25 per cent, receive only 3½ per cent.

"This gross disparity of income based on no logical difference either in ability or in social usefulness," holds Mr. Thomas, "does not tell all the story. There is the dreadful insecurity of our industrial civilization. One-third of our people sixty-five years and over are wholly or partially dependent on charity." Yet the United States boasts of one or two billionaires, and about 40,000 millionaires!

In the best of times there is a reserve of one million unemployed. Just at present unemployment has become a serious problem in the prosperous United States, which pays no "dole" as in England, and has no sort of unemployment insurance. It has been conservatively estimated that three million persons are now unemployed in this country.

"President Hoover, with his talk of prosperity has evidently charmed himself into believing he is Alice in Wonderland," is the laconic comment of the veteran Socialist. "But he isn't. He is only Hoover in Blunderland."

There is, Norman Thomas believes, a caste system in the United States, with class lines based on distinctions of money and position. A comparatively small class owns the land, the resources, the tools and the

jobs that the rest of the people need. He sees one justice for the rich and another for the poor.

This is the first time in history that America has been governed actually by millionaires. Hoover is a millionaire, the first millionaire President of the United States. Six members of his cabinet are millionaires. He has a business council of millionaires. His chief ambassadors to foreign countries are also millionaires.

Capitalism is the greatest obstacle to democracy. The capitalist system, Norman Thomas insists, is characterized by an emphasis upon private ownership of property for power and the operation of that ownership for the private profit of owners. Imperialism is the last phase of capitalism, and out of imperialistic rivalry comes war itself.

Wars in general, and the Great War in particular, have been economic in origin. The last war arose, as the next one will arise, from the clash of rival imperialisms. Imperialism is born of capitalism.

"Our general imperialism," observes Mr. Thomas, "is due to the fact that we are today a creditor nation busily engaged in the quest of markets for goods, 'sources of supply for raw material and, above all, markets for the investment of capital' at a time when the many cannot buy enough to maintain a proper standard of comfort. The American navy is a bill collecting agency. The American marines fight the battles of the investors whose adventurous dollars have got in trouble abroad."

The only antidote to capitalism and imperialism, as envisioned by Mr. Thomas, is Socialism. Socialism means the social or collective ownership and control of those industries which, under private ownership, are used by the individual owners for the purpose of getting for themselves a large portion of the value of the labour of others.

As for the word capitalism, it means the present system of industry, wherein the mills, factories and other great industries are owned by capitalists, or combinations of capitalists known as corporations or trusts who hire people to do the work and pay them a small part of the value of their labour and keep the rest themselves.

Economic imperialism may be defined as a system of exploitation. It is a method of gouging of the majority of the people

of a large part of their earnings by a comparatively few capitalists who own the things which the rest have to use or must have. It is a monstrous and absurd injustice.

There are in America two major parties which are the instruments of political action: the Republican party and the Democratic party. They exist on the strength of organization rather than of principle. They run their campaigns on emotions, rather than on political issues. Both the parties stand for the same things: offices, powers, and privileges. The Republican party asserts that it believes in God and prosperity; while the Democratic party declares that it believes in God and prosperity, in spite of the Republican party.

There is a great need, according to Mr. Thomas, of fundamental change in American political and economic structure. He believes the party that can do it is the Socialist party. It includes these issues:

1. The preservation and increase of civil liberties including the right of labour to organize, strike, and bargain collectively.

2. War against insecurity and poverty by social insurance against old age, sickness and unemployment, by a nation-wide system of employment exchanges, by the use of public works in dull times, and by the shortening of the working week to assure the workers the benefits of technological progress.

3. Socialization of key industries and services with those in which already the engineer is more important than the *entrepreneur*. These would include public utilities, especially the power industry, coal mining, banking. Production should be for public use, rather than for private profit.

4. In order to provide money for increased governmental service and to aid in a more equitable distribution of wealth, taxation should fall principally on land values—which society should take since it creates them—income, and inheritances. The two latter should be graduated. Inheritance taxes should be used to break up existing economic dynasties.

The means by which Socialists hope to carry out this programme is through the

organization of labour industrially through labour unions, of the power of consumers through consumers co-operatives, and of citizens through a labour party. Norman Thomas points out that the reliance of Socialism is upon the working class, not because of peculiar virtues possessed by the working class, but because it is peculiarly in its interests to end exploitation and waste.

Mr. Norman Thomas and his colleagues declare that the present order is ethically indefensible and economically unsound. They do not, however, expect to reach millennium by one leap. Socialism cannot be created overnight. It is a process of evolution. But capitalism, they assert, is gradually merging into Socialism. Consider, for instance, the following which are owned and operated by the State not for profit but for public good: Public schools, public libraries, public parks, public play-grounds, post office, postal savings banks, public hospitals, the maternity and infant service, the public ownership of water works, gas plants, electric light and power plants, street railways, docks, markets, fire departments, government canals and irrigation dams, the Panama canal, Forest reserves. All these, and more, are modifications of capitalism in the direction of Socialism. They seem to create even in a normal, neutral mind a presumption that socialism is practicable.

"The truth is," declare the American Socialists, "that Capitalism can die only by inches. It does not know of any other way to die. It is not like a rat which may be killed instantly with a rock, if one can throw straight enough. It is more like an iceberg which can melt only by degrees."

Norman Thomas combines in him the zeal of the crusader with the common sense of a practical man—a combination which is exceedingly rare. He sees in socialism not only the royal remedy of existing social evils, but the realization of the new commonwealth of beauty, brotherhood, and love. Socialism is to him the next step in the evolution of humanity. Such is this man Norman Thomas—a man who holds aloft the standard of economic emancipation, universal peace, and human brotherhood.

The Swing of the Pendulum

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

YESTERDAY it was Germany that was about to close her shutters and was face to face with stark bankruptcy; today it is the turn of England, and desperate measures have been devised to balance the budget. In the last war the two countries were ranged on opposite sides as bitter enemies; now they are companions in distress. In the war one lost and the other won, but loser and winner alike are now nearly at the end of their resources. The price of war in men and money is always heavy, but since the world war of 1914-18 was the most terrible known to history the disaster that has followed in its wake is equally unprecedented. It has proved that the winners in such a war may suffer as heavily as the losers. A Pyrrhic victory repeats itself as well as other incidents of history.

Before 1914 Germany was one of the most prosperous countries in the world. Its commercial success was the envy and despair of other European countries. The markets of the world were flooded with articles made in Germany. In England where traders and manufacturers could not hold their own in the competition with Germany, the phrase 'made in Germany' was used in contempt to indicate that only inferior goods and shoddy were manufactured in that country. This was only partially true, for, while cheap goods selling at low prices were certainly turned out in Germany, that country also produced the finest and most expensive goods. In commerce as in everything else Germany displayed the thoroughness characteristic of the Teutonic race. Every important factory in Germany has a laboratory attached to it. Highly paid chemists and other specialists are employed in these laboratories. While the factory is busy producing the goods the laboratory is equally busy in the work of experimentation, in improving and perfecting the articles produced and cheapening the cost of production. The laboratory is the brain of every industry in Germany. The finest and most delicate machines were

made in that country, the costliest fabrics and wearing material were manufactured in German factories, the medicines prepared were the best of their kind. German manufacturers had captured many markets and all competitors were left behind. If the Kaiser had been a man of peace, if the junkers had not been sword-rattlers Germany would have been one of the richest countries in the world today, nor would it have been necessary for her to depend upon America for being saved from financial and industrial ruin. No nation would have ever dreamed of attacking Germany and any other German Emperor would have been satisfied with the position of Germany as the first country in Europe.

Although the war had been recognized as a world-wide disaster its full effect was appreciated only slowly. The League of Nations was inaugurated by the Powers that had won the war. The feeling left behind by the war was not one of triumph but of fear. It was clearly realized that excessive militarism was a serious danger to the nation that promoted it. Ostensibly armies and navies are maintained for defence, for the safety and security of the countries owning them. They cost far more than the civil administration of a country, and they are very often like a boomerang that recoils upon the thrower. Napoleon had the largest and the most powerful army in Europe and it led to its own destruction and his death as a prisoner in exile. One of the chief ambitions of Germany was the creation of the most invincible army in Europe, and the result was the dissolution of the German Empire and the escape of the third and last German Emperor into ignominious exile. Every nation that has tried to become a great military power has ultimately perished. The League of Nations came into existence to put an end to war, to substitute peaceful arbitration for bloodshed and to impose disarmament upon every nation which is a member of the League. The defeated Powers have been practically disarmed and even the old

territorial units have been broken up at the dictation of the victors. But what about the organizers of the League? The army of France was never larger or more formidable than it is now. The aerial fleet of France and the number of fighting and bombing planes have been enormously increased, and France is much in the same position as Germany was before the war. England also is in a state of armed preparedness and manoeuvres and target practice are constantly carried on to increase the efficiency of the army and the navy.

Before the war England was one of the wealthiest nations in the world. The war imposed upon it a very heavy burden and the National Debt swelled to an enormous sum. The indemnity demanded from Germany was not sufficient to clear the debt, nor was Germany in a position to pay the amount within a short time. The only effective means of restoring financial stability was rigorous economy and the reduction of expenditure in every possible direction. The civil list should have been curtailed, but, above, all, the reduction of expenditure on the army and navy was imperatively necessary. Sweeping disarmament should have been carried out fearlessly and wholeheartedly. In actual practice a few old battleships were scrapped, but the naval programme was not substantially reduced. In the army some units raised during the war were disbanded, but no considerable reduction was made. Taxation was progressively increased, but it was impossible to make two ends meet without very large reductions in expenditure. The consequence was the very grave financial and political crisis of 1931. The budget estimates showed an enormous deficit, and to balance the budget, recourse had to be had to large increases of taxation and reductions of salaries and wages. Labour and the organizations representing Labour were up in arms and most of the ministers refused to be parties to the proposed measures. The political crisis was precisely like that during the war when Mr. Lloyd George ousted Mr. Asquith, afterwards the Earl of Oxford, from the Premiership and formed a Coalition Ministry composed of Liberals and Conservatives. On the present occasion the Labour Government resigned, but Mr. MacDonald, the Prime Minister, placed himself at the head of a new National Government made up of Conservatives and

Liberals and only a few Labour members. The King set an example by surrendering part of his income during the period of the crisis and the Prince of Wales did the same. Cuts were announced in the salaries of the ministers, the army, navy and police. This caused a great deal of discontent, but there was no serious violation of discipline, though the loyalty of the forces was put to a severe test. Finally, the Gold Standard Act was partially suspended. This last measure was generally welcomed, but it brought to light the significant fact that large sums of money belonging to foreign countries are invested in the London market and the Bank of England. The rapid withdrawal of foreign balances justified the action taken by the British National Government, but it also showed an abatement of confidence in the firmness of the London market.

Here, again, the similarity between the positions of Germany and England must be noted. The value of the German mark diminished to the vanishing point. No such calamity need be apprehended in the case of the British sterling, though its sagging in the American market cannot be ignored. A cable from New York states that it is expected that British banking authorities will control foreign exchange transactions similarly with Germany. This must be the general expectation everywhere. The action taken in other countries is based on self-defence and tends to restriction of traffic in foreign currencies. Although so far the action taken in England is not so drastic as in Germany the leading English banks have formed a committee to supervise foreign exchange transactions and customers wishing to remit abroad will be required to give reasons. This has been followed by direct action by the Government. Following the example of England the Governor-General of India has issued an Ordinance to regulate the sale of gold and sterling. At the same time Sir Samuel Hoare, the new Secretary of State for India, announced not in the House of Commons but at a meeting of the Federal Structure Subcommittee of the Round Table Conference that the Indian currency standard would be maintained on a sterling basis and there would be no break in the rupee exchange. These steps were preceded by an eloquent appeal by Lord Willingdon, Viceroy of India, in an address to the Central Houses of Legislature, that all classes in India should be prepared to make large sacrifices in order

that the present financial crisis may be tided over. He did not enlighten his audience as to the sacrifice he and his colleagues may be prepared to make.

The position of India should be made clear. She does not count as an important factor in influencing the markets of the world or the prices of commodities. The exchange value of the rupee is determined not by fluctuations of currency but by a Government interested in appreciating, if not inflating, the value of sterling. Indian trade and Indian revenue do not rank with the wealthy countries of the world, but Indian expenditure having regard to the revenue, is the largest of any country in the world. The present crisis in India was bound to come irrespective of the conditions prevailing elsewhere. Behind the grave financial situation in India is a history of reckless extravagance and prodigality of expenditure of which there is scarcely any parallel. Committees have been now appointed to suggest reductions in expenditure while constant borrowings at steadily increasing rates of interest are being resorted to in order to prevent the collapse of the administration.

Is it being now realized that the charges of the exploitation of India and the drain of her resources against the existing system of Government are based upon substantial truth? From the days of the East India Company India has been looked upon and treated as a land of fabulous wealth, though it has been demonstrated upon irrefragable evidence that she is one of the poorest countries in the world. The revenue has been treated as indefinitely elastic merely to meet the ever-increasing growth of expenditure. The military expenditure is ruinously and altogether unjustifiably extravagant. The bugbear of a Russian invasion no longer exists and there is no other danger. But nothing inspires the Government with a sense of security and the major part of the revenue is spent upon an unnecessary army. In the civil branch of the administration extravagant salaries are made more attractive by allowances of all kinds. The Governor General of India receives a salary paid to no public servant in the world. The President of the United States of America, holding a position higher than that of any king or emperor, receives a salary which is not much larger than that of a member of the Governor General's Executive Council in India. The Indian Civil Service is paid far more highly than the Colonial and

the British Civil Service. The annual exodus to the hills, unknown in any other country, costs large sums of money.

With regard to the financial position of India another important fact must be borne in mind. The revenues of India are not only incapable of indefinite expansion, but are certain to diminish in spite of the most strenuous efforts to increase them. The land cannot bear any further enhancement of taxation. In several parts of the country agriculturists and peasant proprietors are unable to pay the high rate of revenue demanded from them. In order to save the peasantry from absolute ruin suspensions and remissions of revenue have had to be made in various provinces. Indian cultivators and peasants are no longer the helpless and meek creatures they were supposed to be and they have more than once resisted the periodic revision of assessment and the consequent enhancement of revenue. If revenue is to be collected smoothly compulsion cannot be used frequently. The revenue from customs is almost certain to fall permanently. India has ceased to be the dumping ground for foreign manufactures. Imports of foreign goods, specially piecegoods, will steadily decrease and will never again reach the figures recorded before 1930. Under the head of excise also a progressive fall of revenue is inevitable in view of the campaign against spirits and intoxicating drugs. There is a marked tendency in India to revert to sobriety and simplicity of life. The spirit of sacrifice has permeated all strata of society.

The financial stringency in India is by no means a passing phase due to the general depression of trade or temporary economic conditions. The tinkering committees now at work will never solve the real difficulty in India. Up to the present time the shears of economy have been invariably used upon the ill-paid subordinate establishments, resulting merely in increased discontent and no real economy. The desperate straits of England make the position of India still more serious. If a complete breakdown and bankruptcy are to be avoided it must be frankly recognized that the present cost of the administration of India is out of all proportion to its resources. Solvency can only be restored if the military expenditure is reduced by two-thirds and high salaries are reduced all round. England is a much more expensive country than India, yet salaries in

England are much lower than in this country. The Prime Minister and cabinet ministers of England receive salaries lower than that of a member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India. The Viceroy and the Governors are not bigger personages than the Presidents of the French and United States Republics and they can very well maintain their position on half their present salaries. The truth of the matter is that India cannot maintain the present army and pay salaries on the present scale without being driven to bankruptcy.

A very disquieting fact disclosed by the present crisis in England is the dependence of that country on foreign capital. Very large sums in gold were invested in London by Denmark and Holland. It is rather curious that the public has no knowledge whether British colonies like Canada and Australia have any investments in the London market and London banks. South Africa is evidently unaffected and is keeping on the gold standard. No secret is made of the fact that the emergency measures and the temporary moratorium in England were due to sudden withdrawal by foreign countries of large sums in gold. It was undoubtedly a run on the London banks. A run can only be due to a loss of confidence in the soundness of a bank. What had happened to shake the confidence of foreign countries in London banks and make them withdraw their gold deposits so hurriedly? It was a very serious matter so far as the credit of England was concerned and it was certainly a severe blow to her financial prestige. But no fault whatever can be found with the foreign countries which have withdrawn their gold deposits from England. The financial difficulties in England had become so great that a serious political crisis was precipitated. The Government had to resign and a new National Government had to be formed. In order to balance the budget taxes had to be raised and salaries and wages to be reduced, involving a good deal of dissatisfaction. Foreign countries naturally felt alarmed and withdrew their investments from London. Taking into consideration the consequences of these withdrawals it is unlikely that the confidence of foreign countries in the soundness of British finance will be soon restored.

The swing of the pendulum of circumstance has had different effects upon other countries involved in the last war. Take the case of France and Russia. France is now the wealthiest country in Europe. It is estimated that three-fourths of the world's gold is held in America and France. So far as the United States of America are concerned it is true that the Republic partook in the concluding stages of the war but there was no question of any financial difficulty. Besides completely equipping her own army to the last detail America advanced large loans to the Allies in Europe, and the debt has not yet been cleared. The most extraordinary position is that of Russia. Close on the heels of the war followed the Russian Revolution sweeping away the despotism under which Russia had been groaning for many centuries. Next came the welter of blood and the chaos of anarchy, out of which emerged struggling and menacing a new Russia antagonistic to the aristocracy, capital and the bourgeoisie. So threatening became its propaganda of extreme socialism that some European countries spent large sums of money to subsidize anti-revolutionary organizations in Russia without any effect. Revolution alone did not complete the agony of Russia. Famine and virulent pestilence decimated large tracts of country. The depreciation of the Russian rouble was far more disastrous than the fall of the mark and the franc. And yet Russia has become neither bankrupt nor is in any danger of breaking up. The Soviet Government is becoming better consolidated and stronger every day. The secret of Russia's strength is her economy and her determination to resist extravagance of every kind. The new regime in Russia is bitterly assailed in other countries. Was the old order preferable to the present one? Other Governments are rightly alarmed because there is serious danger of the new doctrine spreading to other countries and other nations. However, Russia's position is safe. If she is not wealthy she is certainly not on the high road to bankruptcy.

So the pendulum swings from splendour to squalor, from wealth to poverty, from a certain present to an uncertain future!

Death Comes to China

By AGNES SMEDLEY

DEATH has come to China by a million fold. Everything else is trivial and unimportant. The north-western famine still rages but so ordinary is death in China that it is all but forgotten. The rivers of the country have arisen to compete with the war-lords in the work of destruction—but this does not force the militarists to cease their fighting. Fighting between Nanking and Canton is threatened, and General Chiang

had just captured, imprisoned, and threatened with death one of her colleagues and friends, General Deng Yenda, the noted revolutionary leader. As all of these internal issues are concerned with death, so are all foreign issues facing China concerned with the killing of both foreigners and Chinese.

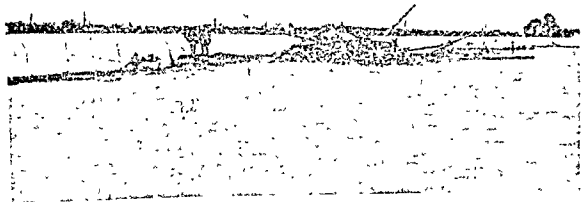
The map of China is dark with blood-stains. A minor northern war, begun by General Shih Yu-shan, a former Kuominchun



The Chinese Floods

Kai-shek has been wielding a double sword, in the manner of the Czar after 1905, on the one hand, throwing an army of 300,000 mercenary troops against the Red Army in Kiangsi, and, on the other, capturing, torturing and publicly slaughtering thousands of Communist intellectuals and workers in the cities. Mrs. Sun-Yat-sen returned from exile in Germany to attend the funeral of her mother, but to hear that attempts had been made to assassinate General Chiang Kai-shek and his co-ruler, Mr. T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance, who, on the other hand,

general, has just ended in a defeat—a defeat caused by nothing else than the bribery of his colleagues who had planned to revolt also. The chief of these northern generals who are anti-Chiang Kai-shek is General Han Fu-chu, Governor of Shantung province, who is kept peaceful by bribery. The defeat of General Shih has merely thrown a new northern military combination on the stage of events, with the erstwhile defeated ruler of Shansi province, General Yen Shih-shan, returning to his old haunts and his ardent supporters forcing the Nanking generals in



The people are dead, but animals remain perched up on floating buildings

Shansi to clear out of the province. Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang is said to covet the rich province of Shantung, which means that he will eventually force General Han Fu-chu out, if possible. If this is done, Marshal Chang and General Chiang Kai-shek will not even have these "Gray Generals" as buffers between them in the dictatorship of China.

Up to the present time, Canton continues to refuse peace negotiations with Nanking, reiterating their demand for the resignation of Chiang Kai-shek and the introduction of a "Kuomintang democracy" to take the place of the military dictatorship. Both Canton and Nanking have tried to exploit the name of Mrs. Sun Yat-sen since her return, but she will have nothing to do with either of them.

However, the two major issues in China today are the catastrophic floods, and the war which Chiang Kai-shek is waging on the Red peasant armies. The floods have brought death and famine to from fifty to eighty million people, most of whom are peasants. The disaster is greater than the Tokyo earthquake. The Nanking Government is receiving telegrams of sympathy from all parts of the world but a few facts must be made known. This flood with its gigantic toll of human life, is not so much the work of nature as the work of the officials and militarists at the helm of affairs today in

China. Even under the Manchu Dynasty, China's rivers and canals were held in leash by the dredging and repairing of dykes for four years now, however, practically the entire national income in China has been squandered on wars for power, and every constructive measure has either remained on paper, or has been trivial and silly and planned with the idea of private gain. The masses of the people have sunk into a destitution unspeakable, the rulers of the country offering nothing but killing as a solution for the problems of the country. For four years the militarists and officials ruling Hankow have imposed a special "dyke tax" on all goods imported into that city. But instead of spending it on the repair of the Yangtze dykes, this tax, known as the Hupeh-Hunan dyke tax, has found its way into the pockets of officials. In 1928-30, this dyke tax amounted to some \$3,500,000, but according to recent disclosures, \$1,100,000 of this was misappropriated by officials, \$700,000 being loaned to the Cheun Loong Keang Opium monopoly and never repaid, and \$200,000 embezzled by a former Director of Reconstruction. The public funds in Hupeh, like such funds in other provinces, have been considered the private pocket money of officials and militarists, and these gentlemen have considered the public killing of revolting Communists to be the only



Refugees on the Railway Embankments

"duty" which they owed the public. Since the floods and the exposure of these officials, the Nanking Government has appointed one of them as a diplomat abroad, while three others have been given "demerits"—as school teachers give a boy a slap on the wrist for naughtiness. And right in the midst of the flood, the militarists who expect international funds to remedy their work of destruction, continued capturing working men, linking them to each other with ropes around their necks, and shipping them away to Kiangsi to be used by General Chiang Kaishek against the Red Armies. The telegram of General Chiang asked for more captives because the coolies of Kiangsi are 'unreliable' in fighting the Reds.

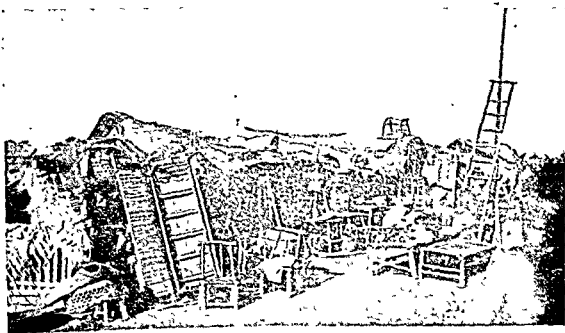
Other bitter things have come out of the flood disaster. When the evacuation of Hankow began, it was the foreigners, the rich Chinese and the race horses who were first evacuated, the press frankly saying that the rich were being evacuated first out of fear of mass attacks upon them. 60 per cent of the refugees arriving in Shanghai are well-to-do. On August 17, 50 race horses arrived. But the corpses of thousands of poor Chinese are floating on the river. International flood relief has begun, but from the first this relief has borne a most mercenary character. The Nanking Government

from April to August of this year, has floated four internal loans totalling \$320,000,000, all of which has been poured into war. On August 21 it announced an internal loan of only \$10,000,000 for flood relief, but said this would be increased to \$50,000,000 because, from the ten million loan only five millions would go to flood relief. Much of the fifty millions will perhaps also go to war purposes. Apart from this, the banks who take up these lucrative loans pay out to the Government only about fifty or sixty per cent of the loan, retaining the rest as profit. On August 20 the Government grandly announced a two million *tal* donation for flood relief, but two days later bombing military planes costing \$2,000,000 arrived in Shanghai, a part of vast shipments of arms and ammunition which are being used against the peasants. American financial interests at once offered the Chinese Government 30,000,000 bushels of surplus wheat—at a market price to be determined on the day of sale—but a leading British journalist in Shanghai attacked the plan as nothing but American dumping. The Nanking Government was asking for American wheat on a ten to twenty year credit, but the Americans demand payment in two or three years. For arms and ammunition, however Nanking always has money to pay cash.

While few people withhold from giving to the flood relief, there is hardly a foreigner or a Chinese but who remark, with each dollar they give, that many new millionaires will emerge from this flood, just as millionaires have emerged from other similar catastrophes in China. Two rich Chinese merchants, one of them a gang leader, who a short time ago spent upwards to half a million dollars on the celebration of their birthdays and the opening of their family temples, have each given but \$5,000 for flood relief.

These facts and the conditions, multiplied by a thousand fold, in which they grow, furnish the foundations of revolt which have thrown the Red Armies on the stage in China. Nine months of warfare by the Nanking troops against the Red Armies have

have had one uninterrupted victory in Kiangsi, but the reports of military officers returned from the front tell a very different story. These officers tell us that the entire population of south Kiangsi have taken up their worldly possessions and retreated with the Red Armies, leaving a depopulated country through which Government troops march, forced to carry their own food and even their firewood for cooking. In July a new Red Army appeared in Hopei province in the North, and on August 13, 20,000 Government troops on the Anhwei-Hupeh border revolted and with all their arms and ammunition joined the Red Army of north-east Hupeh which for months has guarded a large Soviet territory there. On August 21 came the news of a big Red Army

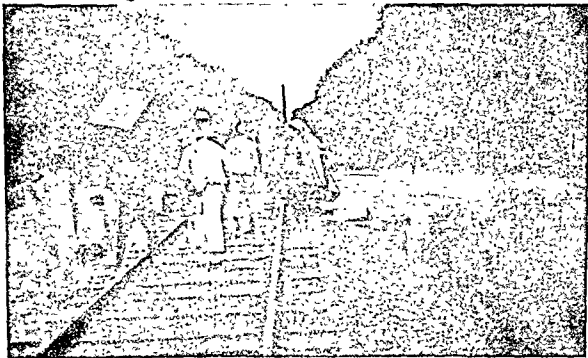


Shacks built for the Chinese refugees from Floods

not led to the crushing of this fundamental revolt. Since late June, General Chiang Kai-shek himself has been leading 300,000 troops, equipped with every modern war instrument, against the 100,000 troops of the Red Army in Kiangsi. German military advisers, chief of whom is General Wetzel, sit in General Chiang's headquarters in Nanchang, drawing up the military plans for this war, and German officers have gone with divisions to the front. Official reports lead us to believe that the Government troops

offensive that resulted in the annihilation of two Government divisions and sent Chiang Kai-shek hurrying back from Nanking to the front. It may be truly said that the unbearable conditions out of which the Red Armies of peasants have grown cannot be solved by killing and bribery, and even if the Red Armies should be temporarily suppressed, they will only spring into life again and again.

As already stated, all the foreign issues before China are also concerned with the



Peasants trying to escape from the Floods

killing of either Chinese or foreigners. The anti-Chinese riots in Korea have resulted in a Japanese boycott movement in China, and so disturbed are conditions that when a quarrel arose between a Chinese coolie and a Japanese ice merchant in Tsingtao recently a riot resulted and the incident is being magnified into an international event. The Nanking and Tokyo Governments are busily engaged in delivering notes of protest to each other, but without result. The British also have their hands on the throat of Nanking because of the murder of the British youth, John Thornburn, in June, and from every indication it seems that the British are trying to force Nanking to expose and punish the high military officers who are guilty, whereas Nanking is trying to say that the killing was the work of some poor soldiers who thought 'Thornburn was a Communist'. In the end, perhaps a number of poor and utterly innocent Chinese soldiers will pay with their lives for this act of powerful military men. The Americans have also rescued an American missionary from Chinese hands, the Kuomintang demanding, not a trial, but the death of the missionary, because he killed a Chinese burglar who was stealing from him. The first demand of the Kuomintang is always to kill—they seem

incapable of understanding anything else, and they have practised this so long on their own people that it is taken for granted. The foreigners in China are about the same except when one of their own nationals are concerned. While protesting against the murder of Thornburn, the British police of Shanghai turned over to the Chinese military authorities on August 14, two foreigners, a man and his wife, accused of being Communists and officials in the Pan-Pacific Union Secretariat, a semi-secret trade union organization throughout Asia. When these two foreigners were arrested and extradited to the Chinese military authorities to what was known to be certain death before a secret military court, all racial issues disappeared and class hatred stood open and unashamed, one powerful British journalist openly writing that the foreign nations having commercial interests in China have suffered heavily from Communism during these past years. The voices of protest of both foreigners and Chinese were howled down by the foreign press. But at last the brave voice of Mrs. Sun Ya-sen was raised in protest and in defence of the two captives—but from reports as yet unconfirmed, it seems that her voice came too late. Unconfirmed reports say that the two foreigners were killed,

without itself. It tends to think them unimportant if they are urged tactfully, and dangerous if they are urged with vigour. It is so accustomed to the idea of its own superiority, that it is resentful of considerations which inquire into the validity of that assumption. It may be generous, charitable, kind; but the surrounding principle of those qualities is always their exercise as of grace and not in justice. An aristocracy, in a word, is the prisoner of its own power, and that the most completely when men begin to question its authority. It does not know how to act wisely at very moment when it most requires wise action."

NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

Here is an analysis of the abstract, the imposing term—"the Government":

"It is not mysterious or divine. It is simply a body of men making decisions which, in the long run, live or die by what other men think of them. Their validity as decisions is in that thought if only because its content is born of what the decisions mean to ourselves. All of us are inescapably citizens, and, at some point, therefore, the privacy in which we seek escape from our obligation as citizens, will seem unsatisfying. A crisis comes which touches us: a decision is made which contradicts something we happen to have experienced as fundamental: we then judge our rulers by the fact of that denial, and act as we think its terms warrant." All Governments dislike novelties, for they disturb their routine and the accustomed tempo of work. So long as the criticism is confined to non-essentials it is ignored; but the moment it comes into conflict with vested interests, the criticism is immediately interpreted as sedition or an attack upon established government. Let Prof. Laski speak about the conditions in his own country and we shall then be able to realize the mentality behind such enactments as the Princes' Protection Act or the solicitude of the princes to exclude the agitators from the sacrosanct boundaries of their respective jurisdiction—"Attack an interest, in a word, and you arouse passion, arouse passion, especially where property is concerned, and the technique of *raison d'état* will sooner or later be invoked. But liberty and *raison d'état* are mutually incompatible for the simple reason that *raison d'état* is a principle which seeks, *a priori*, to exclude rational discussion from the field. It seeks neither truth nor justice, but surrender."

Prof. Laski has rightly emphasized that where there is inequality the political power is bound to be in the hands of a small minority, and human nature being what it is, the rulers come to think the maintenance of their own power as more important than the welfare of the multitude or even the importance of winning their acquiescence with the conditions that exist. Self-interest can only be trusted to function effectively and impartially if the central authority is widely diffused in its ultimate sanctions or at least amenable to that vague but nevertheless definite fact of public opinion. Freedom is only possible in an atmosphere of equality and equality can but exist in an atmosphere of true democracy, notwithstanding its palpable inefficiencies and imperfections, for these very imperfections are

the guarantee of the permanence of progress. Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman spoke with the true insight of a genius when he said that good government is no substitute for self-government, and that dictum is one of the greatest justifications of Democracy. Democracy is the only possible mode of government if the object of the State is presumed to be the greatest good, or as Prof. Laski would call it the maximization of the totality of individual citizens."

THE NATURE OF BUREAUCRACY

Prof. Laski has beautifully defined in the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* (vol. III, page 7) the meaning of the word "bureaucracy": It is the term usually applied to a system of government the control of which is so completely in the hands of officials that their power jeopardizes the liberties of ordinary citizens. The characteristics of such a regime are a passion for routine in administration, the sacrifice of flexibility to rule, delay in the making of decisions and a refusal to embark upon experiments... Nothing will be undertaken for the public for which it is not clamant. The difficulties in meeting the demands may well be exaggerated out of all proportion. Information necessary to the making of policy will be withheld, sometime on the ground that it is not in the public interest to reveal it, sometime by the argument that its collection will be unjustifiably expensive. Decisions will be made without the assignment of reasons for making them, or postponed until, in Bacon's phrase, the questions resolve of themselves. The result is discretion, secrecy, conservatism, and all these minister to the preservation of power." Prof. Laski is only talking about bureaucracy from his knowledge of the civil services in England. What his definition would have been, had he been familiar with our own Civil Service with its interminable routine, massive correspondence, inordinate delays and singular absence of all sense of humour it is impossible to say. Luckily however, Lord Curzon has described our secretariat procedure in remarkable words. There is one characteristic of bureaucracy which Prof. Laski has not noticed, and that is its vaunted efficiency, and this by sheer reiteration convinces even the outside public, as has certainly happened in the case of the Indian Civil Service in our own country.

LAW AND OBEDIENCE

To revert to Prof. Laski's book, here are some sound words about law, for law and order are the two words which are heard more frequently in this country, specially in times of political crisis. Law does not exist for the sake of law. "It is not entitled to obedience because it is legal, because, that is, it proceeds from a source of reference formally competent to enact it. Law exists for what it does; and its rightness is made by the attitude adopted to it by those whose lives it proposes to shape." A legal command is, after all, a mere static form of words; what gives it appropriateness is its relevance as just to the situation to which it is applied. And its relevance as just is made not by those who announce that it is to be applied, but by those who receive its application."

FOLEY OF SPECIAL TRIBUNALS

It necessarily follows that there are laws and laws as such unless they embody justice and reason are not entitled to the respect and consideration which people in power claim for them. "Those who accept commands they know to be wrong, make it easier for wrong commands to be accepted. Those who are silent in the presence of injustices are in fact part-authors of it. It is to be remembered that even a decision to acquiesce is a decision, that what shapes the substance of authority is what it encounters. If it meets always with obedience sooner or later it will assume its own infallibility. When that moment comes, whatever its declared purpose, the good it will seek will be its own good and not that of those involved in its operations. Liberty means being faithful to oneself and it is maintained by the courage to resist. This, and this only, gives life to the safeguards of liberty, and this only is the clue to the preservation of genuine integrity in the individual life."

SEDITION

The sanction for legal promulgation is the consent of people whether explicit or implied, for nothing can be a crime which the community does not believe it to be such. Sedition, for instance, in our country affords a remarkable instance of an offence which is recognized by the law of the country as a heinous crime, but which has been treated with particular lightness during recent years by the community in general and the reason for the attitude of the community is not far to seek; for legal enactments do not and cannot validate things which the general sense of the public does not recognize to be fair, just or righteous. In other words, there is a fundamental difference of outlook between the rulers and the ruled as regards the nature of sedition, with the result that the Congress decided that people accused of sedition need not defend themselves, for according to them justice, or in other words the evaluation of the facts from the particular standpoint of the Congress, was not to be expected.

Here are some wise words regarding special tribunals which are a frequent feature in this country: "Experience makes it painfully clear that special tribunals are simply special methods for securing a conviction. For the mere creation of a special tribunal persuades the ordinary man that there is an *a priori* case against the accused, that the burden of proof lies upon him rather than upon the government." "Executive justice, in fact, is simply a euphemism for the denial of justice; and the restoration of order at this cost involves dangers of which the price is costly indeed." It is not for nothing, therefore, that one of the fundamental safeguards of democratic government is sought in the independence of the judiciary, for a judiciary which has to look for its laurels or prospects to executive government can with the best will in the world never act with that courage and impartiality which the people have a right to expect from those who sit in judgment over others. A judicial career must be and should be an end in itself, for the judiciary must be above all temptations outside its own legitimate field. What one forgets is that executive power lives not by its power to command, but by its power to convince, and is always "acting at its peril." Governments must, therefore, always remember "that they do not remove grievance, however ill-conceived, by suppressing it. And if they are allowed to associate violent opinion with actual violence, there are few follies upon which they cannot be persuaded to embark. The persecution of opinion grows by what it feeds on." "Power that is unaccountable makes instruments of men who should be ends in themselves. Responsible government in a democracy lives always in the shadow of coming defeat and this makes it eager to satisfy those with whose destinies it is charged."

Prof Laski's essay on Liberty is not merely an unpassioned plea for freedom in the theory but also a sermon for all practical administrators and those whom destiny has placed in the position of power. It is an inspiration and a call to duty to those who still retain the Divine spark of idealism which may actually be transmuted into action.



Early History of the Bengali Theatre—II

(Based on Original Sources)

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

I

AT the opening of the second half of the nineteenth century, the Bengali stage was more than fifty years old. But its achievements till then were very negligible. All the private theatres which had come into being one after another during that period were short-lived and unrelated to one another. They did not succeed in creating a continuous dramatic tradition in the country. And, what was more, no repertory of Bengali plays was in existence. The only Bengali plays which had been put on the stage were the translations of Lebedeff and a dramatic rendering of the familiar tale of Vidyasundar. We have no means of ascertaining whether these pieces possessed any literary and artistic merit. Possibly they had none. In any case, they cannot with any justice be described as the fore-runners of the later Bengali plays. But with the closing of the fifth decade of the nineteenth century all this was changed. The year 1857 witnessed a sudden outburst of theatrical activity in Calcutta which not only resulted in the opening of three private theatres close upon one another in that city, but also helped in a large measure in the creation of a genuine dramatic literature in Bengali, which had been faintly foreshadowed by a few minor pieces before that date.

The Bengali drama developed along two lines,—the translation or adaptation of ancient Sanskrit works, and the writing of original plays with classical incidents or current social problems as themes.

So far as can be ascertained now, the first genuine Bengali drama to be put on the stage was the Bengali rendering of *Abhijnan Sakuntala* by Vaidya Nanda Kumar Roy of Gauriva which was published in August, 1855 (Bhadra, 1262 B.E.) and staged on January 30, 1857 at the house of Ashutosh Deb (Chhatu Babu) in Simla. Though the history of the Bengali drama and that of the Bengali theatre run nearly parallel from that date, the origin of the Bengali drama

can be traced to an earlier period. Till very recently it was supposed that the first genuine Bengali drama was *Bhadrarjun* by Taracharan Shukdar which was published in 1852, this work being followed closely by *Bhanumati Chittavilas* by Harachandra Ghosh published in 1853. But in the *Prabasi* for Kartic, 1338, Dr. S. K. De has brought to the notice of scholars a new Bengali drama called *Ratnavali Natika*, based on Sri-Harsha's *Ratnavali*, by Nilmani Pal and published in 1849. It seems possible, however, to carry the history of the Bengali drama as far back as 1830. In the *Sambad Prabhakar* for June 28, 1848, I have come across the notice of a Bengali translation of *Abhijnan Sankuntala* by Ramtarak Bhattacharyya, published in 1848. Another notice, published in the *Samachar Chandrika* for May 2, 1831, states that two Bengali dramas *Kautuk Sarvasva Natak* and *Prabodh Chandrodoy Natak* are on sale in its office. These works must, therefore, have been published before that date. But I have seen none of them, nor can I ascertain whether they were actually put on the stage or not. It is stated by some that the *Kautuk Sarvasva* is the same piece as the play of *Vidyasundar*, staged in Nobin Chandra Bose's house,* and the Rev. Long mentions the book in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Works* (p. 75) as follows :

Kautuk Sarvasva Natak, Ch. P., 1830, a drama, by R. Chundra Tarkalankar of Hariabadi.

Coming back to *Bhadrarjun* and *Bhanumati Chittavilas*, we can now trace the history of the Bengali drama down to a later epoch. These works were just preceded by *Kirtivilas*, a drama unnoticed till now,† and

* *Bangiya Natyashala*, by Dhananjay Mukherji (1316 B. E.), p. 2.

† "The drama called *Kirtivilas* which has recently been published in the Bengali language with the permission of Vidyomada Sabha..."—The *Sambad Prabhakar* for May 28, 1852. The name of this work is mentioned both in Long's *Catalogue* and the Bengali *Vishvakosha*, but the date of its publication was unknown till now.

followed closely by *Babu Natak* by Kaliprasanna Singh, published in 1853-54. The latter was a slight work, most probably a farce, and there is no mention of its being actually put on the stage.

The history of the Bengali drama, actually staged, if we exclude the doubtful case of *Kautuk Sarvasva* or *Vidyasundar*, thus begins, as I have already said, with the *Abhijnan Sakuntala* of Nandakumar Roy. Henceforward the two aspects of the Bengali drama may be considered together.

The theatrical activities which had begun in the Bengali community of Calcutta with the opening of Prasanna Kumar Tagore's theatre in 1831 had created a taste for dramatic performances of a new type, and as we go forward we find evidence of the growth of this taste in increasing volume. In 1853, we find that the *Sambad Prabhakar* (March 31, 1853) while reporting the establishment of a theatre in Bombay, calls upon the educated and wealthy Bengalis to give up their crude *yatras* and encourage the new theatre. This exhortation was hardly necessary. The educated Bengalis had already become keen patrons of the theatre. But their enthusiasm, except for one solitary instance, had so far taken a wrong line—they were acting English plays or English renderings of Sanskrit plays. And they could not make any sustained effort to create a Bengali theatre. In January 1857, however, a new and enthusiastic start was made with the performance of *Sakuntala* at the residence of Chhatu Babu. This performance was followed in quick succession by the setting up of other private theatres, and the staging of many new plays. These activities so far revolutionized the taste of the Bengali public that we find Ramnarayan Tarkaratna, the author of *Ratnavali*, one of the very first of Bengali dramas, writing in 1858:

It is a matter for congratulation that modern writers are developing an interest in theatrical activities. Having become acquainted with the incomparable charm of interesting Sanskrit and English dramas, everybody is showing complete disregard for the contemptible traditional *yatras*. Can anyone who has tasted of the cup of nectar, distilled from the moon, care for stale rice-water?

II

The new movement started in 1857 has continued almost uninterruptedly to this day and given rise to the contemporary Bengali theatre which stands in its direct line of descent. The first theatre

which inaugurated the movement was that established by the grandsons of Babu Ashutosh Deb, known under the familiar name of Chhatu Babu (d. 29 Jan. 1856). The preparations for the staging of *Sakuntala* in this theatre are described in the *Sambad Prabhakar* for January 15, 1857. It says:

The members of the Jananapradayini Sabha, established in the house of the late Ashutosh Deb, are training themselves for performing the drama of *Sakuntala* by Nanda Kumar Roy. The success of this venture is desirable. No representation of a Bengali play has for a long time been shown in the city of Calcutta.

The first performance of *Sakuntala* took place on January 30, 1857 on the occasion of the Saraswati Puja. The *Hindoo Patriot* gives an account of the origin of the theatre* and its first performance in its issue for February 5, 1857:

THE HINDOO THEATRE.—It is not long since Calcutta was regaled with histrionic exhibition under the auspices of native amateurs, when some of the best plays of Shakespear were acted upon the stage by young Hindoos who appeared to enter into the spirit of the characters they personated. Although the full measure of success which was anticipated could not be realised, yet the public and specially the native community, shewed a taste for such performances which promised the best results, if the managers of the Theatre had only the tact to profit by the happy opportunity. Instead, however, of fostering by repeated and well-got up performances the taste thus created, they permitted minor jealousies and a spirit of contention to demolish the good they had achieved; and the curtain fell upon their stage to be lifted up no more. Years rolled away. We had well nigh forgotten that we ever had such a thing as a theatre, when an invitation card surprised us with the fact that another Bengalee stage had risen like a phoenix upon the ashes of its predecessor. The announcement had the further attraction that the play announced was a genuine Bengalee one, being a translation of the well-known dramatic execution of Kally Doss—the Saccoontallah. We were still more delighted to learn that the theatre had been got up by the grandsons of the late Baboo Ashootosh Deb, the stage having been erected at the family residence of the deceased millionaire, and partaking of the character of a private theatrical. It is not every day that native gentlemen of wealth and position are observed to spend money on amusements of a rational kind. It is altogether a relief

*It seems probable that the theatre at the residence of Chhatu Babu was established two or three years before this, or, at any rate, that there was some sort of a theatre there about the middle of November 1854. For in the issue of the *Sambad Prabhakar* for Dec. 5, 1854 we come across the following news: "On the night of the Kali Puja a Brahman boy was returning home by the lane after witnessing a theatrical performance at the residence of Ashutosh Deb."

to contemplate our youthful aristocracy apart from the low and grovelling pursuits which too unfortunately constitute the normal condition of many of that body. The drama has in all ages and with all nations formed one of the principal sources of a pure amusement. In India, it had at one time attained the highest state of perfection. But a combination of disastrous circumstances tended to annihilate the freedom of our race, and simultaneously with the loss of liberty we lost every blessing which chastened manners and embellished life. Foreigners contemplate with ecstasy the genius of our poets. The universities of Europe are not tired of poring over the dusty tomes of ancient Sanskrit literature. The Saccon-tolah of Kallidas has undergone the most finished translations in Germany and in England. But amongst the people for whose forefathers the immortal bard taved his genius, his admirable work is a sealed book almost. A few only have read it in the original, and a very contemptible number in the diluted form even of a translation. The play is admirably fitted for the stage. We had abundant evidence of the fact from the performance which came off on the night of the 3th instant [ultimo]. The young gentleman who personated Saccontolah looked really grand and queenly in his gestures and address, and did great justice to the part he was enacting. The other amateurs also succeeded in creating an effect. We are told that the performers have not had the benefit of any lessons from practised actors, and this circumstance enables us to accord great credit to exertions undoubtedly very well directed. We are confident that with a little polishing the corps dramatique will be able to make a brilliant debut.

The second performance of this piece took place on February 22, 1857 before an audience of some four hundred gentlemen, and a very appreciative notice appeared in the *Sambad Prabhakar* for Feb. 26, 1857. It is curious to note that while both these contemporary reporters write of the acting with evident enthusiasm, Kishori Chand Mittra, in an article on the *Modern Hindn Drama*, contributed to the *Calcutta Review* for 1873, describes the performance as "a failure."

In a later issue of the *Hindoo Patriot* (Friday, July 23, 1857) there was also an announcement of the preparations for a third performance, from which we learn that in the former performances only three acts—and not the whole of the drama—were acted :

Weekly Register of Intelligence.
Friday, the 17th July.

A Correspondent informs us that the play of "Saccontolah" will be again performed at the premises of Baboo Ashootos Dey. Rehearsals are now progressing, and the whole play will be acted, and not three acts only as was the case last year.

The fashions of Calcutta, then as now, did not take long to spread into the mofussil.

The setting up of the new theatres in Calcutta in 1857 was followed the next year by the establishment of another at Janai, a village near Howrah, at which also the very first piece staged was *Sakuntala*. The following account of this performance appeared in the *Hindoo Patriot* for June 10, 1858:

VILLAGE THEATRE.—We are glad we are able to record in our columns the establishment of another native Theatre in this country. The institution, we speak of, owes its parentage to the liberality and munificence of a certain wealthy Zemindar of Jonye, Baboo Poorno Chunder Mookerjee, in whose family house it has been got up. This place, our readers must be aware of, is situated in the district of Howrah, at only a twelve mile's distance from Calcutta. It must be associated in the minds of many with the existence of a Training School at the locality so often noticed in the papers. On Saturday the 29th ultimo our village amateurs played the *Sakuntalah*—that dramatic masterpiece of our celebrated poet Kallidas. As naturally expected there was a large gathering of the respectable people of the locality on the occasion. The stage was nicely decorated and the hall was splendidly illumined. The performance was very creditable. Indeed such proficiency was more than expected from youths reared and bred up in village schools. Justice demands we should mention the talents displayed by the gentlemen who personated Raja Doosmunt and Sakuntalah. The manly gait and deportment of Doosmunt showed at once that he was just the man represented by the Poet, while his beloved partner in love resembled in every point the amazingly beautiful daughter of the heavenly nymph Manoka Bedosak and other characters were well performed and each had his proficiency in his own particular way. The music played by amateurs was capital, but that by the band was horribly disgusting. We wish a better management of the screen had been made. Indeed after the first act was over the screen dropped, and was so disordered that it could not be soon taken up. The audience was thus kept waiting in anxiety and suspense for a period of more than half an hour. This defect in the management of the screen we have reason to complain of in almost all native performances. Our present theatrical exhibitions are conducted in the English style and this important feature of the English stage should be duly learnt before any thing like completion and success could be attained.

In conclusion we sincerely thank Baboo Poorno Chunder Mookerjee for the liberality evinced by him in rearing up this useful institution, and we trust that his example will not be lost sight of by others of his class. He has indeed "given gold a price and taught its beams to shine."

* In the preface to the second edition of *Sakuntala* (1892) the author says : "This play was performed recently by the Bengal Theatre at the request of Lord Lytton the Governor-General of India and his Council, when he and the members of his Council were greatly pleased with the performance which was witnessed by a numerous audience."

To come back to the theatre at Chhatu Babu's residence, the staging of *Sakuntala* at this place was followed quickly by that of a new play, *Mahaveta*, by Manimohan Sarkar, which was also a Bengali dramatic rendering of a Sanskrit work *Kadamvari*. This play was first performed in Bhadra 1264 B. E. (Aug.-Sep. 1857),* and the cast, as given in the book, was as follows :

Raja	Babu Annada Prasad Mookerjee
Pondarik Nati	Babu Mahendra Nath Majumdar
Kapinjal	Author
Kanchuki	Babu Shibchund Sinha
Mahaveta Nati	Babu Kshetra Mohan Sinha
Kadamvari	Mahendra Nath Ghose
Taralika	Sarat Chandra Ghose
Rani	Bhuban Mohun Ghose
Chhatra-dharini	Mahendra Lal Mookerjee

This drama was not published in book form till Aswin 1266 (Sep.-Oct. 1859).†

III

This first two performances of *Sakuntala* in January and February 1857 at Chhatu Babu's residence were followed by a more sensational dramatic event in March of the same year. It was the performance of Ramnarayan Tarkaratna's *Kulin Kulasarvasva* at the house of Babu Jayram Bysack of Nutan-bazar on March 13, 1857. The dramas so far put on the stage were only adaptations or translations. Ramnarayan was perhaps the first writer in Bengal to utilize a social question of the day as the theme of a drama and thus to compose a drama which in every sense was original. *Kulin* polygamy was being vigorously attacked in those days by the social reformers of Bengal. Ramnarayan's new drama had for its theme this institution. The sensation which the play created and the enthusiasm with which it was repeatedly staged is described in the reminiscences of Gour Das Bysack, the friend of Michael Madhusudan Datta. Referring to the organization of theatres in Calcutta, Gour Das Bysack says :

The credit of organizing the first Bengali Theatre belongs to the late Babu Jayram Bysack of Chhurruckdanga Street, Calcutta, who formed and drilled a Bengali dramatic corps and set up a stage in his house, on which was performed, in March 1857, the sensational Bengali play of *Kulina Kula Sarvasva* by Pandit Ramnarayana. The

success and popularity that attended the first experiment led the late Babu Gopal Das Sett to form a similar corps and set up a stage in his house in Rulton Sircar's Garden Street, on which the same play was repeated before an enthusiastic audience. The unprecedented sensation into which the whole native community was thrown, after the celebration of the first widow marriage [Decr. 7, 1856] under the aegis of that redoubtable apostle of social reform, Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara, accounted for the interest and excitement which these performances of a play representing a most important social reform, created at the time. As naturally expected, Vidyasagara and Babu Kafi Prasanna Singha, always on the van of national progress, encouraged the actors in Babu Gadadhar Sett's house, by their presence and personal interest.*

The accuracy of Gour Das Bysack's reminiscences is borne out by contemporary newspapers. The *Hindoo Patriot* for March 19, 1857 reproduces the following item of news from the *Education Gazette* :

Friday, the 13th March.—The EDUCATIONAL GAZETTE states that the well-known farce of Koolin-o-Kooloshorbushya was acted in the private residence of a Baboo in Calcutta with great success. We are glad to see these new pieces acted.

The *Sambad Prabhakar* for March 25, 1858 states that the third performance of this drama took place at the residence of Gadadhar Sett on March 22, 1858 :

On 10th Chaitra [March 22, 1858] the third performance of *Kulin Kulasarvasva* took place at the residence of Gadadhar Sett. The audience numbered seven hundred, Vidyasagar and other notabilities being among them.†

I have not yet been able to come across any reference to the second performance of the play in the contemporary newspapers. But, as Ramnarayan says in his fragmentary autobiographical sketch that his play was performed at three places only, viz., at Nutan-bazar, Banstola-gali, and at Chinsurah, it is very likely that the second performance like the first also took place at the house of Jayram Bysack. The next (or, according to my belief, the fourth) performance of the play took place at Chinsurah on July 13, 1858. The *Hindoo Patriot* writes in its issue for July 15, 1858 :

Tuesday, the 13 July... The acting of the *Koolin-o-Kooloshorbushya* Natuck at Chinsurah

* Jogindranath Basu's *Life of Michael Madhusudan Datta* (Bengali), 3rd edn., pp. 647-48.

† See also the *Hindoo Patriot* for April 1, 1858. A very florid account of this performance by a correspondent is to be found in the *Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette* for March 27, 1858. From this we find that the play was staged in the face of considerable opposition from rival theatrical parties.

* See *Sambad Prabhakar*, dated Sep. 16, 1857 (1 Aswin, 1261).
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has, it appears, given great offence to the Koolins of the locality... The acting took place in the house of a gentleman of the Banya caste, and the Colin Brahmins intend, it is said, to retaliate in kind.

Tais was, in all probability, the performance which Bankim Chandra Chatterji is said to have witnessed at Chinsurah in the residence of the Mondol family, though the date ascribed to this performance is 1857, i.e., during the Sepoy Mutiny.*

These extracts give a fairly complete account of the different performances of *Kulin Kulasarvasa*. But there is an item of news in the *Sambad Prabhakar* for March 13, 1857 which raises an interesting point about the theatrical club which took the initiative in staging this play for the first time. Gour Das Bysack says in his reminiscences that "The credit of organizing the first Bengali Theatre belongs to the late Babu Jayaram Bysack of Churruckdanga Street, Calcutta, who formed and drilled a Bengali dramatic corps and set up a stage in his house, on which was performed, in March 1857, the sensational Bengali play of *Kulin Kula Sarvasa*." The *Sambad Prabhakar*, on the contrary, published the following editorial (cited in translation) on Mar. 10, 1857:

The staging of the play *Sakuntala* at the house of the late Ashutosh Deb has led today to the growth of an interest among the young men of this country in the dramatic art. Though these are but amusements, they do not require both intelligence and knowledge any the less for that. A dramatic performance does not mean merely to stand in upon a stage built after the English model and say the parts in a sing-song manner like the recitation of the doggerels of a *Panchali*. It requires that the actors should, by suitable gestures, express the proper sentiments of the passages—such as sorrow, joy, affection and other emotions—with which, according to the intentions of the author of the play, the drama has been embellished, and thus charm both the spectators and the listeners. The duties of an actor or actress are not easy. We shall say what we have to say in this connection later. At present we are extremely gratified to learn that arrangements for the staging of *Kulin Kulasarvasa* are being made under the auspices of the Vidyotsahini Sabha and Babu Kaliprasanna Singh, the founder of this society, is devoting his particular attention to the matter.

The Vidyotsahini Sabha was the literary club, founded and patronized by Kaliprasanna Singh. Of its dramatic activities something will be said in the next section. Here it is sufficient to mention that the

dramatic club attached to it also interested itself in the staging of *Kulin Kulasarvasa*, though we have no means of knowing whether the play was ultimately staged by it or not, and whether this club had any relation with the dramatic club organized by Jayram Bysack.

IV

The theatre attached to the Vidyotsahini Sabha just referred to, was established in 1856 by the well-known Bengali writer Kaliprasanna Singh at his residence in Jorasanko. This theatre was opened on April 9, 1857 with a performance of the Bengali version of the Sanskrit drama of *Veni-samhar* by Ramnarayan Tarkaratna. This event is described in the following letter to the editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, which was published in its issue for April 16, 1857:

To the Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*
Sir,—Last Saturday, the 9th instant, another Hindoo Theatre was inaugurated under the title of the "Bidus Swaheener Theatre." Several respectable gentlemen, native and European, were present on the occasion and the "Bany Sanghar" Nattuck was acted with considerable applause. The dialogues were conducted mostly in pyers (couplets) and treepodes (triplets) instead of dramatic verse. But songs were wanting—The performance on the whole was very creditable to the young Hindoo Amateurs to whose zeal and spirit the Theatre owes its existence.

Yours &c.

Kaliprasanna himself took one of the leading parts in the play and acted it with great credit. The success of this venture encouraged him to compose dramas himself, and this resulted in a Bengali translation of Kalidasa's famous play *Vikramorvasi*. This book was published in September, 1857, and, in the preface, Kaliprasanna gave an account of the previous activities of the Vidyotsahini Theatre and the circumstances which led to the composition of *Vikramorvasi*. After referring to the absence of theatres among the Bengalis, he says:

Afterwards when Shakespeare's and other English plays were performed in Bengal, the Hindus showed a desire to stage Sanskrit and Bengali plays also. Professor Wilson writes that about eighty years ago a Sanskrit drama called the *Chitra-yajna* was staged in the palace of the late Raja Iswarchandra Roy Bahadur of Krishnagar. But this play was not acted according to the rules of the stage, and, as it was written in Sanskrit, it failed to be generally pleasing.

Now in this theatre attached to the Vidyotsahini Sabha, the people of Bengal are again able to witness the staging of Bengali plays. A Bengali translation of Bhattanarayan's *Veni-samhar* by

* Life of Bankim Chandra Chatterji (in Bengali) by Sachish Chandra Chatterji, 3rd ed., pp. 75-77, 419.

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Ramanayan Bhattacharyya was the first play to be staged in this theatre. The distinguished visitors who were present during the performance are the best judges of the acting. The gentlemen who acted the parts, however, succeeded in pleasing the audience and earning profuse applauses by their well-regulated acting.

At the repeated insistence and request of the audience the drama of *Vikramorvasi* is now translated and published with the object of being acted on the Vidyotsahini stage. I shall deem my labours rewarded if it is deemed worthy of perusal by learned men and of being staged by other theatres of this city.

The exact date of the first performance of *Vikramorvasi* is given by the *Sambad Prabhakar*. In its issue for April 13, 1858, while giving a summary of the events of the preceding year, it writes:

1263, *Agrahayana*: On the 10th day of *Agrahayana* [November 21, 1857] the performance of *Vikramorvasi* came off very successfully at the Vidyotsahini Theatre of S. Kalprasanna Singh of Jorasanko.

Kishori Chand Mittra writes in the *Calcutta Review* (1813, p. 253) of the success which attended this performance:

In November 1857, a second and more brilliant performance, that of *Vikramorvasi*, took place at the premises and under the management of the late Babu Kalprasanna Singh: the Babu himself was one of the *dramatis personae*. There was a large gathering of native and European gentlemen, who were unanimous in praising the performance. Among the latter, Mr. afterwards Sir. Cecil Beadon, the then Secretary to the Government of India, expressed to us his unfeigned pleasure at the admirable way in which the principal characters sustained their parts.

A very full discussion of this performance occurs in the *Hindoo Patriot* for December 3, 1857:

THE BIDDUTH SHAHINEE THEATRE.—Our readers will probably remember that about six weeks ago we reviewed in these columns Babu Kalprasanna Singh's translation of the *Vikramorvasi* of Kalidasa. In the present issue we have to notice the performance of that drama, got up under the auspices of the same Baboo, in his own mansion. The native gentry of Calcutta and the Suburbs, representing the intelligence, taste, good sense, fashion and respectability of Hindu society, were all present in gorgeous winter garments, but the audience was too large for the place, and we hear with regret that many members of the Chowringhee aristocracy, were obliged to run counter on account of the alarming density of the collection. Whatever the public may complain of with respect to the unrestricted distribution of tickets of admission, we must do justice to Baboo Kalprasanna Singh whose liberal mind and generous munificence Calcutta owes a most magnificent institution for rational amusement. The *Bidduth Shahinee Theatre* is in the second year of its existence and though it is a private property, the intelligent and respectable public may as freely enjoy its benefit as they do partake of the common air we live in.

The *clat* with which the *Vikramorvasi* was performed on the last occasion was great. The stage was most beautifully decorated and the Theatre-room was as nobly adorned as cultivated taste could dictate or enlightened fashion could lead to. No delicate consideration of economy was ever thought of, and the result was most magnificent and gratifying. The marble painting on the front-piece of the stage was as neat as elegant, and the stone pictures of *Utharata* and *Kalidasa*, though mostly imaginary, were executed with so much nicety and taste that one was involuntarily reminded of the classic days of Grecian sculpture and painting, casting into form Gods and goddesses of heavenly birth. The reception was very courteous and gracious, which was conducted by our excellent townsman, Baboo Huru Chunder Ghose. But we cannot afford space for details, though the narration of which in the present instance is pleasant. We shall at once notice the performance, leaving aside all unnecessary preliminaries and the grateful reminiscences of elder drama.

The peculiar characteristic of our theatricals is the absence of dramatic opening, which belongs to the romantic school of the modern drama. We have the old Grecian way of opening the play by the appearance of the manager on the stage, who explains to the audience the nature and character, and, in some instances, the performances. But the accompaniment of music and song relieves that dull delay and patience-trespassing colon, which like a forced march is always tiresome, for we must bear in mind that the spectator has ever the incidents of the story vividly stamped on his mental vision, and does not wait to be helped in the margin. In the *Bidduth Shahinee Theatre* the music was excellent, both when the amateurs performed and when the Town Band played. They awakened in the souls of the feeling portion of the audience who had any sympathy for sounds the most pleasant emotions and kept the chord in a remarkably beautiful harmony. Of the performance nothing can be exaggeratedly stated. The part of the king *Purooroba*, represented by Baboo Kalprasanna Singh, was admirably done. His mien was right royal, and his voice truly imperial. From the first scene of the play when he with his pleasant companion, a civilized buffoon, commenced to interchange words of fellowship, to the last scene when he was translated with his fair *Oorvasi* to heaven, he kept the attention of the audience continuously alive and made a most gladsome impression on their minds. Every word he gave utterance to was suited to the action which followed it. In the language of the poet he did truly hold the mirror up to nature. Whose heart did not palpitate with the most quick emotions when the king, hearing the nymphs cry for help, announced his approach in the most heroic strain, and went to their relief? The act was as chivalrous as it was heroic. There was the romance of real life represented in true colors. But how sweetly does the language of love convey its meaning to a lover's mind. *Oorvasi* is rescued from the infernal clutches of the demon, she thanks in a soft but most eloquent language her gallant saviour: *Chitrolekha*, her lady of honor, mingle in the song of thanksgiving, while the king hears in the dulcet air the most passionate voice of love. The

scene lay in the Hemcoot range, and the romantic objects that allured observation from around, with the angelic charms of Oorvosi and the glorious graces of her lovely companion, threw the mind of the king into a kind of magical enchantment, and his vision thenceforth became the heavenly fair. Then comes the scene of the descending of the Heavenly car with Orbosi and Chittrolekha on, singing in a most rapturous strain and lapping the crazing soul literally as it were in Elysian bliss. If there could be angel visits on earth which poets sing of, the appearance of Orvasi with her ethereal companion in the heavenly car was such a visit.

It struck the heart of every one of the spectators. It almost realized the scriptural vision of Elijah's ascension to Heaven. We have seen pictures of Grecian gods driving chariots and read of ancient heroes skimming the air through such cars, but all the glowing figures of imagination which we had formed melted away as the mists disappeared and the heavenly car from Indra's region neared our common earth. The attitude of Oorvosi on the car was delightfully picturesque, and the sweet songs and music which attended the descent gave it the glow of an Arabian night's dream. But the enchantment was not yet complete. She came and vanished like a vision. The king was restless, and in the madness of love appealed with child-like simplicity to the counsel of Bidoosook, the Buffoon, who like Lear's fool, mocked his sorrow, but never leaving his moralizing occupation. The disconsolate Dabee, wife to the king, worships the gods to cure her husband's misdirected love, but subsequently moved by the frantic state of the Rajah disavows her worship, recalls her prayer and seconds his wish to propitiate the deities to gratify his desire. This is the true picture of the Hindu lady who at the sacrifice of her own happiness would even submit to austerities and observances for the fulfilment of her lord's wishes. Next opens the most affecting part of the play. The commencement is solemn and the circumstance serious. The electric light opens upon the air and the artillery of heaven roars tremendously—in the midst of this scene the king enters singly and in a state of a great excitement, cries for Oorvosi in a most lamentable strain, turns his mind inward, discourses with his own soul, rings the bells of his passion, and addresses the woods, and trees, the birds and skies in a most pathetic tone. This part of the action was the most difficult, and our friend Kaliprosono sustained it most nobly. If love could be feigned, Kaliprosono did it well. Thereon addressing the mountain—now the woods behind,—now the river beneath and now the birds above, with the essential pauses of affection, when the heart is rent by the agony of love, like Milton's Adam at the loss of Eve—the soliloquizing in the most pathetic manner and calling forth the most tender emotion from the deep wells of passion *ala Hamlet*—the repeated falls which the king met with from the negative replies which he construed in that frantic mood from the significant sounds that dropped—all these were quite natural and most admirably put into action. However we would not give any thing for the Oorvosi for whom the king had spent so much breath. We doubt whether our countrymen would content themselves with presenting to the world such an Orvasi whom poetry represents as the paragon of beauty, as was represented at the *Biddoth Shahinee* Theatre. But we do not disparage

her. She will make a different being—that is more acceptable,—if she continue on earth, for love-making in heaven is quite another affair, and is not suited to the taste of us mortals. Bidoosook was ably performed, but his jokes were lost partly on account of the noise, and partly on account of the unintelligibility of the language. The Cowar was just like Home's Young Norval, and the caressing address of Oorvosi, set in tune was most magnificently done. Other characters were indifferently good, but the voice which spoke from behind the scene was really abominable.

While we thus do justice to Baboo Kaliprososso Sing, we must however be allowed to express one patriotic wish. With all its excellencies the *Biddoth Shahinee* Theatre is a private establishment, though its very existence is a sign of the times. This attempt to cultivate the drama is justly praiseworthy, but what we would like to have is a public institution of the kind of a permanent character. The age is much too advanced to wait for an elaborate dissertation on the usefulness of such an institution in order to get it established. There are many among us, we know, with good sense and sufficiency enough to come forward and aid such a project, and at the head of that band we unhesitatingly put down the name of Baboo Kaliprososo Sing. Let the lovers and patrons of the Drama form themselves into a body, take the project into their consideration, and they are assured of every encouragement and co-operation from the *Hindoo Patriot*.

The third play to be staged by the Vidyotsahini Theatre was *Santri-Satyaran*, also the work of Kaliprasanna. It was rehearsed on June 4, 1858.*

APPENDIX

ADDITIONS

In the first part of this article, published last month, I omitted to mention the performance of *Nothing Superfluous* at the Hindu Theatre on March 29, 1832. The following letter, which appeared in the *India Gazette* of Saturday, March 31, 1832, speaks for itself:

To The Editor of the "INDIA GAZETTE."

Sir—As I have frequently perused in your paper articles eulogizing the natives for their advancement in literature and polite arts, I became desirous of ascertaining, by personal examination, the proficiency of this rising class. With this view I procured a ticket of admittance to the Hindoo Amateur Theatre and proceeded last night to witness the performance of "*Nothing Superfluous*," which had been notified in the *Enquirer* as prepared for the evening's entertainment. The play commenced at half after 7, in

*"We glean from the old files of the *Sambad Prabhakar* that the play was rehearsed at the Vidyotsahini Theatre on the 23rd Jaistha, 1265 Bengali Era (June, 1858).—*Memoirs of Kāfi Prossunno Sing*, by Manmatha Nath Ghosh, p. 42.

the presence of a highly respectable European and native audience. The principal characters were the *SULTAN SELIM*, *GIAFER*, *SADI* and the *FAIR GULNAIR*. The portly figure and the proud independent air of Selim were well suited to the character of an eastern monarch. Giafer also sustained his part with credit to himself; and the feminine blandishment, assumed by the fair Gulnair, displayed much fine taste and a right conception of the character of an eastern beauty; but the judgment and theatrical tact displayed by Sadi, throughout the varied and difficult parts he had to perform, were calculated to surpass the most sanguine expectations. His soliloquy and dream about a fine dinner composed of mutton chop, &c. had a very pleasing effect on the audience; and the difference of his manners whilst in prosperity was so well contrasted to those he had shewn whilst in poverty, that it could not fail to attract attention and call forth applause. The dresses of the actors were superbly rich, and the scenery, although inferior to that of the principal Theatres, was yet arranged with much taste. The minor characters were also very creditably sustained by the amateurs. In fact, the whole went off with great *celar*; reflecting the highest credit on every one connected with the Hindu Theatre.

In conclusion, I must express the high satisfaction which I derived from the entertainment of the evening, and which more than confirmed the favourable account which I had read of native improvement in your publication and the other papers of the day. I was almost forgetting to say that there was one thing to be regretted and which seemed to have been felt by every one present—and that was, that the play was too short and the room was rather small. Considering the number of gentlemen that were invited on the occasion, we hope the managers of this little Theatre will remedy these complaints in their next performance, and give us a good treat within a short time.

Calcutta,
30th March, 1832

Your obedient servant,
A FRIEND TO THE NATIVES.

Srijut Manmatha Nath Ghosh, who possesses the files of the *Hindoo Patriot* for 1855, has very kindly allowed me to take notes of the following account of the performance of *Henry IV.* Pt. I, which appeared in the *Hindoo Patriot* for February 22, 1855:

THE ORIENTAL THEATRE.—After the lapse of nearly a year, the Oriental Theatre re-opened on the 15th instant with the performance of Shakspeare's *Henry IV.* part first, and a farce entitled the *Amateurs*, written expressly for the Chowmughee Theatre by Henry Meredith Parker C. S. in those days in which civilians and military men did not deem it vulgar to amuse themselves with the very rational pleasures of the stage. The managers of the Oriental Theatre in their endeavours to nationalise a more intellectual

species of amusement than their countrymen were hitherto accustomed to throw away their money upon, complain of having had to encounter heavy losses. Their complaint is the more mortifying from the fact that those who have the power to aid them successfully, although hugely patronising the despicable *tamashas* that abound in the country—bull-bull fights and dancing girls,—would not lay out a farthing for the thousand times more gratifying shews which the Theatre is capable of affording. Perhaps the majority of the rich in Calcutta, are from their ignorance of the English language, insusceptible of the exquisite delight which an English play well acted can impart to the spectator. Yet if even all those whose education has furnished them with a refined taste and enables them to appreciate the Drama of the west, took that interest in the new theatre which they ought to take, its managers could not certainly despair of success. Shakspeare's plays acted by Hindoo youths is a novelty which none assuredly should miss, and such acting as we observed at the Oriental Theatre on Thursday last may well make us proud of the versatile and extraordinary genius of our countrymen. We admit that all the characters in the play were not so well represented as we could wish; yet Falstaff was a trump and King Henry spoke and gesticulated like a king. We wondered specially at the way in which the young man who personated the former character went through his part, mimicking the corpulent old blackguard in voice and gesture so remarkably that the audience was in a roar of laughter. The pronunciation of some of the actors was excellent; that of the rest, not altogether bad. . . . We again wish that a generous public will encourage these efforts to establish a source of rational amusement in Calcutta and revive gradually the dramatic spirit of our countrymen. We wish also that the managers of the Oriental Theatre will hereafter think of getting up Bengallee plays after the manner of our very spirited brethren of Bombay who are now starting it at the Grant Road Theatre.

CORRECTIONS

The following paragraph, quoted from the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* for 1835 (Pt. II Asiatic News, p. 327), furnishes additional proof that the *Hindoo Pioneer* was a weekly, and not a fortnightly nor a monthly paper, and that it was first published on 27 August, 1835.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.—A periodical, called the *Hindoo Pioneer*, closely resembling in exterior the *Literary Gazette* and entirely the production of the students of the Hindoo College, has been published. The first number of the work was issued on the 27th August and on the whole reflects great credit on the contributors and editors.

P. 387 c. 1 l. 35 for Sept. 1822 read Feb. 1, 1822.
390 2 55 „ complete „ play in English
play in Eng. „ on a more
ambitious scale

Alekh Religion in Orissa

By PANDIT BINAYAK MISRA

JORANDA, a village in the Dhenkanal State, has been the principal seat of Alekhism for a long time. The hills, forming the isolation of Dhenkanal, have been barriers to the quick onrush of any new culture into the State from the plain country. Notwithstanding the isolation, Dhenkanal, where the Savara people predominate and which according to tradition owes its name to a Savara. Dhenka by name, is regarded by the Hindus of Orissa as a place of sanctity on account of a Saivite shrine existing on the slope of the Kapilasa hill which is a few miles from Joranda. The natural grandeur of this hill is exceedingly charming. A perennial spring flows down from the top of the hill and washes the head of a Saiva image, enshrined in a temple standing on the slope. This temple was constructed during the reign of Purushottam Deva, the sovereign lord of Orissa in the 15th century A. D.

There are several natural caves on the hill, which are occasionally occupied by the Sadhus coming from distant places. These caves are said to have been the abode of the sages in the remote past. According to tradition this hill was the seat of the sage Kapila to whom a Sanskrit work, describing the sanctity of the various shrines of Orissa, is attributed. It is, therefore, a common belief that Kapilasa, the name of the hill, has been derived from Kapila-vasa. I need mention here that the pilgrims, when they gather here on festive occasions, observe no caste distinction.

The Kapilasa has been referred to as a place of sanctity in the Oriya Ramayana by Balaram Das, a contemporary of Chaitanya of Bengal. It is stated in the prologue of this work that Siva, residing on this hill, heard the name of Rama from Brahma and by muttering this name, was cured of the disease he was suffering from on account of the destruction of Daksa's sacrifice. Having noticed the miraculous restoration of Siva's health, Parvati requested her husband to expose the means of his cure and thereupon he narrated the story of Rama.

Another reference as to the sanctity of the Kapilasa is found in an Oriya poem, called Govindachandra by Yasovant Das, a contemporary of Balaram Das. This poem is recited by the Yogis of Orissa, while wandering from village to village begging alms during the dry season. These Yogis lead a married life and cultivate land, which they possess, during the rainy season, but do not hire their labour. They take food cooked by all non-Brahmin people and at the same time declare that the founder of their society was Gorakhanath. With such social characteristics the Yogis claim that the poem Govindachandra is the sole property of their society.

This poem deals with the initiation of Govindachandra, a King of Bengal, to asceticism by Hadipa. It is narrated in it that Hadipa had left Govindachandra in a prostitute's house for probation and proceeded to Kapilasa. Besides Nanda Das, who flourished, very likely in the 17th century A. D., mentions Dhenkanal as a religious centre in his *Anahara-samhita*. I might mention here that this *Anahara-samhita* contains a religious doctrine which resembles that of Alekhism.

I shall now proceed to notice the general features of the religion. Alekhism generally prohibits image worship and observance of the caste system. But a certain section of the Alekhists who lead a household life, observe caste system to a certain extent. It, however, advocates abstinence from taking beverage and extinction of desire. Those followers, who have renounced the world, subsist on alms. They take cooked food, if obtained from a house in course of begging. And they take this food on the main road running through the village, never acquiescing to the request for taking this food either within the house or on the outer veranda of the house from which they have obtained it. They particularly avoid taking any food cooked by Brahmins. It is also noteworthy that no Alekhist takes his meal after sunset. The Alekhists generally wear red garments and do not enter

into religious controversy. It is also highly interesting that they never get themselves provoked at the jeering of a heretic. Besides, they daily devote some time to meditation and localize the gods, such as Brahma, Siva and Narayana mentioned in their literature, in the human body.

No religion is fully comprehensible from its external character and as such I shall take pains to notice the esoteric doctrine of Alekhism. My chief source of knowledge on the subject is the literature which this religion possesses.

Among the works, containing the Alekh doctrine, so far published, the *Tishnugarbha-purana* by Chaitanya Das, most elaborately represents the teachings of Alekhism. This work was noticed for the first time by Mr. Nagendranath Basu in his book entitled "*The Modern Buddhism and its Followers in Orissa*." Of late, Professor Artaballabh Mahanty M.A. has edited this Purana from three manuscripts and he is of opinion that the author flourished in the first half of the 16th century A. D. Now let us review what it contains.

It opens with invocations to Sarasvati and Mahabrahma, but Sarasvati is represented here, as an instrument communicating wisdom from Alekh to the man, not as a personified goddess of the modern Hinduism. Then Sanaka exposes the following metaphysics to Saunaka.

"Alekha manifests himself in every thing in the universe, but his manifestations are formless.¹ The universe which appears before our eyes are dependent on the Dharma of Alekha,² who assumes semblance in four

colours—white, yellow, brown and red.³ Alekha is himself Vishnu and from him proceeds Nirakara.⁴ When the latter appears, the former disappears in emptiness. Then Nirakara creates the seven oceans⁵ and places them in the frying pan of clouds supported on the head of a person having two names, Manu and Parama, wearing a pair of shoes—one called Udanga or flying and the other Parama or permanent.⁶ The person, his shoes and the frying pan are all created by Nirakara.

The universe resides in the womb of Alekha who is incomprehensible.⁷ The four Vedas know nothing of him.⁸ Nirakara,

(3) "विकार बोलल यादुकुटिहहि ।

वर्ण नादा विकारिया प्रकाय हेला देही ॥

रेश, पीत कुङ्कुम लोहित चारि वर्ण ।" (p. 7-8)

"His semblances shine as four different colours, namely white, yellow, orange and red which appear to be his forms."

(4) "प्रथम आकारेक धइला विष्णु कटर ।

सहुँ जात होइला ये निराकार रूप ॥" (p. 8)

"He first assumed the form of Vishnu whence proceeded the formless."

(5) "धेनिनयनह ताकु वडिला नीरधार ॥

से नीरधार होइला ये सरत सिन्धुनल ॥" (p. 5)

"Tears springing from his eyes, came into existence as seven oceans."

(6) "पुष्टि निद्राय कजे एक मेघ तेलाइलि ।

तहि परि रहिले आगध सिन्धु पाणि ॥"

"Again he manufactured a frying pan of clouds and placed the depthless water of the oceans in it."

"येवण पुहयकु मनह जातकने ।

मनु पाम बोलि ताहार नामदेसे ॥

उबङ्ग छियर पादुकायोडिप निमाणि ।

से पुहयर पादे खजिजे ता आयि ॥" (p. 9)

"He called the being sprung out of his mind, Manu and Parama and making a pair of shoes—one flying and the other permanent, he put them on his (created being's) feet."

(7) "अद्भुत कर्मण विष्णुरूप-प्रकाशिला ।

अमन्त कोटि प्रसायड सार यमं गजु कजा ॥" (p. 24)

"He mysteriously manifested in the form of Vishnu, and from his womb emanated numberless worlds."

(8) "अशेष शेष भादिं यारभेदाभेद ।

सार महिमा काहिं यणिनाक येद ॥" (p. 11)

"He is infinite and his entity and non-entity both are endless. How can the Vedas describe his greatness?"

(1) "अलेख पुरुष बोलि बडिह एकइजन ।

यइसानहोइ येते स्वयं ता विकार ।

विकार धाह से ये नुइह आकार ॥" (p. 5)

"Alekha is the greatest and everything—great or small—is his semblance. He is formless, although he assumes semblance."

(2) "धमं स्वरा होइ आसि रहिला जगते ।

धर्म बले आतयात हेइलि संसार ।

धर्म बले यदारे धाह उपपल ॥" (p. 5)

"He pervades the universe in the form of Dharma. ...The universe is regulated by his laws of Dharma. ...The tree produces flowers and fruits through the force of his Dharma."

springing from Alekha, remains in the state of sleep and in this state Jyoti originates.⁹ Then again the seven oceans being agitated with the wind exhaled by Nirakara in the state of sleep produce tides and from these tides proceeds Kala or time which is often identified with Kamala or lotus.¹⁰ Avarice, attachment, anger, lust and illusion are attributes of this Kala.¹¹

Brahma, springing from the lotus, sits on the filament. He, being baffled at the attempt at tracing his origin at the bottom of the stalk of lotus, hears a voice from emptiness asking him to create the world. Thereafter he creates it in collaboration with Kala.¹²

(9) "एते बोलि जलशय्या पादिण निराकार ।

योग ध्यासने पहिदित कले योगमुद्रा ।
येतेवेले योगनिद्रा धारिला नयन ।

ध्यानकले ज्योतिमए विकसिला आभा ॥" (p. 10)

Thinking so to himself, he had made bed of water and lay along with meditation.....when he became absorbed in meditation, a glory of light appeared....."

(10) "साहाङ्क निम्वास पवन जले वाजि ।

अदभुते लहड़ीमान उडिला गलगानि ॥

कालपुरुष सहुं होइलाक जात ।

से काल पुरुष ये कमल रूप हेला ॥" (o 10)

"Water, being agitated the wind exhaled, produced boisterous waves all on a sudden. Out of it emanated Kala which assumed the form of lotus."

(11) "कालपुरुष बोइला ये मायार अपते ।

लोभमोह काम क्रोध येनि रहउ सज्जते ॥

एमन्ते कालमाया दुहें होइले एकत्त्व ।" (p. 25)

"Kala said to Maya "Let thou associate thyself with me, with your attendants, avarice attachment, lust and anger." Thus Kala and Maya were united."

(12) "से कमल केशरे महा जनमि हेले उभा ।

ए पद्मनाद केते दूरह आसिद्धि बोइला ॥

पद्माक कलि मुं ये देखिनि केतेदूर ॥

बेबेहें से पद्मनाद नोहिलाक रोष ।

निखिन्त होइ महा साधिला तपयोग ।

अलेख अल्पक ये साह्यार तपबले ।

शुन्ये शवद उभाइ महाका कहिले ॥

बोइले हे विपाता तु जले सृष्टिकर ।

ए मोर लीला देख येमन्त प्रकार ॥" (p. 11)

"Brahma stood on the filament of lotus He resolved to trace the place of origin of the stalk and caught hold of it, but could not reach the

Alekha, who is colourless, manifests himself in six colours and from these colours emanate six formless Vishnus. Again from Vishnus proceed innumerable Brahmas having discriminating consciousness as their characteristics. These Brahmas create an infinite number of worlds, each comprising twenty-one parts and nine apertures.¹³

The Alekhic cosmic process, in which the universe emerges out of Alekha or emptiness, appears to be similar to that of the Mahayana sect of Buddhism. Asvaghosa writes that by perceiving subjectivity as empty and unreal, one can perceive the pure soul manifesting itself as eternal, permanent, immutable and completely comprising all things that are pure.¹⁴ We can, therefore understand why Alekism selects the term Nirakara (formless) for conveyance of sense of the affirmative aspect of Alekha. Dharma of Alekism is doubtless the relative aspect of Mahayana's emptiness.

The author of the work under review tells us that Jala or water is identical with Maya or illusion.¹⁵ Asvaghosa illustrates the mode of consciousness and mentation that are products of ignorance by the simile of water and waves. Our author has adopted

bottom. ... Then he quietly practised meditation and on that account the incomprehensible Alekha asked from a voice from emptiness to create a world in the water as would be the ground of his sport."

"कालकु छादि महा सृष्टि रन्वि न पारिला । (p. 11)

"Brahma could not create the world without Kala's assistance."

"अवर्ण अङ्गर तार वर्ण प्रकाशिला ।

ए छड़ वर्णर छड़ विष्णु हेलेजन्म ।

असाङ्क तहुं पुषि ब्रह्मामान हेलेजात ।

एक ब्रह्मा बोइला मुं सृष्टि कलि जात ।

एक ब्रह्मा बोइला मो तहिं केहि नाहि ।

जात होइ ब्रह्मा माने ये रचिले ब्रह्मायड ॥" (p. 17)

"एकोइल उलेखा ये पृथिवी नवखण्ड ।" (p. 78)

"From his colourless form proceed colours. ... From six colours emanate six Vishnus. ... Several Brahmas spring from them. ... One Brahma says "It is I who has created the world. ... Another says "I am without rival" Brahmas after their birth created the worlds each comprising 21 parts and 9 apertures."

(14) Asvaghosa's Awakening of Faith. The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago.

(15) "ए माया बोलाइ भवजल अन्धकार" (p. 66)

"The illusion is called the dark water of the world."

exactly the same simile and it has some bearing very likely on the mystic significance of the lotus capital of Asoka.

According to Asvaghosa's opinion in one soul reside two aspects—suchness and birth—and—death (*Samsara*). Alekhism's Manu wearing flying shoe and Patama wearing permanent shoe are, in all likelihood, identical with birth-and-death and suchness respectively.

"There exists only an infinite number of series of consciousness either potentially or actively in operation and each series consists of a succession of moments of consciousness, each moment being the direct resultant of consciousness.... First in order is ignorance; that is to say, when we analyse the operation of Karma upon a train of moments of consciousness, we find that its primary effect is to cause ignorance, namely, the false belief held by this consciousness that it is a 'self' and ego and the other consequent delusions. This consciousness, in turn, issues in conformation, the potentialities of love, hatred and like weaknesses of the spirit which are the resultants of activities in previous individuated existence and inspire to future activities. Then emerges consciousness of finite being in general and from this issue 'name and form' the conception of definite world of particulars."¹⁶

The above is the early Buddhist teaching. The ignorance, conformation and consciousness are regarded by the Mahayanists as emptiness. It, therefore, appears that Brahma of Alekhism, who is subject to emptiness and create in emptiness, is the consciousness of Buddhism. The later Brahmas having discriminating consciousness as their characteristic are doubtless the finite beings. Kala may be taken as conformation. Evidently 'name and form' of Buddhism has been confounded with Alekha whence issue six Vishnus. These Vishnus are probably identical with Sad-ayatana of Buddhism. I need not say that the womb of Alekha is Tathagatagarbha of Buddhism, not Viraja form of Sri-Krishna.

Alekhism has close affinity with Buddhism. In the former five different names are given to Mana as in the latter.¹⁷ The four colours, which appeared first, seem to be constituent parts of Krisnayataka observed by the Bhiksus of Buddhism. The

story of holy Bharata's re-birth as a deer on account of his association with an animal of the same species,¹⁸ as narrated in the Vishnugarbha-purana reminds us of Asvaghosa's teaching that in case a devotee comes into unfavourable circumstances he may fall down to an inferior state. Again in Alekhism the sage Markanda is represented as possessing the character of Buddhist Avalokitesvara, for he does not attain Alekha the ultimate goal of his life on account of the vow he had taken for procuring salvation to all beings in the world.¹⁹ Besides, the Alekhists maintain the Buddhist view that the creation is beginningless and endless.²⁰

(18) Bharat was practising austerities under an Asvattha tree (Ficus Religiosa) on the bank of a river flowing at the foot of the hill. One day he went into the river to bathe while a pregnant doe was drinking water. It took fright and leaped over the elevated land to run away. In course of leaping the young slipped out of its womb. This young was picked up and brought up by Bharata. Thereafter a Fowler happened to be at Bharata's place and killed the deer, taking the advantage of Bharata's absence. When Bharata returned and found his pet deer lost, he bewailed so much that the further pursuing of austerities had to be discontinued. He died at last, mourning the loss of the deer and was re-born as a deer. After some time this deer came into contact with the sages and thereby was reborn as a Brahmin after death.

"At the time of dissolution of creation, Markanda was deeply absorbed in meditation on Alekha and on that account he was escorted into Vishnu's (Alekha) womb by a light. Here he came across his disciples who had already attained salvation. These disciples served as his guides in course of his visit to the whole of Alekha's womb where the numberless universes lie. Thence Markanda returns, when a new creation commences, and promulgates the Alekha religion. But his disciples never return.

(20) "येनै रूपं फलमान वृक्षे आसि फले ।

से फल पावि पुण्य पर्शु वृक्ष तने ॥

फलर भित्तरे पुण्य बीज पाद रहि ।

पेलकाल जायि पदे से वृक्ष दुग्ध ॥

से वृक्षे आसि पुण्य पुण्य फल घरे ।

से फल बीजे पुण्य वृक्ष उदह निर्मरे ॥

एहिस्थे अलेखर देहे एहिस्थित ।

केते एहिमान गलायि केते फल ॥

पुण्य आर्ते केते एहि देवे सेवा नाही" (p. 102)

(16) *The Path of Light* by L. D. Earnet.

(17) मनबुद्धि विवेक हेतु चैतन्य

"The fruits grow in the tree and fall down when they are ripe. The seeds which lie in the

performance of miraculous deeds by Gorakhanath and, Mallikanath on the bank of the Prachi (now flowing under the same name in the Puri district) in the bygone days. Gorakhanath and Mallikanath did no doubt diffuse Sahajia cult in the northern India. An Oriya poem called *Saptanga Yoga* containing the mode of Yoga practice is also attributed to Gorakhanath. It may not be Gorakhanath's original work, but it doubtless bears testimony to his influence on the social life of Orissa. I have stated at the beginning of this paper that the Yogis in Orissa claim to be the remnant of the school founded by Gorakhanath. This Gorakhanath belonged to Sahajia school and it can, therefore, be held that Sahajia cult of Buddhism prevailed in Orissa during the 16th century A. D.

I may now give a brief historical sketch of the growth of Alekh cult in Dhenkanal. Buddha first converted to his faith Tapusa and Bhallika, two merchants from Utkal at Bodhagaya on their way to Magadha, immediately after his attainment of Nirvana.²⁶ On their return they erected the Chaityas and began to diffuse the message they obtained from the great teacher. Subsequently they left for Burma and preached there.²⁷ About three centuries after their departure, Buddhism with the conquest of Orissa by Asoka, began to be firmly established. Thus it had a stronghold in Orissa.

In the beginning of the Christian era there occurred a split in Buddhism which was consequently divided into two sects—Hinayana and Mahayana. According to Tibetan version Mahayana originated in Orissa during the rule of Chandrarakshita.²⁸ This statement might not be true, but the fact cannot be denied that in course of time a sub-sect called Sahajayana sprang from Mahayana. The tenets of this sub-sect are embodied in '*Buddha Gana O Doha*' edited by Mahamahopadhyaya H. P. Shastri. We gather from this work that Sahajayana inculcates meditation on the void and denounces caste system as well as image worship.²⁹

Again it is noteworthy that its meditation appears to be Tantric in character. Sahajayana bears, therefore, a comparison to Alekhism.

We know from Tibetan accounts that Kahnu or Krisnacharya and Sarahabhadra whose songs appear in the aforesaid work, belong to Orissa.³⁰ Savara people have also been referred to in '*Baudha Gana O Doha*.' Again the language used in this work has more affinity with the Oriya³¹ than any other northern vernacular. I am, therefore, inclined to hold that Sahajayana originated in Orissa.

The Sahajia poet of the above work had probably some intimate connection with the Kapilasa, for it mentions the Savara sages residing on the top of a great hill.³² This hill is very likely identical with the Kapilasa which is the suitable place for the practice of Yoga. The prevalence of Buddhism in the vicinity of this hill is also corroborated by the old copper-plate records.³³

We learn from various sources that Orissa was the centre of learning of Yoga system. Under the Bhauma dynasty, there flourished a king, Subhakar Kesari by name, who sent as token of present the autograph manuscript of Gandavyuha to the emperor of China through Prajna who studied Yoga

निष्प देह कल्याण युन मे हेरि ।
किष्प कायहार-उन्नत माङ्गे ।
पद्मदंशनेषु यद्वत् न जानन्ति सदाश्रिताः ।
आसिवादादिमाश्रित्य ब्राह्मणादि निरर्थकाः ॥
निष्प घरणी लह केलि कन्त ।
पङ्क न किङ्कह मन्त न हन्त । (p. 21)

(30) *Ibid.*

"Kahan or Kahnya (Krisna) name of a Buddhist Tantric sage was born of a Brahmin family in Orissa and was initiated into the mystic cult. (V) Senior Krisnacharyya was born of a Brahmin family of Orissa (LVII)

Savarana in Tibetan is a name of a Buddhist sage who belonged to the hill-tribe called Savara.

Sarahabhadra is the name of the earliest diffusers of Tantrik Buddhism. He learnt (Vajrayana) from Sovasakulapa, king of Orissa... (CXXI)

(31) सोहोरी (p. 19) This is doubtless the Oriya possessive form of the second personal pronoun.

बारि हरे (p. 19) Here we notice the Oriya locative case indicating suffix.

Similarly many other Oriya forms, which are not in use in any other northern vernacular, are found in this work. (p. 13)

(32) वरगिरि सिहर दण्डु थलि सवरेहिं किष्प वास ।

(33) *The Modern Review*, September, 1931, pp. 290-91.

(26) Asvaghosa's *Buddha-charita*, Book XV, pp. 60-62.

(27) *Asiatic Researches* Vol. XVI, Rangoon, inscription.

(28) *Pag Sam Jon Zang* part I By Pal Jor, edited by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das, B. A., C. I. E. (CII).

(29) *Ibid.*

system in Orissa in the 8th century A. D.³⁴ It is stated in the Prakrit inscription from Nagarjunakonda of the 3rd century A. D. that Bodhisiri erected a Buddhist monastery on the Paspagiri³⁵ which is mentioned in Hiuen Tsiang's account of Orissa. Bodhisiri and Naropa are said to have practised Yoga at Ratnagiri of Orissa³⁶ which have been recently explored by Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda as well as by Mr. H. C. Chakladar. It is also worthy of mention that the present Khandayat Zemindar of Ratnagiri claims a descent from the king Vasukalpa Kesari who is probably identical with Sovesukalpa, the preceptor of Sarababhadra. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to say that Yoga system of Sahajayana originated from Orissa.

The Oriya literature of Chaitanya's time represent almost a Sahaja religion mixed with Hinduism. Such admixture is natural, for the sea-coast tract of Orissa, where the literature generally flourished, was open to the influence of different religions. Now Sahajayana in the coast land has been fully absorbed in Hinduism while it is retained in the form of Alekhism in Dhenkanal which is naturally secure against the outside influence. It appears that the Kapilasa was the original seat of Alekhism. Alekh teachings resemble the nihilism of Kapila and on that account this hill has been called Kapila-Vasa. The removal of the Alekh seat from the Kapilas to Joranda seems to be due to later Brahmanical tyranny.

Alekhism is now rapidly spreading among the aborigines of the highlands of Orissa and it is expected to be the predominant religion in the Feudatory States of Orissa in the near future. This religion, though now rapidly spreading, was on the verge of extinction in the beginning of the 19th century. It was Bhim Bhoi, who rescued it from imminent extinction and to him, therefore, belongs the credit of its extensive spread. I shall, therefore, conclude this paper after giving a short account of his life.

Bhim Bhoi was born in a Khand family in the Rerhakhol State some time between 1850-60. In each and every Sudra village in Orissa a house is set apart where a set

of Bhagavat by Jagannath Das, is kept and chanted every night. Bhim Bhoi, belonging to the aboriginal tribe, daily attended this Bhagavat house and listened to the recitation. Subsequently he came into contact with a preacher of Alekh sect who accompanied him to the Guru of the sect residing in Dhenkanal. Here Bhim Bhoi was initiated, and thereafter he passed his days in religious preachings, making his principal abode in the Sonepur State. While in Sonepur, he was blind, but the cause of the loss of his eye sight is not known.

Bhim Bhoi attracted followers—male and female—in large numbers. Some learned Brahmias also became his disciples, renouncing the caste distinction. He took a female follower as his wife and children were also born to him. He died at Khaliapali in Sonepur in 1895. This religious man was a very good poet. His teachings are embodied in the poems which he dictated to his literate disciples to write. I give below two extracts from his poems containing the religious teaching which is similar to that of Chaitanya Das the author of *Vishnugarbhapurana*.

श्रुत्य मन्दिरे देहार रुख रेल नाहि यार

...
...
...
दोहा ता निष्काम धर्म नजन एका यत्नर

❀ ❀ ❀

द्वन्दि निर्वाण करिखरे समन (द्वन्दि निर्वाण करिल्लो)

द्वद्वके तोरपिड स्थपिला (समनरे)

ध्रुव मारकण्ड यादिरे समन (ध्रुव मारकण्ड यादि).

ध्रुव मस्तककृ यिले से भेदि (समनरे)

दुल शून्य बाहा कदिरे समन (दुल शून्य बाहा काहि)

टिकया पुर से तालु यट्ट (समनरे)

डावकर चित्त देह (समनरे) ॥ (p. 31)

He, who possesses no form, nor entity, wanders in the emptiness.—Extinction of desire with the chanting of the single alphabet is the religion he preaches.....

Oh thou pure mind! He made thee in the intricacies and put thy repository on the six wheels called six Vedas.

Oh thou pure mind! Dhruva, Markanda and other attained the eternal sublimity.

Oh thou pure mind! The infinite emptiness has been located on your palate; trace it through meditation.

(34) *E. I.* Vol. XV, pp. 363-61.

(35) *Rel.* Vol. XX, p. 23.

(36) *Pag Sam Jon Zang* by Pal Jor.

Address to the All-Bengal Muslim Students' Conference

By RABINDRA NATH TAGORE

THE night is dark over our land, the peoples' mind is obscured, spreading blindness of unreason that leads to general disruption and disaster. In a dense atmosphere of mutual distrust whatever we try to raise as our shelter comes down with a crash upon our heads, and all our endeavours, even those that are for public good hurt the cause that is our own. A suicidal insanity prevents us from realizing the utter heinousness of striking those whose destiny is one with ourselves, and the very education that we receive, in a strange perversion of its ideal, supplies weapons of sophistry for fratricidal conflict.

This evil, which like a nightmare, is stifling the life-breath of our country, belongs to an irrational area of senility whose time I hope, is near to its end. The chief symptom of its dissolution we notice in the very conflagration it spreads, building

its own cremation fire. When the time comes for the retribution of the accumulated iniquities of ages we must go through a period of terrible trial and strain but let us accept it with the patient hope that the curse has nearly worked itself out and the thunderous fury has the effect of cleansing the atmosphere.

Let the morning break in the East in a majesty of the new-born light, let the youth of the country heroically overcome the barriers of difference in opinions and customs, in religions and interests and combine in welcoming a new age at the call of brothers' love. It is the weak who have not the power to forgive, let the vigorous generosity of the young manifest itself by silencing all bickerings and building a commonwealth of comradeship upon an unshakable foundation of a perfect spirit of co-operation.

Disarmament: Past, Present and Future

By S. S. RAJAGOPALAN

IN common parlance disarmament implies the abandonment or reduction of warlike establishments. In the words of Viscount Cecil "it is a genuine first step towards the complete disappearance of all aggressive armaments among the nations of the world." The idea underlying disarmament is to do away with the manifold miseries resulting from warfare. This war mentality or psychology or psychosis has a long history dating as far back as the very dawn of the human race. The state of nature in which man is supposed to have originally lived is often described as one of incessant warfare. If political theorists and philosophers are prone to dismiss it as a pure figment of imagination, history comes to the rescue. Even the holy scriptures of the different religions of the world make mention of righteous wars fought in the name of God

known as *dharma yuddhas*, *jehads* and crusades, pertaining to Hinduism, Islam and Christianity respectively. War has thus been a legalized mode of the most hideous, wholesale and violent forms of killing. It has been the product of selfish egoism and jingoistic nationalism. To count the number of wars that have been fought from the birth of the human race down to the present time may be an arduous task. But to get an idea of the loss the world has sustained it may suffice to note that from 1821 to 1914 forty wars have been fought. The Napoleonic war lasted for 9,000 days and two million souls perished. The Great War lasted for 1,750 days and the loss in men amounted to ten millions. The horrors of war are so great that it has been pithily remarked, "if mankind does not end war, war will end mankind." Hence in view of the colossal

losses that have resulted from war it is being realized through such agencies as the League of Nations that disarmament is desirable. But a policy of disarmament bristles with numerous difficulties and before enumerating them it is necessary to trace the growth of the idea of disarmament from its very origin. A reading of history will show that the healthy idea of a need for disarmament was rather long in coming. It was only as late as 1817 that the first attempt was made towards reduction of armaments. By the Rush-Bagot agreement the United States of America and Great Britain limited the number of their warships on the Great Lakes to three vessels. Again in 1831 and 1863 France attempted without results to bring about an international limitation of armaments. As imperialism, the dominant note of the nineteenth century and disarmament developed side by side, one running counter to the other, all attempts during the nineteenth century at disarmament were vain and querele. The next stage was reached in 1902 when the Argentine-Chile Agreement was concluded, by which the nations party to it resolved to desist from acquiring vessels of war. Later, the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 were, for want of a legal or moral sanction, powerless to enforce those agreements. It was only after the shock of the Great War that opinion became unanimous that the condition precedent to the establishment of world peace was the disarmament of nations. Accordingly, article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations laid down that "plans are to be drafted by the Council for the general reduction of national armaments which the members agreed in recognizing as necessary for the maintenance of peace." In order to carry out the provisions of the article a permanent advisory committee and, later, a temporary mixed commission were set up. But their work was hampered owing to the hostility of the military nations which were outside the League. Progress was, however, achieved in the Washington Agreement of 1921 (November 12th) according to which U. S. A., Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan bound themselves not to use in warfare asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and all analogous liquids, materials or devices. But the conference failed to put an end to the competition in building submarines, light cruisers and aircrafts and left the problem of disarmament

on land untouched. The next landmark is the Geneva Protocol of 1924 which declared that wars of aggression were an international crime and provided for the compulsory settlement of all disputes both justiciable and non-justiciable. A further step was taken in the Locarno treaties. Germany, Belgium and France agreed not to attack or invade each other or to resort to war against each other. In 1927 the Coolidge Conference, otherwise known as Geneva Naval Conference, sought to limit cruisers, destroyers and submarines but it was a sorry failure. In 1928 America showed by a gesture to the world that she was not far behind other nations in demanding world-peace and the gesture materialized in the Briand-Kellogg Pact. It registered the determination of over sixty countries, including Russia not to have recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and their renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. A tragic spectacle was witnessed in the London Naval Conference of 1930 when nations could not come to an agreement as to any significant reductions. War psychology which influenced the policy of the nations assembled at London, was the tragic error of the Conference.

Having sketched the growth of the idea of disarmament it may be examined how far the policy is practicable in the present circumstances. The world today is full of suspicion and mistrust and nations are still slaves to the War God. Further, though nations are mentally inclined to accept its desirability, the atmosphere is not favourable for realizing this object now or in the near future. For what do we find? The leading powers of the world are increasing their armaments more than ever, in all directions. An appeal to statistics may substantiate this statement. In 1914 Britain spent 76 millions on her navy. Now after the war she spends 52 millions. The fall in figures explains only the fact that Britain could not spend more on account of her financial stringency. U. S. A. in 1914 spent 42 millions and today she spends about 78 millions, Japan in 1914 15 millions and 26 millions in 1930. France has increased her military expenditure since 1925 by 21 millions. Besides, in regard to aerial expenditure, Great Britain has spent 2 millions more over 1922 figures, U. S. A., 20 millions, Italy 6 and France 4 millions. And the Belgian minister in February, 1931

budgets for a military expenditure of 1,300 million francs. Of the world expenditure on armaments at present, 60 per cent is borne by European countries, 20 per cent by U.S.A. and 20 per cent by the rest of the world. Thus the world today is in possession of a greater aggregate of armaments than in 1914. And the presence of the "Escalator-clause" permitting Japan, U. S. A. and England to increase their armaments consistent with the progress made by France and Italy, may be set down as a hindrance to any policy of disarmament. Among other things which corrode the atmosphere of good-will peace may be mentioned (a) the absence of a true spirit of international legalism, (b) deep-rooted belief in the inevitability of wars, (c) craze for compulsory military training, (d) want of moral sanctions to enforce the decisions of the League of Nations, (e) the refusal of U. S. A., Turkey, and Russia to become official members of the League, (f) the absence of a permanent disarmament commission and (g) lack of the ripe international public opinion in favour of total disarmament.

While the causes that impede the progress of disarmament stand unchecked, the world conference is to meet on 2nd February, 1932. It has set before itself the five-fold objects of (a) reduction of armies, (b) reduction of navies, (c) reduction of military budgets, (d) abolition of poison gas and disease germ warfare and (e) the establishment of a permanent disarmament commission. It may be said without exaggeration that the earnestness and sincerity of the great nations of the world will be on trial during the conference and the success or failure of disarmament largely depends on the success or failure of the ensuing conference. At any rate failure will certainly lead to preparations for war on a more gigantic scale than the one recently undertaken

"to end war" or to "make the world safe for democracy."

In spite of the fog of pessimism that enshrouds this vital problem of disarmament, there is no denying the fact that if it can be achieved it will confer a number of benefits on humanity. For the expenditure on armaments is today a crushing burden on the peoples of the world. Snowden once said that three quarters of England's taxes are spent in paying for past wars and preparing for future wars. And Sir Josiah Stamp did not pass the limits of understatement when he said that if the expenditure on armaments by the great powers could be cancelled, the standard of life could be raised by ten per cent. The saving of public money spent on armaments offers an opportunity for the government to allow the money to fructify in the taxpayers' pockets, or to spend it on services designed to raise the general level of national well-being.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that though the advantages resulting from a policy of disarmament cannot be denied, its practicability under the present circumstances is a vain illusion. But with the promotion of international good-will, amity and understanding, with a true appreciation of the message of peace which India is yearning to give to the world and with the wiping out of political grievances that cause rivalry among nations, reduction of the chances of war to a minimum will and ought to become a *fait accompli*. The logic of circumstances as they exist in the world compels therefore one to think justifiably that though disarmament is desirable, as nations now stand, it is not practicable. This is a case of the spirit being willing but the flesh being weak. Whether the future will be unlike the present in respect of this question, is something more than what even an incurable optimist can prophesy today.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor. J. R.]

• ENGLISH

THE MADRAS STATES DIRECTORY • *Cochin Pearl Press. Price Rs. 5.*

This is a very useful work giving much information about the Indian States in the Madras Presidency. It is illustrated and well got-up.

THE HANDBOOK OF THE CYLON NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1919-1928. Edited by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Joint Hon. Secretary, Ceylon National Congress. H. W. Cate & Co., Colombo.

This is a big volume of more than one thousand pages. It contains the presidential addresses, the resolutions passed at the various sessions, etc. It is a useful book of reference.

C.

INDIA THROUGH THE AGES, *being the Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1928, Madras University: By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E.; M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta. Re-1-8*

As indicated in the title-page, the book is a survey of the growth of Indian life and thought. It is necessarily brief and rapid, but thoroughly scholarly. The author writes with his usual lucidity, charm of style, and choice of apt phrase. He has done well to explain the limitations of his survey in his preface, which should be read first.

One feels tempted to make many extracts from this book, but we must be content with making a few. Professor Sarkar begins by saying:

"We usually study the history of India as divided into watertight compartments or periods. One great defect of this method of treatment is that we thereby lose sight of the life of the nation as a whole, we fail to realize that India has been the home of a living growing people, with a continuity running through all the ages,—each generation using, expanding or modifying what its long line of predecessors had left to it."

Following this line of thinking he naturally, and rightly, comes to the conclusion that the Indian people form one common and distinct type.

The book is divided into six chapters, treating of the Aryans and their legacy to India, the work of Buddhism in India, the life story of Buddhism in India, the Muslim settlement and the changes that it wrought, the English and their gifts to India, and the Renaissance in British India and its effect. We could wish we had space enough to mention all the sub-headings. It is interesting

to note that Prof. Sarkar states that "the Chitpavans and Nagar Brahmins" are among India's immigrant foreign clans who have become thoroughly Indianized. Among the "agencies for uniting the provinces of India", he mentions with unconscious humour "the son-in-law imported from the centres of blue blood (such as Kanauj or Prayag for Brahman and Mewar and Marwar in the case of Kshatriyas) for the purpose of hyper-gamy or raising the social status of a rich man settled among lower castes in a far-off province."

In speaking of the changes or improvements brought about in India during Muslim or British rule, the author uses the word "gift". In our view what came to pass during Muslim rule took place from the necessities of the case, from the contact of the civilized Hindus with civilized foreign peoples, and from the consequent action and interaction. Had they been gifts in the literal sense of the word, we should have found Muslim rule making similar gifts to the many uncivilized peoples in other lands conquered by Muslims. But such is not the case. By the use of the word "gift" less credit is given to the active, creative and receptive mind of the people of pre-Muslim and pre-British India than is justly due to them. Similarly what have been spoken of as the "gifts" of the English to India, sprang from the necessities of the case. They were by-products of British rule and the results of the contact of the people of India with the West, because of the character and intellect of the people of India. Britishers have been rulers of native races in other lands than India for a considerably long period, without being able to make such "gifts" to them.

The author corrects a prevalent error relating to the origin of the monotheistic and anti-caste movements among the Hindus in the middle ages. Says he:

"But it is historically incorrect to hold, as Hunter and some other European writers have done that the monotheistic and anti-caste movements among the Hindus in the middle ages originated in Islam. We know that all the higher thinkers, all the religious reformers, all the sincere devotees among the Hindus from the earliest times, have proclaimed one and only one supreme God behind the countless deities of popular worship, and have declared the equality of all true adorers and placed a simple sincere faith above elaborate religious ceremonies: they have all tried to simplify religion and bring it to the doors of the commonest people. Hence, what really happened after the Muslim conquest was that these dissenting or

reforming movements among the Hindus received a great impetus from the presence of the Muhammadans in their immediate neighbourhood. The example of Islamic society acted as a solvent on Hindu prejudice."

Though we may not agree with the author in every detail, we must draw the reader's attention to the three concluding sections of the book—"The political pre-requisites for conducting true self-government," "Wherein modern India is relatively weaker than mediæval," and "The lo-son of India's history."

THOUGHTS ON INDIAN DISCONTENT: *By Edwin Brian George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Museum Street, London. 6s.*

As the author's view-point is different from ours and as the so-called R. T. C. is in session it is not necessary to criticize this book in detail. We pick out at random one sentence in the book in which he asserts that "the truth is that the conditions which would make India fit for self-government are not yet reached because you have a number of educated men individually able." He wants not only "a large number of educated and able men who can perform the actual work of administration" but also "a great body of active public opinion," etc. We need not argue that India does fulfil these conditions to a sufficient extent. We will only ask the author, when there were no alphabets, no books, no education in the modern sense in any country of the world, did educated men from the planet Mars perform the actual work of administration in this world of ours and supply also a great body of active public opinion? Even savages have been self-ruling for countless ages. And even in our day there are many self-ruling Soviet Republics in the U. S. S. R. conducted by people who were alphabet-less and literature-less a decade ago. "Education" is a very good thing, but it is not a *sine qua non* of self-rule. Britishers have denied to us the blessing of universal education. It is therefore, a wicked absurdity on their part to seek to keep us in subjection on the ground that there is so little education in India.

Let us take a few more sentences from the penultimate paragraph of the book. He writes:

"Undoubtedly, as has been said if you attach a purely negative meaning to *Swaraj* it is true that, if the British were willing, *Swaraj* might come at the end of this year. But if by *Swaraj* you mean, not a mere absence of foreign control, but a healthy, prosperous, united, well-educated, as well as a free India, then, so far from an immediate withdrawal of British control being the quickest way to it, an immediate withdrawal of British control might postpone the attainment of it to a much more distant future, perhaps indefinitely. Since the weakness of India is the cause of the foreign government, and not the foreign government the cause of the weakness of India, by making India free in the negative sense, you do not thereby make it strong whereas by making India strong you do of necessity make it free."

There is some sophistical plausibility about these observations. But the question is, to what extent have so many generations of British rule made India "healthy, prosperous, united, well-

educated?" Let our mortality statistics, average duration of life, periodical famines and chronic malnutrition, engineered communal conflicts, and disgraceful literacy figures reply. As for foreign rule not being the cause of the weakness, let a not anti-British historian of distinction bear witness. In his *India through the Ages*, Sir Jadunath Sircar writes:

"Ever since the middle of the 19th century, Europe has been so rapidly and steadily advancing by the application of science to arms and to the industrial arts, that India is to-day much less able to wage an economic or military contest with Europe than she was in the age of Akbar. Or, in other words, our relative position has actually grown worse in the course of the last three centuries. Today, in the face of European competition, we are helplessly weak in production and exchange, and the economic drain will dry this country to death if we do not modernize our industry, arts, transport and banking. In warfare, if India were to depend on her own indigenous resources without borrowing armament, leaders and trainers from Europe, she would not be able to stand against a modern army even for an hour. No nation can exist in the present-day world by merely cultivating its brain without developing its economic resources and military power to the high pitch attained by its possible enemies" (pp. 135-139).

Has British rule been sincerely helping India to make progress along the lines suggested above, or has she been retarding our growth? And is not British rule responsible to a great extent for our economic, industrial and military backwardness?

THE SOLITARY WARRIOR: *New letters by Ruskin. Edited by J. Howard Whitehouse. With one portrait of Ruskin and six unpublished drawings by him. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London. 7s. 6d net.*

This book contains a large number of hitherto unpublished letters by Ruskin. They show him as a master of English, and are of special interest and importance. Many of them belong to the middle period of his life and show the influences which produced *Iors clarigera*. They are full of vivid pictures and discuss intimately many fundamental problems. He has been styled the solitary warrior because he had to fight long single-handed for his ideals.

THE MODERN ATTITUDE TO THE SEX PROBLEM: *By Kenneth Ingram. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London. 5s. net.*

Sex does not appear as a problem either to the extreme libertine or to the extreme ascetic, but others cannot deny that there is a sex problem. The author discusses it frankly. He does not favour the "free-love" code, and gives good reasons for his conclusions.

THE STORY OF BARDOLI, *being a History of Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928 and its sequel, By Mahadeb Desai. Narayan Press, Ahmedabad. Rs. 2-8. With six illustrations.*

That the story of Satyagraha in Bardoli ought to be read goes without saying. It shows to what heights of idealism and patient suffering simple peasants could rise under the leadership of a born leader of men like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. It should be read for another reason also. Who knows

if the R. T. C. fails, the Bardoli non-violent fight would not have to be renewed in many another area? So one should know the technique of the fight. The book is written in the simple direct style of which Mr. Mahadev Desai is such a master.

Though Sardar Patel is the protagonist in the story and though, to use the words of the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Mahatma Gandhi "chose to remain outwardly apart," yet the Mahatma was "the invisible guide and vivifying example active in the hearts of all and keeping them in the straight path."

SIVANATH SASTRI : *Dr. Hemchandra Sarkar, M.A. D.D. Published by Miss Sakuntala Rao, M.A. Secretary, Ram Mohan Roy Publication Society, 210-6, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rupee One. With five portraits.*

Pandit Sivanath Sastri was one of the founders of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj and its greatest leader and missionary. His early life was one of great struggle and privations. Born in an orthodox family of Brahmin professors and priests, he became a most dynamic figure in the sphere of religious and social reform in Bengal. After the death of Keshub Chandra Sen, he was undoubtedly the man who influenced the largest number of men who were drawn towards the Brahma Samaj. As a missionary of the Brahma Samaj, he toured more than once in all the provinces of India. He was a most effective preacher and a true bhakta. This reviewer has never heard more powerful oratory in the Bengali language than that of Pandit Sivanath Sastri. He was one of the founders of the City School which later developed into the City College, and also of the Brahma Girls' School. He was also one of the founders of the Indian Association, a political organization. He was a distinguished novelist and writer of essays in prose and a poet too, of no mean order. It is the life of such a man that Dr. Hem Chandra Sarkar has written. Dr. Sarkar had the advantage of being so influenced by the Pandit in his youth as to be drawn into the inner circle of workers who closely followed the Pandit's lead. Hence the biography written by him, though short, is a faithful sketch, so far as it goes. It is hoped that in the second edition typographical mistakes will be reduced to a minimum.

A LIFE OF ANANDA MOHAN BOSE : *By Hem Chandra Sarkar, M.A. D.D. Published by Miss Sakuntala Rao, M.A. Secretary, Ram Mohan Roy Publication Society, 210-6 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*

Ananda Mohan Bose was one of the makers of modern Bengal, and, to a smaller extent, of modern India. Men of the younger generation do not know him. But those who know highly appreciate what he did for the country, as the address of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose at the late A. M. Bose death anniversary in Calcutta shows. The very fact that he is not much known to our youth necessitates a study of his life on their part. He was a distinguished student, a scholar of varied attainments, a man of deep piety and exemplary character, a sound lawyer, a sincere worker in the spheres of education, social and religious reform, politics, industries, banking, etc. He was one of the founders of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, of the Indian Association and of the City School

College. He was an eloquent speaker both in Bengali and English.

During the anti-Partition agitation in Bengal, "from his death-bed he wrote three letters to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, which will have a permanent place in the history of the political struggle of the Indian people when that comes to be written." It was in 1905 *Hartal*s have become very frequent now. He suggested it in one of his letters. Referring to the day when the Partition of Bengal would come into effect, he suggested that it should be observed as a day of special and solemn mourning in Bengal. The boycott of British goods which proved effective in the anti-Partition agitation and has again quite recently served to rouse public attention in Britain to India's case for freedom, was suggested by him: "Let us resolve, so far as may be done, by every means in our power to avoid all English goods, and to use those of Indian manufacture instead. Efforts should be made at the same time to make it possible to use Indian goods by introducing manufacture and industries in our country." He made it clear that this step should not be taken in a spirit of hatred or ill-will towards England, but purely out of love for our own country.

Sir Rash Behari Ghose, the greatest Indian lawyer of his day, who did not belong to the Brahma Samaj, paid him the following tribute after his death:

"In the death of Ananda Mohan Bose, every one felt as if we had lost a personal friend, for he was of an eminently winning disposition, distinguished not less by his amiability than by the purity of his life. To deep spiritual fervour, he joined a lofty patriotism, working as ever in the great Taskmaster's eye. Indeed in Ananda Mohan Bose patriotism grew to the height of a religion. And it was this happy union of the religious and civic elements in his character that sustained him, when, with life fast ebbing away and with the valley of the shadow of death almost in sight, he poured out his soul in that memorable swan-song of the 16th October, 1905, when a whole people plunged in gloom assembled together in solemn protest against the ruthless dismemberment of their country." R. C.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S SAYINGS : *Selected by S.J. Priyaranjan Sen Khadimandal, College St. Market, Calcutta. Price Annas Two*

Prof. Sen is to be congratulated for the little handy booklet he is presenting to the public on the occasion of the 63rd birthday of Mahatmaji. The selection is happy, careful and representative, and looks neat and attractive.

X.

EDWARD CARPENTER : *An appreciation. Edited by Gilbert Keith with two portraits. London : Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. Museum Street. First published in 1931. Price 7s. 6d. pages 246.*

This is composite work and as such it has the merits and defects of such enterprises. Edward Carpenter is not in need of a biographer as he himself has left us his own account of his life in *My Days and Dreams*. The authors of this book write appreciative notes or criticisms of his life and work. Edward Carpenter was a remarkable

personality. Born of well-to-do parents he went to Cambridge. Of a scholarly type of mind, his parents had meant him for the church, his other brothers having joined other professions. He took science at Cambridge in which subject he attained great distinction, graduating as 10th Wrangler in 1868, and then he became a fellow and lecturer of his college. He took holy orders and accepted a curacy in a Cambridge church. The stirrings of social reform had already reached Cambridge and Carpenter, idealistic as he was and of a very sensitive nature, was affected by the movement. He relinquished his lectureship and gave up his Orders. For some time he devoted himself to the work of an itinerant lecturer the sphere of his labours being mainly the Midlands. During this time, he met the leading socialists of the time. He visited the United States of America and spent some time with the famous author of *Leaves of Grass*. After his return from America, he gave up his lecturing-tours and settled at Bradway near Sheffield, occupying himself with market-gardening, handicrafts, and his literary work and socialist propaganda. Towards the end of his life he went to the south and lived in Guildford till his death on June 28th 1929.

Two great formative influences can be pointed out in his life. The first in importance and in chronology was Walt Whitman, who through his *Leaves of Grass* and his *Democratic Vistas* brought about a complete change of outlook in Carpenter's life. He himself bears testimony to this change: "my life deep down was flowing out and away from the surroundings and traditions amid which I lived—a current of sympathy carrying it westward across the Atlantic." The second influence was Havelock Ellis. Due to his influence, Carpenter developed his peculiar ideas about sex, specially the emergence of what he called "the intermediate sex."

To glean from the numerous appreciations constituting this book is well-nigh impossible. Its reading is useful as a means to an end viz., to get acquainted with the work of the author himself. The reader is delightfully stimulated to get hold of the works of the master himself. If the appreciation achieves this end, I am sure the contributors to this volume will feel that their labours were well worth

P. G. Bridge

THE INDIAN FEDERATION AND THE STATES. By A. M. Arora. B. A., L. B. with a foreword by Prof. V. Kaul, M. A., Laskar. Price Rs. 2-8.

The aim of this pamphlet of 67 pages, which, by the way, is priced at Rs. 2-8 is to provide safeguards for the States in the new federal constitution of India. Writes the author:

"It will be a matter of supreme satisfaction and a piece of crowning glory to the statesmanship of princely India if at the time of stock taking in the end it can be said to their credit that they have much strengthened and entrenched their position in the course of fusion into federal India."

Indeed! Mr. Arora is very anxious that the States should utilize their opportunity and make a profitable bargain for themselves; and he makes an eloquent appeal to the State-subjects—I wonder whether he regards himself as one, though he is

a Gwalior High Court Vakil—not to embarrass the "freedom-loving" Princes at this juncture by any kind of demands. He writes: "What they have earned for others. (I suppose the "others" are British Indians!) they will not deny to their dear and beloved subjects." He appeals to the Princes and the British statesmen as well—to the former to allay suspicion and to win the sympathy of their subjects and to the latter to help the Princes to reach a satisfactory solution. What is that solution? That the States should become "independent, sovereign states" in the new Federation; and that they should have the right of sending their representatives as they choose; that they should—both big and small—be adequately represented on the Federal Executive as well as the Federal Legislature; that the relations between the Crown and the States should be conducted according to the Rule of Law (International Law); that the States should be left free to join or to leave the Federation whenever they like, and that they should enter the Federation through making new treaties with the Crown. Mr. Arora finally suggests to the Chamber of Princes—as if it has not been a ready done-to "establish a wide-awake organization allied with an excellent Publicity Department under the control of experts to collect necessary data and to tackle all the problems before-hand that are sure to arise in the near future." And in this connection he quotes an old proverb: "sleeping fox catches no poultry." I wonder whether he fully realizes the aptness of this quotation to what he preaches.

Mr. Arora is not concerned with what happens to British India or to the Federated India. What does it matter if an unworkable constitution is produced or the new constitution leads to a united India or even a real Federal India or not? What matters to him is that the States should be the real gamers and that the Princes should emerge triumphant! In spite of a number of questions from many legal luminaries I doubt whether Mr. Arora understands the full implications of a true federation—otherwise I am sure he would not have talked of the "fusion into Federal India" on the one hand and the "independent, sovereign States" on the other.

GURMUKH N. SIKH

MODERN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL: By C. Delisle Burns. Allen and Unwin pp. 296. 10s 6d net.

Writing in 1830 Macaulay drew a gloomy picture of an England burdened by taxation, and troubled by the social problems created by the Industrial Revolution, and the Napoleonic Wars. Macaulay himself however, felt that though the present might be dark the future held great promise of better things, and one cannot help being struck by the similarity between the state of England one hundred years ago, and the state of affairs to-day. Dr. Burns' book in many ways, is strongly reminiscent of Macaulay. Both writers are stimulating to read and both give one an occasional feeling that deep thought is replaced by mere brilliancy of phrase.

Dr. Burns describes the modern world, full of energy and immense potentialities, and insists that the "new industrial revolution" makes fresh demands on human intelligence, and that the

scientific wonders of everyday life, such as the radio and the cinema, have as much significance for political theory as the propositions and ideals of Plato and Aristotle. The chief characteristic of the new influence is that all life has become more mobile, and Dr. Burns has little sympathy with such as Lord Lachar who, preferring policemen to prophets, stand for immobility.

"Politicians and business men are attempting to modernize the old village pump: the majority still believe in the old pump; and an antiquated history and an absolute sentimentalism are decorating it. But what we want is a new water supply." One of the most interesting chapters in the book is that dealing with the post-war dictatorships. He points out that the dictatorships have risen in the most backward parts of the world where there is a large peasant class who are naturally acquiescent, uncritical, and fatalistic, and where the percentage of illiteracy is largest. The dictatorships are really like the benevolent despotism of the eighteenth century, whose business is to expedite society so that it may live on a modern plane. When the dictatorships have produced a people that is modern in its requirements and education, then the conditions which created it will have disappeared, and it may well follow suit. "Modernism by dictatorship may be the destruction of dictatorship." The dictatorships however, stand for the forces of localism, insulation, and immobility, and Dr. Burns points out that as the world steadily becomes smaller co-operation becomes more and more imperative. All people are slow to change existing customs and institutions however barbaric and senseless they may be, but possibly the present economic distress may force people in Europe to realize that it is senseless to spend annually on armaments £74 millions which can only increase the possibilities of a fresh war.

Dr. Burns then has written an eminently readable book, but it is a book which is better borrowed than bought, since the price is comparatively high, and the book will soon become "dated".

C. ACKROYD

BENGALI

KAVYA-DIPALI. Edited by Radharani Devi and Narendra Deb. Published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 15 College Square, Calcutta 1338 B S. pp. 383. Price Rs. 4.

Modern Bengali lyric poetry is rich in many directions, and specially in the treatment of love. The output of this stuff during the past fifty years is considerable. It was an well-advised scheme to publish an anthology of love-lyrics in Bengali. The credit of producing this well-printed and profusely illustrated collection in its second edition goes to the publishers who did not spare anything so far as their side of the task goes. The work under notice is not a mere reprint of the first edition, but is almost a new collection both in poems and pictures.

The aim of the editors seems to be to make the work popular and they have not spared themselves no pains to make it a success in that respect. It is a store-house of love-poems of the present age in Bengali literature, the age of Rabindranath Tagore. 163 poems and songs by 97 poets have been selected out of thousands of such

compositions. Here there is scope for difference of opinion with the editors. Selection or exclusion of a particular poem may be contended by others. We think the basic principle in making such collections of poems should be to take in only the best poems and not to represent as many poets as possible. Along with many really good poems many more which are indifferent, if not bad, have crept in in this big collection. If this be the connoisseur's point of view, the editors' aim of making the book a popular gift-book has not suffered.

We should like to bring to the notice of the editors some points in connection with the poems. They have begun with Rabindranath. Thus Biharjal Chakravarti, the creator of the modern lyric in Bengali, is excluded. This misstep, we think, the lover of Bengali lyric can ill afford to see. By his exclusion the source of this branch of poetry is hidden from us. It is a pity that the editors could not secure the permission of Mr. Mohitlal Majumdar to publish his poems in the collection. We also miss the late Mr. Bankim Chandra Mitra. Some of the poets have been laid under contribution, but their poems are not characteristic, i.e., those of Messrs Jaundranath Sen-Gupta, Jasmuddin and, to some extent, D. L. Roy. Amongst these love-lyrics the poems on other topics by Mrs. Sarala Devi and Messrs Gobinda Chandra Das, Rajanikanta Sen, Parimal Kumar Ghosh, Chandicharan Mitra are discordant and out of place. The humorous side of love has been ignored except for the single poem by Mr. Kirandhan Chatterjee.

Something should be said about the pictures. The head and tail pieces are of good decorative value, and they have added to the charm of the book. The idea of illustrating the poems of Tagore is also to be lauded and many of the pictures in colour are good and will appeal to the lovers of the pictorial art. But *hridayamangla* of Mr. Charu Chandra Roy and *lila-sangini* by Mr. Purna Chandra Chakravarti match ill with Tagore's verses. The picture of Mr. Arabinda Dutt was meant for different occasion than what is hinted here.

In spite of the care bestowed on printing there are some serious drawbacks. The poem of Mr. Nabakrishna Bhattacharyya included in the table of contents is not printed at all in the body of the book, and a poem of the late Mr. Kamani Mohan Ghose has changed places with another. There are some printing mistakes.

Being the only book of the kind this collection will serve its purpose to a considerable degree.

RAVES BASU

HINDI

A VERNACULAR DICTIONARY OF LAW TERMS.

The State of Baroda has just published a vernacular dictionary of legal terms in 912 pages (13½" x 8½"). The *Sayaji-Sasana-Sabda-Kalpa-Taru*

(सयाजी सासन शब्द कल्पतरु) has been prepared at the command of His Highness the Maharaja Gackwad, by a committee headed by Mr. Vishnu Krishna Rao Dhurendha, the Nyayanamintri of the Baroda State. The scheme of the work is this: terms in English are given in the first column, then follow in columns 2 to 8 the equivalents in Gujarati, Marathi, Sanskrit, Urdu, Persian,

Hindi, and Bengali: column 9 gives the words, used at present in Barod official papers, and in column 10 suggestions are given for new adoptions. Suggested terms have in view a wider utility extending beyond Baroda which is a Gujarati-speaking area: they tend to be more classical so that they may become current universally in other vernaculars and be understood beyond the State. Technical terms have been ascertained, as far as possible, from all the eight sources.

This lexicon reminds us of Shivaji's *Rajavaharashloka* which gave equivalents of Persian court terms into Sanskrit. The *Sayaji Kalpa-taru* is a much larger undertaking, and it has been well executed.

Many Barodi legal terms have become already current coin in Western India e. g. *ahranupatra* (Summons), *Nyaya-mandira* (Court House), *Nyayadhis* न्यायाधीश—Court), *Mritynupatra* (will),

manushya-lumana (abduction) *nyayamantrin* (Legal Remembrancer) etc.

The work will be found useful all over the country and is one of many contributions which endear that State to Indians.

K. P. JAYASWAL

GUJARATI

LOHINI IMARAT : by Prof. Chandra Bhal Johri.
Published by Gandvi Sahitya Mandir Surat pp
160. Price Rs. 2

Spain in the 16th century was as great an imperial power in Europe as Britain is to-day. She used to hold sway over many a nation. The people of Holland resolved to overthrow the yoke. Their efforts were crowned with success and only the pen of a Motley could record the glorious events of the brave struggle of the Dutch people.

Only last year India was engaged in a death-grip with an equally well-organized imperial power. Motley's *History of the Dutch Republic* would, under the circumstances, be only a beacon light to the struggling human mass of this vast continent, trying to free itself from Britain's grip. At the suggestion of Mahatma Gandhi, Prof. Chandra Bhal Johri of the Gujarat Vidyapith adapted the immortal work in Hindi in a concise form, reducing the original 1,500 pages to 500, thus making it more readable to those who are hard pressed for time. The Hindi *Narmadh* was warmly received by the Hindi reading public.

Lohini Imarat is a Gujarati rendering of Hindi *Narmadh* of Prof. Johri brought out by the Gandvi Sahitya Mandir of Surat and will be greatly welcomed by Gujarat. The translation is lucid and affords delightful reading. Besides it is very opportune. The get-up and printing leave nothing to be desired. The book is priced very cheap at Rs 2 only.

R. M. K.

The Muhammadans and the Education Policy of the Government

By RAMESH CHANDRA BANERJI

THE slow and sure working of the pernicious principle of setting the Moslems against the Hindus in the nation-building institutions is not known to all. This principle displays itself in multifarious ways—in the distribution of scholarships and stipends to students, in the reservation of seats in schools and colleges, in the distribution of grants-in-aid, in the selection of text-books, in deciding upon the syllabus of the studies for certain schools and even in the direction given as to the dress to be worn by Moslem students. In a word, nothing is left undone to make the Moslems feel from their boyhood, that they are the special protégés of the British Government, and they should regard themselves as ex-rulers of the land of the Hindus (poor delusion!),

nearer to the present rulers than the down-trodden Hindus.

The statement given below, compiled from the Education Code and the Report on Public Instruction (1929-30), both published by the Government, and the Report of the Calcutta Sanskrit Association (1931), will speak for itself. Readers will note that there is no mention made here of the special posts created for Moslems in the Education Department (e. g. Assistant Director for Muhammadan Education), nor of the large percentage of appointments (45 p. c.) in all other departments reserved for them.

STATEMENT.

A.—SCHOLARSHIPS AND STIPENDS.

Total number of Government scholarships under the Calcutta University (i. e., for

Matriculates and upwards) is 271, of which 68 are reserved for Moslems, 11 for the Depressed Classes and the rest for all.

Of the 66 scholarships under the Dacca University, 35 are reserved for Moslems, 3 for Depressed Classes, the rest for all.

The total number of Government Scholarships for Middle and Primary Examinations is 515, of which 79 are reserved for Moslems, 106 for Depressed Classes, and the rest for all.

Scholarships endowed by Hindus under the Calcutta University at the disposal of Government.—20, open to all.

Scholarships endowed by Moslems for Moslems in the Calcutta University—6.

Endowed by Hindus for Moslems—3 (in the Calcutta Madrasah)

Total Number of Mohsin Scholarships and stipends distributed in schools and colleges throughout the province is 526 Jack Muhammadan Scholarships—6 (of Rs. 90 each annually).

(This fund was created by Muhammadan settlement officers of Faridpur in 1906).

B. EDUCATION EXCLUSIVELY HINDU AND EXCLUSIVELY MOSLEM

Government institutions for Hindus :

1. Sanskrit College.

No Government scholarships or stipends.

Government institutions for Moslems :

1. Islamia College, Calcutta.

2. Islamic Intermediate College, Dacca.

3. Islamic Intermediate College, Chittagong.

4. Rajshahi Madrasah.

5. Dacca Madrasah.

6. Hooghly Madrasah.

7. Chittagong Madrasah.

8. Calcutta Madrasah.

N. B.—There are 30 Government scholarships in the Calcutta Madrasah of a total monthly value of Rs. 376. There are 8 scholarships in the Hooghly Madrasah. Of the 14 Trust Funds for stipends and prizes in the Calcutta Madrasah, 3 are permanently endowed by Hindus, viz.—Scindia Fund, Darbhanga Fund and Gwalior Fund. Besides all these there are 18 Mohsin scholarships.

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON SANSKRIT EDUCATION

(The figures are from the "Education Code," the "Report on Public Instruction" and the

"Statement on Tols" published by the Calcutta Sanskrit Association, 1931).

Sanskrit College	Rs. 65,431
Stipends to Tols	16,188
Grant to 2,004 Tolls	29,932

Grand total	1,11,551
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GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON MOSLEM EDUCATION

For 763 Madrasahs	4,92,606
„ 24,391 Maktabas	10,64,294
„ Islamia College	31,191

Grand total	Rs. 15,88,091
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The above expenditure alone on Moslem education is thus approximately 15 times that spent on Sanskrit education.

(N. B. The expenditure on 2 Islamic Intermediate Colleges, 622 Quran schools and 6 Muallim training schools is not given in the report.)

Then, again, there is the Dacca University itself, which is run for patronising the Moslems and which costs the Government about 9 lacs every year. Another noteworthy fact with regard to Government favouritism to Moslems is that the minimum grant-in-aid to a High Madrasah is fixed at Rs. 200, whereas most High schools of the province, that are open to all, cannot aspire to get such a handsome grant.

C. RESERVATION OF SEATS IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES FOR MOSLEM STUDENTS

"25 per cent of the seats in all Government Arts Colleges, other than the Chittagong College and the Dacca Intermediate College, must be reserved for Moslem students. The percentage is 30 in the Chittagong College and 60 in the Dacca Intermediate College." (*Education Code*).

Percentage of reserved seats for Muhammadans in the Sibpur Engineering College and the Ahsanullah School of Engineering is 25, and that in the David Hare Training College is 30.

Percentage of reserved seats for Moslems in the 35 Government High Schools of Bengal ;—

5 p. c.	in 1 school.
6 p. c.	in 1 school.
10 p. c.	in 3 schools.
17 p. c.	in 1 school.
20 p. c.	in 2 schools.
25 p. c.	in 2 schools.
24 p. c.	in 1 school.

33 p. c.	in 2 schools.
35 p. c.	in 1 school.
40 p. c.	in 2 schools (Malda and Chittagong)
50 p. c.	in 14 schools.
51 p. c.	in 1 school.
60 p. c.	in 1 school (Bogra).
62 p. c.	in 1 school (Jessore)
30 p. c.	in 2 schools (Dacca).

For all aided high schools the departmental rule is that a certain percentage (to be fixed according to "local conditions") of seats must be reserved for Moslem students. Also, in all aided schools, Government insists on the appointment of a number of Muslim teachers as such, some members of the Managing Committee, as well as the appointment of a Maulvi, no matter whether the number of Persian and Arabic readers is 2 or 1 or even nil.

D. RESERVATION OF FREE-STUDENTSHIPS FOR MOSLEMS

The general departmental rule is that non-Moslems and Moslems will have free studentships to the extent of 5 p. c. of their enrolments. But Moslems are given a further 10 per cent. That is, they will have 15 per cent. of their own enrolment as free-studentships in all Government and aided schools.

No such reservation exists anywhere, of course, for Hindus.

The Presidency College is an exception to this rule of reservation. There are 75 part-free-studentships open to all; and 100 special part-free-studentships for Moslems. It may be noted that Moslems can also avail themselves of 40 Mohsin stipends in this college.

E. GOVERNMENT GRANT FOR FULL OR HALF-FREE BOARDERSHIPS

Hooghly Madrasa	Rs 1,152
Dacca Islamic Inter. College	618
Chittagong do do	1,500
Rajshahi Madrasa	540

Total Rs. 3,840

N. B.—This is a permanent annual grant. Nowhere else is any grant made for the boarding of students, not to speak of Hindu students.

F. GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGEMENT TO MOSLEM SELF-EDUCATION

The vernacular taught in Maktabas and in Madrasas is a travesty of the Bengali

language and goes by the name of Muslim Bengali—as if the vernacular of a province can be different with the Hindus and Moslems. The language of Bankim Rabindranath and Sarat Chandra is unacceptable to our Moslem brethren. This monstrous act of partitioning the mother tongue is sanctioned and encouraged by the Government. Then, again, in the Calcutta Madrasa which is no doubt the ideal of other Madrasas, the Hindu period of the history of India is proscribed, so that Moslem young men may thrive in ignorance of the most glorious age of Indian history. The syllabus of study of the Calcutta Madrasa is of course framed by the Education Department of the Government of Bengal.

G. NAMAZ AND FEZ

Government's solicitude in this matter is shown by the following words:

"In consonance with the general policy of Government to ensure the proper education and upbringing of Moslem youths, such youths, when students either of institutions of a general or communal character, should be required to perform their *Namaz* and to wear the customary Islamic head-dress." (*Education Code*)

Apparently, the proper upbringing of Hindu youths is no concern of the Government.

To facilitate *Namaz*, however, all Government schools must close at 12-30 on Fridays, instead of Saturdays; or work shall be suspended for one hour on Fridays.

CONCLUSION.

The Education Department's (as every other department's) open and systematic favouritism to the Moslems will be conclusively proved by the facts and figures quoted above. It could be tolerated only if we knew that Moslems were getting the real education, the education that would make them men and not mere tools or sticks to beat the Hindus with. But that education is not imparted in pampered Maktabas or Government schools. What can be the motive behind this transparent policy? Surely the crushing of the Hindus, the political opponents of the Government. The Moslems, after receiving overwhelming favours from the Government, cannot but be pliable instruments in the hands of the Government in the laudable work of suppressing the Hindus.

The Moslems are not a minority in Bengal, whereas the Hindus are. Moslem students have the enormous resources of the Mohsin Fund to help them in all the schools and colleges of Bengal (and partly in Bihar). The Hindus have no such fund exclusively for their own benefit. Formerly the Hooghly College was maintained out of the Mohsin Fund; but Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif put a stop to this practice of helping, though indirectly, the Hindus, because the majority of the students there were Hindus. The reader can have an idea of the financial strength of the fund from the fact that, in 1917, the Fund gave Rs. 43,726 by way of stipends and scholarships to Moslems.

Then, again, a large number of Madrasas used to be maintained by the Mohsin Fund. But they were subsequently made a charge on the provincial revenue, so that the money thus released might be used as stipends and scholarships for Moslem students.

TO SUMMARIZE,

- (1) Moslems have the very large number of Mohsin scholarships for them only.

- (2) In addition, there are special stipends and scholarships given by Government.
- (3) All other scholarships, etc., are also open to them, though they are endowed either by Government or by Hindus.
- (4) There is no scholarship, etc., given by a Moslem which is open to Hindus.
- (5) There is no scholarship etc., endowed by Hindus which is not open to Moslems.
- (6) There are at least three funds endowed by Hindus which are for Moslems only.
- (7) Government spends on purely Moslem education considerably more than 15 times the money than it does on purely Hindu (Sanskrit) education.
- (8) Government encourages the separatist tendency among the Moslems by patronising "Muslim Bengali," *Namaz* and *Fez* and by proscribing the Hindu period of Indian history in Madrasas. Even in the Primary Examination, the Moslem children must be given separate questions on vernacular Bengali and often on history.

An Educational Programme for Bengal

By JOGESCHANDRA RAY

THE present system of English education has been attacked from all sides. But the most pressing charge is that it does not enable its recipients to earn their livelihood. This criticism seems to me unfair. For English education was not introduced as a means of acquiring wealth or even decent livelihood. The University of Calcutta whose motto is 'Advancement of Learning' should not change it for 'Advancement of Wealth'. It is true, most people in all countries and at all times value learning and so much of it as can lead to fortune at least to competence. But that is no reason for lowering the standard or deviating from the right path. If graduates cannot find employment it is not the fault of the University. The fault lies elsewhere. Unfortunately no provisions were made by the Government in other directions than literary save for three highly technical professions

which cannot have wide field for practice. This is the root of the whole trouble. I need not dilate upon the point which has been the topic of discussion for years. The pity is the disillusionment has come rather late and the situation has been allowed to become serious. For unemployment is not limited to the educated few; it is more widespread than many of us imagine it to be. Trades have slipped out of the hands of Bengalis, and all indigenous industries save a few of the modern type are in a decaying condition. This gloomy state of affairs has not been due to the present economic depression but has been the result of many causes working since long.

Can our schools, such as they are now, help in improving the situation? I do not think they can to an appreciable extent. And there are two reasons for my pessimism. One is that the problem of unemployment is

too deep to be mended by tinkering on the surface. It is partly due to the influence of Western civilization, partly to English education and greatly to economic causes. English education as imparted in our schools and colleges has not been an unmixed blessing. It tends to make its recipients un-Indian in mental outlook and imitative of the externals of the West. This is the direct result of inordinate importance attached to the acquisition of the English language from childhood. A foreign language can be learnt only by imitation of the foreigner in his speech and way of thinking. It is not enough for our boys to understand the language, they are expected to talk and write like the foreigner. And this practice is forced upon them when they have hardly any ideas of their own and the capacity to express them in their own language. This system kills all originality, and our undergraduates cannot be blamed if they try to go along the beaten track. I do not for a moment underrate the value of English education. It liberates the spirit to roam in regions undreamt of in our country before and enables us to come in touch with the outer world, knowledge of which is as necessary for our existence as that of our own country. What I deplore is the system which reduces us to mere copy-books. An Englishman remains an Englishman in spite of his proficiency in many languages other than his own. Why should be the case different with us? So long as the system is not radically changed it will continue to produce job-hunters.

My other reason for misgivings was related long ago by Vidyasagar. From an interesting account of his life given by M. M. Dr Haraprasad Sastri we learn that an impertinent Bengali student of Lucknow College asked Vidyasagar why all students under the Calcutta University were alike in their knowledge of English. The witty sage related some conversation of opium-smokers and ended by saying that a school or a college was a machine out of which goods of the same quality and same pattern could only be expected. This truth forces itself upon us on all sides. The sameness is the most disheartening feature of the educational machinery. It is difficult to distinguish a student of one college from that of another, a pupil of one school from that of another. The reason for this state of affairs is not far to seek. But it cannot be wholly due

to multiplicity of rules. They no doubt circumscribe the area of vision making the life of an institution languish in consequence. Growth and free development are incompatible with external control. It seems the thought of the University Examination overshadows individual expression. Drawing is not a subject of the Matriculation Examination, and it is very often neglected. Of the subjects taught in the schools, Geography has direct bearing on the question before us. Geographical description of a place gives us first information regarding its possibilities for trade, manufacture and agriculture. It is not possible for a young boy to comprehend fully the significance of the information, but study of Geography unfolds before his eyes what to observe, and developed faculty of observation leads him on to fresh fields and pastures new.

Taking the schools as they are at present and having regard to the ulterior object for which boys are sent to them I am not sanguine of success of vocational training and agricultural classes in the High Schools. A school meant for one thing can seldom take to another with zeal. The schools will be rather out of joint. It is true, young children delight in physical activity and are eager to try their hands in construction. With a few exceptions their interest, however, lags as they advance in age. Joinery and even smithery will attract a few who have the natural bent for them, others will leave them as soon as the novelty is gone. Compulsory manual training from early boyhood and introduced as a part of liberal education is more promising than the narrow vocational training. It must be noted that an instance here or an instance there does not prove anything. Very much depends upon the head of an institution and there are instances of schools whose boys can weave cloth as satisfactorily as professional weavers. But we are considering here a general case and not isolated instances.

As to imparting instructions on agriculture in H. E. Schools, the experiment was tried and proved a failure at least at Cuttack. The Superintendent of the Cuttack Government Agricultural Farm used to lecture on agriculture to the boys of the upper two classes of the Collegiate School. They were taken to the farm once a week in 'gharries' at Government expense, the distance being six miles, for practical demonstration. No better arrangement could be made for

ensuring success. I watched the experiment with considerable interest for, if it succeeded, other experiments might be tried along similar lines. But so far as my information went, none of the boys gave up their studies for pursuit of agriculture. Long before this result was known the number of boys attending the lectures gradually fell off and the classes were discontinued.

Agricultural classes may have succeeded in the Panjab but Bengal is different in environment and mental outlook, and the lessons will fall flat on the boys. There are two reasons for this. One is that the practice of agriculture has nothing in it to sustain interest of boys and the other is parents do not send their boys to schools to learn what can be learnt, if desired, cheaply in villages. Besides to own a big farm and be a gentleman farmer is not the same thing as to cultivate a few acres of land, which is insufficient to maintain a family. Moreover, it has yet to be proved that cultivation of land in all parts of Bengal at all pays. In this connection I am reminded of a story I heard many years ago. It is to this effect. A village boy of a primary school was reading one evening his text-book and repeating the sentence "the cow has four legs." His father, a peasant, was smoking his *hookka* after the day's toil, heard the boy repeating the sentence and others of the same sort. After a few minutes he lost his patience and exclaimed, "Don't you, blockhead, know that the cow has four legs and not two? Is it for this nonsense that I am sending you to school?" (This remark of the peasant has lessons to teach to the writers of text-books.)

Times have undoubtedly changed of late, but I believe not to the extent to justify expenditure which the scheme requires. The Agricultural Department has the requisite staff for propaganda. Young school boys will not be able either to learn the science or the art of agriculture. If the object be to create interest in the subject a better way will be the study of the life-history of a selected plant, say, the cotton plant. If something ambitious must be attempted I think horticulture has a better chance of success than agriculture. Fruit culture is new, and the occupation is not beneath the dignity of a gentleman. Moreover, it is profitable and the western parts of western Bengal are in particular need of fruits.

You will be called upon to carry out the proposed scheme. It behoves you therefore to consider it carefully from the points of view of practicability and Psychology. Yet schools are certainly the places for giving a direction along new lines contemplated in the proposals of vocational training and agricultural lesson. In my humble opinion a thorough reorganization of the system has been urgently necessary. I therefore venture to place before you for your consideration a scheme I suggested more than a decade ago. An outline was published in the three successive issues of the *Prabasi* for B. S. 1327 commencing with the *Kartik* number. The main idea is to bifurcate school education from the M. E. stage into two lines drawing boys of the right type and right age, one for literary and the other for industrial career. There will be three classes of schools as now, viz., Primary, Middle and High. Boys and girls will read together in Primary schools which they are expected to leave at age twelve. The schools will be free, attendance compulsory, and the course complete in itself. In the Middle schools English will be introduced and taught as a second language. There will be two branches, one preparing pupils for the Matriculation Examination and the other for industrial occupation. As the pupils will be taught in Bengali they are expected to reach the Matriculation standard in three years. In the industrial section besides Bengali, English, Hygiene, Arithmetic, Practical Geometry, Geography and History, there will be compulsory manual training in the first year. The course for the next two years will consist of Bengali and English, Mathematics and Geography and training in an occupation selected in accordance with demand. In most places the demand is not continual and the course has to be changed as soon as a particular demand is satisfied. This part of the training will be given in peripatetic schools. This will save expense and prevent superfluity of men trained in one line. The boys on the completion of the course will be fit to be attached to workshops and the more deserving boys paid stipends. Similarly, there will be two classes of High schools, one literary and the other industrial and a full three years course will enable the boys of the literary section to pass both the I. A. and I. Sc. Examinations. Separation of studies into two groups of science and non-

science at the Intermediate stage prevents all-round education which should be the common property of all. On the industrial side they will be competent to set up in business if they like or proceed further in technical colleges. The colleges will then be of three classes, Arts, Science and Applied Science or Technical. There are at present various schools and colleges. Many have come into existence piecemeal. The scheme outlined here comprehends them all assigning each its due place and involves least disturbance.

We must not be satisfied only with improving the schools and adjusting them to the necessities of the times. The adults cannot be let alone and we cannot wait a decade for a better state of affairs. The teachers can help a great deal in educating the masses. Each school ought to be a centre of light. For instance, in the district of Bankura the number of H. E. and M. E. and M. V. schools is at present 75. The number of Primary schools must be very much larger. Each has a house of its own and a staff of teachers. The school houses are occupied only for five or six hours. Suppose Lower Primary classes are held in the morning from 7 to 10 A. M. and the Upper Primary in the afternoon from 2 to 5 P. M. in winter and 2-30 to 5-30 in summer. The same set of teachers will do for the two branches. Some will be found ready to teach adults from 6 to 9 in the evening, of course on receiving an allowance. In the Middle Schools classes for girls (by women teachers) will be held in the morning up to 10 A. M., those for boys in the afternoon and for adults in the evening. There will be no classes between 10 A. M. to 2 or 2-30 P. M. I believe three hours' school teaching is enough for literary section. One book for the Lower Primary, two for the Upper, and three for the Middle classes will be enough for them. For example, of the three books for the Middle Schools two will teach language and include lessons on Hygiene, Geography and History besides the usual lessons on morals. The third book will be a book on Arithmetic and include practical Geometry and Mensuration. In the industrial classes the morning will be devoted to manual training and the afternoon to the reading of books.

The arrangement suggested here will not be enough for adult education. Very few will care to learn the three R's, but all must have an opportunity for education. The

teachers employed in the evening classes will read to them useful and entertaining books including religious books and newspapers, say twice a week on fixed days. Formerly a village Pathshala was the meeting-place for the villagers where topics of various kinds were discussed. The practice may be revived, the teacher giving a lead to the topics.

But in spite of best teachers, it will not be possible to keep up enthusiasm and attract a large audience. There should, therefore, be peripatetic teachers illustrating their lectures by magic lantern slides. Two such teachers for each district will be enough. They will have sets of useful books for circulation. The recent Library Movement will find suitable fields for its activity through the peripatetic teachers. Series of books have to be written by competent persons who can write gracefully. The idea of bringing education to the doors of the people occurred to me long ago. I have written several articles on mass education on this line and one which appeared in the *Shrabana* number of the *Bharatrasa* for B S 1324 will give some idea. The method is now well recognized and has been adopted by the League of Social Service and also by Health Officers. But there is yet no co-ordination, no comprehensive plan. There ought to be no place for misty ideals.

A scheme as proposed above will, of course, involve large expenditure from the provincial revenue. The idea of spreading education on modern lines by private liberality must be given up once for all. It can help but cannot take the place of the State. I have every hope that the State will soon realize as Japan has done long since that expenditure on education is not waste. On the contrary the outlay is reproductive. Look at Turkey and Soviet Russia. The latter has been borrowing money for education. They have not been deterred by the thought that there are no trained teachers. At first we must be content with choosing young and intelligent men. They will be given manuals on the art of teaching, assembled twice every year at certain centres by turns at State expense for attending a week's lecture given by competent teachers. They will be required to pass a simple examination and given a certificate. In the course of two or three years certificated teachers will be the majority. Moreover in the new regime the Inspectors will be expert advisors to teachers and demonstrators of

lesson instead of practically being reporters as now. There will be real difficulty in finding suitable teachers for Industrial Schools—a teacher and a good hand combined in one person is rare. We shall have to leave the principles to be explained by the common teacher and to appoint good hands for demonstration, the latter will be shifting their workshops from one school to another.

Many talk of the revival of the indigenous cottage industries, but none define the process. All are however agreed that with the decay of village industries pressure on land has increased to such an alarming extent that in many villages pasture land has been converted into arable land and that the profit from agriculture has been reduced to the lowest margin. There should no longer be doubt in our mind that agriculture cannot alone save India and that industry should form a conspicuous feature of the occupations. Roughly it may be said that agriculture should absorb 60 p.c., industry 30 p.c., other occupation 10 p.c. of the population. India was never a purely agricultural country.

Educational policy has to be varied according to the requirements and capabilities of each place. Let me illustrate this by taking the case of this district, at least one-third of whose population consists of landless labourer such as the Santal, the Bauri, the Bagdi, the Lohar and a few other castes. No one will think of a common uniform programme of education for them. The boys and girls must no doubt

be given Primary education. But the course after this should be varied as much as possible. The period of training should also vary. It may be three months, six months, a year or longer, and the number of students 10 or 15 or 20 at one time. Many may be trained as brick layers who will find constant employment in large towns. Some may be trained as carpenters or sawers, a few as smiths. Many of you will be surprised to learn that labour is very dear in this district—dearer than in Calcutta. The reason is it is untrained and undisciplined. The indolent habit makes it uncertain. There are places where labour is abundant. It must be taught to realize by actual demonstration the benefits of co-operation and encouraged to work together in turning scrubby jungles into orchards and rearing lac and tussur insects. Co-operative work among farmers of small holdings is one thing needful for improving their lot. It is not new. It has been in existence since time immemorial. It is known as *ganta* in Bengali. Unfortunately it is not extensive in practice. The object of education should be to produce simple, happy, and honest citizens capable of looking beyond their little world, appreciating their worth as humanity, resting their thoughts on One pervading the Universe, and realizing the Divine in man.*

*An extract from the Presidential Address by Prof. Jogeschandra Ray before the Conference of Bankura Teachers' Association held on the 18th July, 1931.

Nationalism and Conservatism

By DHIRENDRA N. ROY, Ph. D.

IT is quite amusing to see on a public platform in some Oriental country, men from the West preaching peace to the people. Some give them inspiring oration on love and common brotherhood, some seek to point out how best to raise the moral standard of society, some enthusiastically dilate upon the spiritual uplift of man. Their oriental audience probably like such noble enterprise as it touches their finer feelings and makes them more devoted to their traditional idealism.

But what is amusing indeed is that those

who so graciously undertake such humanitarian work are more needed in their own lands than in the Orient. The Orient is so mystically peace-loving that to preach peace to them is like talking prohibition in a land where temperance is not a virtue. The people who are not only innocent of disturbing world peace but are mostly helpless victims of such disturbance can find consolation only when these Western idealists think seriously of their task at home. Of love and universal brotherhood, where in the Orient can one find such deadly poison of hatred as

it is in the West! And as to the moral and spiritual side of life, no other part of the civilized world is so consciously and sophistically devoid of it.

And they tell the people of the Orient to cultivate the spirit of internationalism. This is more a tragedy than a joke. The people who have so long been fairly immune from the infection of nationalism and have, therefore, been used as a sort of pavement to be trodden on, are advised to be international,—an idea as wonderful as one of drawing a circumference without a centre. It is that much vaunted nationalism of the West that has told the world with an air of superiority that excepting Japan there is no nation in the East (Japan having grown into a nation has caused a great uproar of "yellow peril"). India has been ridiculed as having no idea of what a nation is and China is described as a sheet of loose sands. With a true cultural spirit the people of these oriental countries could not think of hammering human minds into a uniform pattern and selling human souls to a mechanical system of organization. Right now the East needs but little of internationalism that will seek to safeguard its own independent achievements for the sake of the world at large.

But this nationalism consistent with the fine idealism of the East should not make it dangerous like the West Nationalism, of course, is a western idea. It has its natural history in the European soil. Before Northern Europe received any inspiration of highly organized civilization, there were going on in the South some clashes of ideals preliminary to final adjustment among the Greeks, the Romans, and the Hebrews. The Greeks fell before Roman imperialism but not till they infected their conquerors with Greek egotism of looking upon all foreigners as barbarians. The Hebrew egotism of God's chosen people being subtly instilled into the new faith that could not have any humane consideration for "heathens" added further stimulus when Rome through Constantine had accepted it. The ideals of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Hebrews under the new absolutistic creed came to a final adjustment in that most intensive egotism which naturally impelled the Romans to force themselves upon the northern people. The Romans introduced civilization into Northern Europe but not without its egotistic cult. Thus in faith, in government, and in social bearing Europe has assimilated it quite to its satisfaction, and

the northern European people being comparatively more virile, have developed it into a real art,—nationalism.

This nationalism defines itself both positively and negatively. It means not only love of your own country but hatred of other countries. It means not only whatever you have is the best but also whatever others have different from yours, is vile and not to be tolerated. That is the idea of "carrying civilization to other people," that is the meaning of "the white man's burden." It is an inveterate habit of the West, born of this dangerous cult. To think of itself as divinely ordained to mould others in its own pattern, for that is, it thinks, the best. Of the modern Western nations, Spain was in that respect the pioneer and then the others have begun to follow. The first record that Spain made was in Mexico with regard to the great Aztec civilization. It is so touching that I can hardly refrain from quoting Oswald Spengler:

"For, as it happens, this is the one example of a Culture ended by violent death. It was not starved, suppressed, or thwarted, but murdered in the full glory of its unfolding, destroyed like a sun-flower whose head is struck off by one passing. All these states—including a world-power and more than one federation—with an extent and resources far superior to those of the Greek and Roman states of Hannibal's day; with a comprehensive policy, a carefully ordered financial system, and a highly developed legislation; with administrative ideas and economic tradition such as the ministers of Charles V could never have imagined; with a wealth of literature in several languages, an intellectually brilliant and polite society in great cities to which the west could not show one simple parallel—all this was not broken down in some desperate war, but washed out by a handful of bandits in a few years and so entirely that the relics of the population retained not even a memory of it all... Of the literature three books survive, but no one can read them." (*Decline of the West*, Vol. 2, pp. 43-44).

The Spaniards similarly carried their civilization to South America which meant the total destruction of the Incas in Peru. And what is happening at present throughout the non-European countries in the name of that "White man's burden" cannot be

quite so audible as the oppressed people are virtually gagged by a subtle method of propaganda in which the ugliest nationalism passes for philanthropy and shuts out all possibilities of convincing protests. But the last war brought some ray of hope to the oppressed people when the West in its intoxication of nationalism was about to commit suicide and thus betrayed its eccentricities to the world. The East perceived the unmasked West in its brutal nakedness and realized the danger of being under its suggestion. So the East is striving to assert itself.

The East is almost goaded to this self-assertion. It has only recently begun to be suspicious of foreigners. The traditional politeness and hospitality of the Oriental people, instead of making the Western visitors grateful and appreciative, turn many of them into blind critics often indulging in most offensive judgments. They come as guests and the tradition of the Orient enjoins kindest and most candid treatment of them but forbids accepting anything as a host. Yet some of them become positively intrusive and advise replacement of things native with those they have. Instead of trying to adjust themselves to things of their Oriental hosts they demand the adjustment of the hosts to their own thing. Of the peculiar method of their penetration into Asiatic lands everybody is well aware,—first the Bible then the bottle and then the civilizing bayonet; for these are the things they mean by carrying civilization. All these things have been going on uninterruptedly for a long long time and yet the mystical East preferred to keep peace and dreaming. But somehow its eyes are now open to perceive at last that the peace it has had, may mean the peace of its own grave if it would not even now arise and assert itself.

Nationalism may be the name given to this self-assertion, but the East should be wiser from the conditions of the West and careful to keep it clean from its negative meaning. Hatred, prejudice, humiliation, aggression, false propaganda and the last of all though not the least, violence should not be allowed to contaminate the sacred cause of nationalism. Let it cultivate love, an intense love for one's own country but with no ill-feeling towards other countries. Let it teach each people to try to realize its own soul, to learn and make its own history,

to respect its own culture and tradition above all others and to depend upon its own capacities. Let it inculcate upon the people that imitation characterizes a child and they should not feel proud to imitate another people. Imitators can never feel equal to those they imitate. Let it discourage the habit of comparison. To every devoted soul his country must always be above comparison. The spirit of comparison is unwholesome inasmuch as it tends to offend others and may unconsciously offend one's own. Let it teach the people that wherever they may go their life must vindicate their country's ideal without being offensive to others. Let it teach every man to make it a motto of his life to contribute something to the cause of his country so that when he dies he can die with the happy thought that he has his share in his country's good name. Above all, let no man consider any sacrifice great when it means upholding the honour of his sacred motherland.

Some may contend that such nationalism will tend to make the people conservative, that extreme love for one's own and indifference to even the good things of other nations, will only arrest the progress of the country. In this age of progress the country that pays no attention to the good things of other countries is bound to fall behind. Thus it will be regarded as a backward country.

The contention is based upon a mistaken conception. This nationalism refers to the people of those countries that are under foreign subjection. No people under foreign domination can have any real progress, for what is considered to be so, refers more to the rulers than the ruled. Whatever good is accomplished in a subject country is a tribute to its alien rulers and a justification for their being so. The people are surrounded by situations that constantly seek to exalt the position of the rulers and the value of all things that go by their names. This means a proportional dissipation of people's loyalty to their own. When there is a talk that some country under a foreign government has made considerable progress it is either a false propaganda of the ruling people to hoodwink the world or what is worse it means a condition in which the people are being drawn away from their soul and are within the grip of assimilation and then absorption.

There should be no superstition about

a name. Conservatism is the only wholesome nationalism of a subject people. It is the only state in which the subject people show their true vitality, for it means the maintenance of their corporate life in a common devotional spirit to things of their own. It is the only state through which they can attain true independence.

It does not make the civilization of the land static as some would think. As long as the civilization of the subject people continues to be invigorated by their unflinching devotion there is no danger of its being static in the sense of being inactive. In a subject country the civilization of the alien rulers continually seeks to press upon and strike at the native civilization. There is thus a ceaseless conflict between the two until one drives out the other or the two find some sort of adjustment. The former case means two possibilities—*independence or absorptions*; the latter gives only one fact—the civilization of the rulers temporarily adjusting that of the ruled to itself. It is temporary because preliminary to final absorption. The civilization of the subject people does not adjust that of the rulers to itself, for the latter forces itself upon the former with its claim to superiority and thus precludes all possibilities of such adjustment. At any rate, the conflict between the two is inevitable. Now, a conflict is not possible with a thing static, for it cannot resist; it may be only pushed or pulled. Evidently, so long as a civilization maintains its power of resistance it is never static. On the other hand it is no small job for the civilization of a subject people to maintain its own inspiring individuality.

The nationalism of a subject people lies, therefore, in its cultivation of the spirit of conserving its own. There could be no replacing of anything by a thing which is not produced in the country, for it means an effective blow at its self-respect. It is an all right when the country is free, to accept things of foreigners, for they come to adorn and not to be enthroned;—its own government keeps the throne safe for its soul.

There is again a great deal of swearing by what is usually known as modernism. We must be modern and keep abreast of the time. That sounds very good indeed, but there seems to be a sort of slave-mentality in it. By things modern the people means things Western as if everything modern must

have its origin in the West. To be modern does not imply to be a shadow of the Westerner. Each people can be modern by improving upon its own things in its own peculiar way.

Nationalism thus conceived and reared is a pure form of self-assertion and is free from the taint of offensive egotism. It fosters no motive of retaliation for the harm done, as it begins with a thorough searching of heart and develops with the progress of self-discipline the end of which is complete self-assertion, a synonym for independence. Shorn of its destructive meaning it is quite consistent with the moral and spiritual tradition of the East and is therefore, a danger to none. It deserves the sympathy of all unselfish minds including those of the West, for it is not a preparation to meet evil with evil but an attempt to convert evil into good.

Consider what it would mean if the mystical Orient instead of adhering religiously to its own standard of civilized life, accept the Western standard. The West may temporarily feel flattered that the East is following it, but the final result may not be all promising. Fifty years ago or a little more than so, Japan was living a quiet agricultural life immersed in her own wonderful art. The West came, knocked at her gate, got in and passed a judgment that she was uncivilized. All on a sudden she became civilized as she showed her efficient hands in killing thousands of Russians. She is now thoroughly militarized and in the manner of the West she is civilizing the Koreans and the Formosans. Japan, therefore, is now one of the five greatest powers. If this temptation succeeds in recruiting other Oriental countries to the Western standard of civilized life that would mean beside others, China's 400,000,000 and India's 350,000,000 of people accepting the cult of aggressive nationalism and militarism. With Japan's population it would mean half of the world's population taking up the challenge of the West to be equally aggressive. Consider then what it would mean to the world.

But something must be done. These Oriental countries with their long and glorious history, their immense wealth of culture cannot endure organized humiliation for too long. Nor can they vanish from the face of the Earth like the Aztecs and the Incas. Constructive nationalism is the

remedy they have discovered. It will cure the West as well. The peaceful but indomitable self-assertion of the East will not excite the passion of the West. On the other hand its sturdy self-confidence will

slowly change the attitude of the West. When the West will find little recognition of its own ways of life in the East it will also begin a self-study and thus recover its better self.

The Landholders of Bengal

Their Burden and Responsibilities

By NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., Ph.D.

GENERALLY speaking, the landholders of India have not shirked their due share of the duties and responsibilities of a citizen nor have they neglected the special charge which has been entrusted to their care. It is with considerable hesitation that I have to state these facts, not certainly without a tinge of regret; because I am viewing with alarm the growth of certain tendencies in the public mind which are inimical to the interests of the landholders as a class.

One of these tendencies which has of late assumed a proportion that can no longer be neglected is in regard to the much misunderstood Permanent Settlement of Bengal in certain parts of the country. The question has now been raised in an acute form on account of the financial difficulties of Bengal under the existing financial arrangement, and public mind has been alert in seizing upon the Permanent Settlement of land revenue in this province as inequitable when the rest of the people of the province are bearing an increasing burden of taxation. Considerable pains have been taken to show that the Permanent Settlement does not preclude the imposition of a general tax falling upon all classes, inclusive of the Zemindars *e. g.*, the taxation of their income or profits from agriculture as part of a general scheme of income-tax. The objections to the Permanent Settlement have been brought to a focus in the report of the Statutory Commission where arguments have been advanced for their proposal to tax agricultural incomes.

It is not necessary to question the plausibility of some of these arguments and the justification of the others. There is no

doubt, for instance, that if the agricultural incomes were taxed, not only should a large range of incomes, hitherto exempt, be brought under the assessment but in respect of those landholders who enjoy non-agricultural incomes, the tax should be at a higher rate if the agricultural incomes were added. It is also true that there is a large number of intermediate interests which at present pay no tax at all, and it may be desirable to bring them under some general scheme of direct taxation. Moreover, it is contended that the Permanent Settlement has led to certain glaring discrepancies in the incidence of the land tax in Bengal. "There is land in the city of Calcutta," as the Statutory Commission remarks, "the owner of which pays in land revenue a greater part of a rupee per acre, although the annual value of the land runs into thousands of rupees."* Another discrepant result has been that some of the districts which were fully developed 130 years ago, now contribute much more by land revenue than some far bigger and far richer districts in remoter parts of Bengal.†

Few would deny that these arguments, based as they are on strict economic principles, look *prima facie* sound and substantial. In order to appraise these arguments, however, it is necessary to refer to the text and the context. Before I do so, I may just be allowed to refer to one peculiar flaw to which any deductive reasoning in finance is liable. The Government is administered not so much according to theories or well-reasoned precepts as by

* Vol. I, p. 340

† *Ibid.*, p. 340.

a set of well-trying maxims or expedients based on experience. The public demand on land presents a striking illustration of this fact. Land taxation is governed by many considerations, of which custom and tradition are not the least important. In India, any attempt to over-ride custom and tradition which have grown up round the various interests in land and to supplant them by the forces of economic competition is bound to result in grave consequences to society. The land-holder and all the interests subordinate to him stand in a certain relation to the land, which has acquired the sanctity of custom and tradition. Any official measure that is likely to disturb that relation will be striking at the very root of social solidarity and well-being. The Regulation I of 1793, which introduced the Permanent Settlement, was essentially based on this recognition and it is an established fact now that but for the Permanent Settlement, the security of revenues would have been clearly impossible and the stability of the province seriously endangered. Economic principles are often adhered to in utter disregard of political considerations. The contentment and well-being of the landed interests of the country provide an asset which in value and importance exceeds the material assets that could be obtained by squeezing them on strict economic principles. It is a significant tendency of modern times that the maximum that could be taken as land revenue is being steadily diminished in areas which are not permanently settled and the period of settlement is also being steadily lengthened in the case of the temporary settled areas of the country.

In these circumstances, the observations of the Statutory Commission could only be appreciated with reference to the conditions obtaining in the country. On the basis of the Permanent Settlement, alienations of land have been made and a large number of interests has been allowed to grow up between the cultivator and the landholder. It is not true that all these interests are in the nature of parasites. Reclamation of jungles or inaccessible plots of land required experienced hands supported by energy and industry, and if a landholder for the purpose has created a separate interest, he has done what every other man with ordinary intelligence and common sense would have done. The intermediate interests

are the various limbs that, at a certain rate of profit, connect the landholder with the ryots. It is not contended that all of these interests are necessary or inevitable, but everyone who has any intimate knowledge of how a big zamindari is managed will agree that most of these interests represent a useful link in the system of agriculture. The analysis, given by Major Jack in his "Final Report on Bakargunj Settlement," of the processes of sub-infeudation in Bengal shows that two of the six causes leading to sub-infeudation are based on economic necessities, namely, development and promotion of agriculture and that another cause, namely, the interpolation of tenures, is also partly prompted by the requirements of managing a large and scattered estate. Family arrangements are also responsible for a considerable degree of sub-infeudation but these together with fraudulent transfer can be set off against pious benefactions such as the Mohsin endowment which have benefited the community as a whole. On the whole, it would be wrong for anybody to make a definite statement that sub-infeudation in Bengal was an avoidable evil and that no consideration is due to the zamindars for the interception of the rent which they receive from the ryots by the intermediate interests. It is clear that in most cases economic necessities, custom and tradition have been responsible for the large body of interests that are maintained on the land.

To deal with this question of minute sub-infeudation which renders the land revenue system of parts of the country so inelastic, it is necessary to proceed in a cautious and statesmanlike manner with a due recognition of the large interests involved in the complex system of land tenures obtaining in our country. To accuse roundly the existence of these intermediaries that separate the zamindar from the ryot and to assume, as many responsible writers have done, that the landholders have been generally enjoying a huge "unearned increment," due to the Permanent Settlement of the public demand on land are theses which anyone intimately connected with the land systems of India will find it difficult to support. There are individual instances where the landholder by means of good management, thrift and local circumstances which may have prevented any considerable degree of sub-infeudation as in

Midnapore, has been able to increase his own revenue. So far as this is the case, a part of the increased revenue may represent what is called unearned increment due to the growth of population, rise of prices and other incidents of economic progress. But even here it must be remembered that a considerable part of what is miscalled an unearned revenue is due to the reclamation of vast lands and jungles, formation of new soil not assessed to revenue at the time the settlement was made. As regards this, it is certainly open to question whether such a possibility was or was not contemplated when the phrase "in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates" was inserted in Section 7 of the Regulation I of 1793. I think, therefore, that the critics of Permanent Settlement today should guard themselves against making any misleading statement regarding "unearned increment," a term more misunderstood than abused, or declaring roundly against the existence of unnecessary parasites between the zamindars and the ryots.

If the force of the arguments in the two preceding paragraphs is admitted, the main plank of the attack upon the Permanent Settlement will be gone. What I have aimed to show above is that the Statutory Commission, since it was no part of their duty to investigate in any detail the actual forms of land tenures that have grown in Bengal, particularly in the districts of Eastern Bengal, they failed to get a correct measure of the implications involved in any proposal trenching on the Permanent Settlement.

I now propose to emphasize another aspect of the question which is too forgotten. I refer to the genesis of the Permanent Settlement. It is well-known that the prime necessity of the Permanent Settlement was the establishment of public credit and the stabilization of public revenue. Art VI of the Proclamation (Sec 7 of the Regulation of 1793) specifically explains that the great object of the Permanent Settlement was to put an end, for ever, to the practice of all former Governments of altering and raising the land tax from time to time. This explanation is farther followed up by the concluding paragraph of that section in which it is laid down that

"The Governor-General in Council trusts that the proprietors of land, sensible of the benefits conferred upon them by the public assessment being fixed for ever, will exert themselves in the

cultivation of their lands, under the certainty that they will enjoy exclusively the fruits of their own good management and industry, and no demand will ever be made upon them, or their heirs or successors, by the present or any future Government, for an augmentation of the public assessment in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates."

Commenting on the state of affairs then obtaining in the country, Mr. Pattie, a former Member of the Board of Revenue, makes the following observations :

"The country brought under the Decennial Settlement was for the most part wholly uncultivated. Indeed, such was the state of the country from the prevalence of jungle infested by wild beasts that to go with any tolerable degree of safety from Calcutta to any of the adjacent districts a traveller was obliged to have at each stage four drums and as many torches; besides, at this conjuncture, public credit was at its lowest ebb, and the Government was threatened with hostilities from various powerful Native States. Lord Cornwallis's great and comprehensive mind saw that the only resource within his reach in this critical emergency was to establish public credit and redeem the extensive jungles of the country. These important objects, he perceived, could only be effected by giving to the country a perpetual land assessment made on the gross rental with reference to existing productiveness and therefore promising to all those who would engage the encouragement of an immense profit from extending cultivation. Admitting the sacrifice was very great, I think it cannot be regretted when it is considered what difficulties it conquered, and what prosperity it has introduced and achieved. For my part, I am convinced that our continuance in the country depends on the adoption of that measure, and that our stability could not otherwise have been maintained unaltered."

I could multiply such quotations from responsible authorities and show that the *raison d'être* of the Permanent Settlement was the political necessity of a stable revenue at a time when no other sources of revenue were available to the Government. Year after year the zamindars have borne the burden of that revenue which in the initial period was admittedly heavy, if not ruinous, in its incidence upon the landlords. Even now the zamindars of Bengal are responsible for about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the revenues of the exchequer of Bengal. Nobody says that the zamindars ought to be compensated now for having been compelled to bear the substantial portion of the revenue burdens of the Government at a time when no other classes had begun to contribute on anything approaching the scale of the land revenue demands. Till lately, that is, till the emergency increases in the income-tax rates were sanctioned,

land revenue bore a greater share of the revenues of the country than either customs or income-tax. Even if the landholders were capable of bearing additional taxation—an easy hypothesis against which I have entered a caveat—the question was not whether they should do it, but whether the burden which they are already bearing is not adequate or proper as compared with the burdens borne by the other communities in India. No impartial observer would deny that the landholders as a class are bearing their just and proper share of the expenses of the Government, not to speak of the past, when they alone bore a major share of the liabilities of the Government.

Assuming that the State has the theoretical or legal power to change or revise previous legislation, I can certainly claim that Regulation I of 1793 stands on a different footing. On the basis of that regulation a settlement has been made involving a contract, the sanctity of which cannot and should not be injured. It is only the interpretation of the Settlement that concerns us. I do not however propose now to take upon myself the interpretation of that document on which a vast literature, quite a *theatrum legale*, has evolved. It will be sufficient to stress here the fact that even the Judges of the High Court who are no partisans of any side, have differed in their interpretation of the terms of the Regulation. I recognize that in a recent case* the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has given an adverse verdict. But that indirectly supports my argument that as a matter of financial or public policy the Permanent Settlement of Bengal need not be examined in its legal or judicial aspect but in its bearing, in the first place, on the financial system as a whole and in the second place on the ability of the zamindars to pay more.

On the first question, I have already indicated my opinion, namely, that the zamindars are already bearing a fair and adequate share of the burdens of taxation and that the recent tendency in other parts of India is to restrict the public demand on land and to increase the period of settlement. From practical considerations, therefore, the attempt to interfere with the Permanent Settlement or to impose fresh

taxes on the zamindars is not a move in the right direction. Politically also, it is unwise, because it is likely to entrench severely upon the stability of a class that could always be depended upon, on account of their status and influence, the creation largely of the Permanent Settlement, to promote the forces of order and progress. Further taxation of zamindars will create a panic among them or at any rate acute discontent. If we except the intermediate interests subsisting on land the taxable margin of the zamindars becomes small. Any further burden on it would inevitably lead to the disappearance of a large number of zamindars as land would then cease to yield, in many cases, even a normal return on investment.

The "Final Report on the Settlement Operations in Midnapure (1911-17)" discloses the fact that taking the advanced portions of the district, the percentage of proprietor's assets taken as revenue (under Permanent Settlement) comes to 58.4. The assets of the proprietors are the rents paid by tenure holders and ryots directly under them and a valuation of the cultivated area in direct possession of the proprietors. The percentage comes down to 31.2, if the total rental value of the land is considered instead of the proprietor's assets. The rental value is the rent paid by the ryots plus a valuation of the area in direct possession of the proprietors.*

We have got corresponding figures for some of the biggest zamindari of the Bakargunj district in Major Jack's Report. The proportion of the revenue to the assets of the proprietors is very nearly the same as in Midnapure, and cases are not rare in respect of some of the largest estates that 75 p. c. of proprietor's assets are taken as revenue.†

If we take these two districts as typical of Bengal in a large measure we find that on the average about 50 p. c. of the assets of the proprietors are retained by them after paying revenue. From this we are to deduct the expenses of managing an estate and other incidental charges. Thus in the case of the most profitable zamindari, an annual receipt of 20 or 25 p. c. of the rents received from the immediate interest below may be expected. If the land revenue demand

* Probhat Ch. Barua v. The King Emperor, May 1930 L. R. 57 Ind. Ap. 228.

* Final Report, p. 85
† Final Report, 1900-1908, table on p. 96

is taken to be about one third of the annual rental value of land, then the return to the zamindars on this rental value will come up to about ten to fifteen per cent of the rental value according to the degree of sub-infeudation. The return is not very high. This is further proved by the fact that in cases where land has been purchased in recent times, the purchase price of an estate has never been less than fifteen to twenty times the income of the estate-holder which brings down the return to so low a figure as six or seven p c. It has been already shown that it is not easy to dispossess or expropriate all these interests without jeopardizing the agricultural economy of the province.

This disposes of the question of the zamindar's ability to pay. Is the zamindar comparatively better off than the other classes of the community? As a matter of fact, on account of the restrictions imposed by tenancy legislation and of litigation the resources of the zamindars fall far short of what would be regarded as a comfortable margin for additional taxation. It would be proper to regard the land revenue as the counterpart of the income-tax or the historical genesis of both these impositions indicate. This is also recognized officially. Thus the Government of India state that the "land revenue and taxes on income are the complement of each other, the former being a levy on agricultural incomes and the latter on industrial and professional income."* Again, as Baden Powell observes, "the land revenue becoming more and more in effect a tax on agricultural income, the tax on other incomes is its direct and logical counter-part."† From economic considerations, it would be unfair to assess the zamindars to income-tax in addition to the land revenue, or for the matter of that, to any other tax, general or special. As regards local taxes levied for local improvement, I may take the liberty of mentioning that the zamindars have never shirked their responsibilities in this matter and that today the zamindars contribute about 76 p c of the total income of the district boards and this contribution amounts to about one crore of rupees.

I may now, for a moment, return to the Regulation I of 1793. The words "in

consequence of the improvement of their respective estates" which occur in that Regulation, were not inserted in vain. The zamindars, I submit, have not been remiss in this respect. I have already quoted the description given by Mr. Pattle, a former Member of the Board of Revenue, about the condition of the country when the Decennial Settlement was made. A comparison of these conditions with the conditions now obtaining will indicate the part which the landlords have played in organizing labour and capital towards increasing the extent of cultivation and the productivity of the country. They have undertaken philanthropic works such as the construction of roads and bridges, excavation of tanks and establishment of schools, colleges and charitable dispensaries, donations to universities, hospitals and religious institutions and have contributed to all useful organizations like child welfare, agricultural and other exhibitions. Many of the roads and bridges in several districts bear testimony to the generosity and sense of responsibility of individual zamindars. In Bengal, they have constructed water-works in Serampore, Bally and Uttarpara, Chinsura, Midnapore and other places. If a reference to the various famine reports were made, particularly to that of Sir Richard Temple of 1873, it would be found that the zamindars gave ungrudgingly, free of cost, all the land required for roads and tanks which were constructed during all those scarcities. Towards the education of the country, the zamindars have made no niggardly contribution. The annual volumes of the earlier reports of the Director of Public Instruction of Bengal testify to the munificence of zamindars for educational endowments. As for large benefactions, we have the Tagore Law Professorship, the College at Rajshahi, Berhamore, Krishnagore, Burdwan, Hetampur, Bhagalpore, the Association for the Cultivation of Science, the Medical College of Bengal, the Darbhanga Library Buildings of the Calcutta University, the Benares Hindu University and various other monuments of the philanthropy of the zamindars and taluqdars of India. The establishment of Makhtabs and Madrasas on the one hand and of the *Tols* on the other points to the part which the landholders have played in the maintenance of the indigenous culture of India. The benefactions of the Nawabs of

* *Finance and Revenue Accounts 1929-30*, p. 110.

† Baden-Powell: *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. I. p. 344 f. n.

Murshidabad and Dacca and of Muhammad Mohsin have been equalled by those of very few merchant princes of our country. Rent-free lands of value of more than a crore of rupees were assigned by the zamindars, of their own free will, for the support of men professing and pursuing Sanskrit culture.

Thus, from whatever angle we view the problem, the conclusion is irresistible that the charge that the zamindars have not borne their fair share of the burdens of administration of the cost of progress is not only unfounded but mischievous. The zamindars have amply compensated the State for the permanent settlement of the revenue. I feel I would not be exaggerating if I say that the incidence of taxation has been heavier in the case of the zamindars than in the case of the other classes of the community. They provided the largest and the only substantial source of revenue in the past. Till lately they have provided more revenue than the income-tax, they must pay their revenues in due amount and time whether there is scarcity, drought or famine and whether they receive their rents or not. No Government ask the merchants to pay tax on profits which do not accrue. It is a well-known fact that on account of the harsh operation of the sale laws and the heavy assessment of revenues, many zamindaries had to change hands for arrears of revenue. Even now, many of the landholders, as already shown above, live undoubtedly on a precarious margin of profit. Many of these holdings are the results of partition or sub-division increasing further the cost of management. On the other hand, under the existing tenancy legislation, the land-lords have only very restricted powers of enhancing the rate, not at any event within the fifteen years follow-

ing the last enhancement. The rate of increase allowed is also very small. As a result we find that the average incidence of rent per acre paid by occupancy tenants varies from three to four rupees, but the average yield in value may be estimated at about Rs. 45 per acre for unhusked rice and more than Rs. 60 in the case of jute. The incidence of the rent is thus very small. It must also be remembered that in times of scarcity or distress rents are in many cases remitted. The Act of 1929 has further safeguarded the interests of the tenants.

I believe I have made out a case for the revision of some of the current ideas and misconceptions prevalent on this subject. I am aware that Bengal needs additional sources of revenue but I hold that the abolition of the Permanent Settlement is not the proper way to do it; on the other hand, an additional imposition will make the position of a large body of zamindars, tenure holders and ryots extremely precarious. A definitive judgment on the Permanent Settlement of Bengal is not to be summarily reached. Too many interests and considerations are involved in the question and I would earnestly ask for a dispassionate and unprejudiced examination of the problem with all its implications. I am not unaware of the shortcomings of the landholders, but such shortcomings are visible also in other communities. It will, however, be admitted that the landholders have played a useful rôle in the social and economic life of the people and in the changing circumstances that await them, they will, I hope, rise fully to the occasion and continue to make an active contribution to social, economic and political progress.



India and Lancashire

I—The Case for Lancashire

By HORACE G. ALEXANDER

IS it inevitable that either the Lancashire cotton-spinners or the Indian villagers must suffer? Some people think it is. I am not convinced.

Let us admit, in the first place, that India has just as much right to determine her own fiscal policy as any other country. I at least readily agree to that. Then let us consider what is India's true interest. Opinions will, of course, vary. I can only state my own. The true economic interest of India must mean primarily the interest of consumers—that is to say, the peasants and the workers in the towns. Now, if the peasants could spin and weave all their own cloth, without interfering with more profitable undertakings, that would, to my mind, be an ideal solution for them, though it would certainly be disastrous to Lancashire. But, if I am rightly informed, that really is not a practical solution *at the moment*. It may come, but surely not at once. If, then, surplus supplies are needed, shall they come from the Indian mills, or from England, or from Japan? I should say, let them come from whatever mills can (without exploitation of the mill-workers) produce the best goods at the cheapest price. If a tariff is put on to favour the Indian mills, all experience of tariffs suggests that the mill-owners will raise the price. Even if this leads to better wages to the Indian mill-workers, it will injure the far larger number of consumers. This might be prevented, I suppose, by a statutory price, if the consumers' interest were powerful enough to enforce it.

But, even so, are the Indian mills at present in a position to supply all the kinds of cotton goods that India wants? I have been assured that the finer counts are not yet being produced in any considerable quantity in India. If this is true, might it not be to India's advantage, no less than to Lancashire's, to make a temporary arrangement for supplying these finer counts, at least until such time as the Indian mills produce

them, or until they can be produced by hand-spinning and weaving, if that is practicable? This would give Lancashire the opportunity of adapting herself to the change of circumstance that is inevitable.

I do not suppose there are many Indians who want to make Lancashire workers suffer, unless such suffering is unavoidable in the interest of the people of India. So I put forward these suggestions, realizing that they may be based on an imperfect appreciation of all the facts, in which case they must fall to the ground, but hoping thereby to achieve the economic prosperity of India without bringing greater misery to Lancashire.

The Lancashire workers proved at the time of the American Civil War that they could place the emancipation of an alien race above their own material interest. Many Lancashire workers to-day are strong supporters of the Indian demand for freedom. But they are not convinced that a complete boycott of their cloth is going to benefit the people of India. I must confess that I, too, find the economic argument unconvincing.

One more consideration is in my mind. There is one argument that Mahatma Gandhi apparently uses which seems to me very unconvincing. He seems to suggest that because Lancashire has "exploited" India by flooding her with cheap mill-made cotton-goods, the present depression in Lancashire is an inevitable and just retribution. Quite apart from the use of the word "exploited" in a sense that I do not quite understand (I am not at all denying the scandalous methods employed in the early days for destroying Indian trade and building up English trade in its place), I do not believe it is right to acquiesce in this idea of retributive justice. That human development does often lead to great suffering, as often for the innocent as for the guilty, cannot be denied, and so far human wisdom has not been sufficient to anticipate and so to avoid these (on one side) disastrous changes of fortune.

But to-day we are surely learning a higher morality. Whatever crimes have been committed by one section of humanity against another, we are striving to create a society which may be for the benefit of all; and so long as our proposals advantage any one section of mankind at the expense of real suffering for another section, they are

short of perfection. I believe that as we learn to be generous and loving to those who have injured us, we are making it easier for them to face up to their own evil deeds, and so to produce a real change of heart. And a change from evil to good in the heart of man is, I fancy, the only revolution that can redeem mankind.

II—The Case for India

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THIS article is not a complete presentation of the case of Lancashire vs. India. It consists of a few comments on Mr. Horace G. Alexander's article.

In answer to his first question I say, Lancashire need not suffer. After considering all the facts and figures during his present sojourn in England, Mahatma Gandhi has arrived at the conclusion that only 3 per cent of the decrease in the export of Lancashire textiles is due to the Indian political boycott, the rest being accounted for by the world-wide economic depression and Japan's competition in the textile market. It is not perhaps beyond the business ingenuity of England to find markets for this 3 per cent in countries which do not produce cotton and cotton goods, or in the alternative to divert the activity of the producers of this 3 per cent to some other kinds of manufacture.

Mr. Alexander says that the true economic interest of India must mean the interest of the peasants and the workers in the towns. And in their interest he would allow the "surplus supplies" of cloth to come from whatever mills (in India or abroad) can produce the best goods at the cheapest price. In the next paragraph of his article he wants only the finer counts to be supplied to India by Lancashire. Now, the peasants in our villages and the workers in our towns, the direct economic interest of whom alone he takes into account, do not consume the fine stuff of Lancashire;—they make use of coarser goods, which both India and Japan can and do supply better than Lancashire. So, if the finer counts are to be allowed to

come to India, either it must be in the interest of the wealthier classes of India, whose interest Mr. Alexander does not and need not take into account, or the finer counts would displace some of the coarser stuff worn by the (rural) peasants and the (urban) workers. The latter development, which alone I need consider, would be undesirable for three reasons. First, though we want the masses of India to be healthy and comfortable, we do not want them to have any craving for or be accustomed to luxuries like the finer stuff of Lancashire. In the second place, even if the finer stuff of Lancashire could be sold here cheaper than our coarser Indian fabrics, the cheapness would be only apparent. For our coarser goods last longer than Lancashire's finer stuff. In the third place, the ousting of our coarser fabrics by Lancashire's finer ones would injure our mills. This cannot be allowed.

Let me now consider whether it is really to the interest of our peasants and workers to be supplied with the cheapest fabrics, irrespective of the country of their manufacture.

My first contention is that we should not go in for any temporary cheapness, for I am sure India will ere long be able to produce with power-looms both coarse and fine fabrics cheaper than Lancashire, as she did a century ago with her hand-looms alone. In proof of the last statement, I quote the following passage from the evidence of Mr. Robert Brown, who "had extensive dealings in cotton piece-goods from India," before the Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1813:

Can you state the difference between the price which British white calicoes from the [British] manufacturers fetch per yard, and that at which Indian white calicoes of nearly the same dimensions and quality sold [in Britain] at the March sales of the [East India] Company?—From a calculation I have recently made, I find that the difference is from 30 to 60 per cent that is to say, that [Indian] goods at the last March sale sold by the East India Company at from 30 to 60 per cent less than the same qualities, width, and descriptions could be bought from the [British] manufacturers.

My second contention is that, even if Indian textile manufacturers could never compete in the Indian market with British manufacturers without a protective tariff and a popular boycott of Lancashire goods, which is extremely unlikely, it would be to the advantage of the masses to pay a higher price for Indian goods. For, in the first place, some of them would gain directly by producing more cotton, some by spinning and weaving in their cottages, and some as wage earners in the increasing number of cotton mills. In the second place, they would gain indirectly also. As more money would flow into the hands of the mill-owners, their agents and retail sellers and various other classes in the country, Government would have more revenue to spend for education, sanitation and agricultural and industrial development; and as Government must sooner than later become national, such increased expenditure for the benefit of the masses is certain. Another indirect gain to the masses from various classes in India getting richer would be that these classes would spend more for the removal of illiteracy and ignorance by opening and conducting schools, colleges and universities and for the relief of people in distress from epidemics, scarcity and famine, floods, storms, earthquakes, etc. Mr. Alexander can ascertain what the British philanthropic mill-owners and mill-hands have hitherto done for India along these lines.

If Indian mill-owners raise prices by taking advantage of a protective tariff, we know how to fight them. In any case, if they do get rich by raising prices, I have shown how even that will be of direct and indirect advantage to the Indian masses, which the enrichment of Lancashire has never been and will not in all probability be in future.

As to the kind of temporary arrangement suggested by Mr. Alexander for Lancashire's advantage, I do not know

how that can be practically arranged. For, as the days and weeks and months and years pass, the number and productive capacity of India's spinning wheels, hand-looms, spinning mills and weaving mills have been increasing. If an exact sliding scale of imports from abroad adapted to this continuous increase could be devised, it would be worth considering. Supposing such a scale could be devised, India could give preference to Lancashire only on the condition laid down by Mahatma Gandhi being fulfilled, namely, that Great Britain would agree to India being as free in her internal affairs and external relations as Great Britain herself. Otherwise there is no reason why Lancashire should be preferred to Japan—it was not Japan which ruined Indian industries by deliberate misuse of political power.

I am not, of course, admitting that we should import any textiles from abroad. We should, if necessary, consume less cloth than we do. India's power of adapting herself to voluntary and involuntary semi-nudity cannot be measured. Under a National Government, I would support, if necessary, stringent sumptuary regulations as to each family's and individual's consumption of cloth.

As for Lancashire getting sufficient time to adapt herself to India's doing without Lancashire goods, I think Lancashire, if she were righteous and wise and farsighted, has had ample notice.

She got the first serious notice during the Bengal anti-Partition agitation 25 years ago. The second notice was given 10 years ago at the inception of Non-co-operation. The third notice was given last year. But Lancashire has grown neither wiser nor righteous. Instead, British capitalists are conspiring with the separatist Moslems to sell their goods in India with their help, and now with the help of the British Imperialist dodge of tying the rupee to the tail of the sterling. I shall believe in Lancashire's sincere support of India's demand for freedom when I find some more tangible proof than words, words, words.

Regarding the use of the English word exploitation, as Mr. Alexander is an Englishman, it is not for a foreigner to convince him that Mr. Gandhi has used it in a correct sense, though personally I am sure he has.

As regards retribution, I have not read anywhere that Mahatma Gandhi has actually

used the argument ascribed to him by the writer. Personally I do not wish the Lancashire people to suffer. But if it was natural for Lancashire capitalists and workingmen to profit by the iniquitous policy which enriched Britain and impoverished India, it is not for a humble individual like myself

to call in question the justness of the law which may make them also suffer the consequences of that unrighteous policy.

I am neither a teacher of higher morality nor a philanthropist. So I must not attempt to soar into the heights where Mr. Alexander roams with such ease.

INDIANS ABROAD

By BENASRIDAS CHATURVEDI

[Here is the article of Mr. R. B. Pandya, Director of the *Kenya Daily Mail*, referred to in our notes in *The Modern Review* of Oct. 1931.

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The Coming Struggle in Kenya

"Kenya Lost Everything Lost."

This S. O. S. was sent to India by the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivas Sastri some years ago.

Time is fast approaching when the same S. O. S. will have to be repeated because India's outpost is again threatened and is in imminent danger of being overpowered.

In order to appreciate the situation and understand it in its proper perspective, knowledge of principal events leading to the appointment and sitting of Joint Parliamentary Committee is essential.

The hostilities began in 1919 when Indians were excluded from the franchise given to Europeans. Representations were made as a result of which agreement was reached between the India Office and the Colonial Office. This agreement is known as "Wood-Winterton Agreement." It is of interest to remember that Mr. Wood is the present Lord Irwin, the ex-Viceroy of India. The Kenya Government rejected the agreement against even the wishes of the Colonial Office. The White settlers of Kenya threatened rebellion and arrangements were actually made to spirit away the Governor and ship the Indians back to India if the Colonial Office insisted on keeping to the terms of the agreement.

The Colonial Office issued a white paper in 1923 where it gave Indians communal franchise and five seats on the Legislative

Council as against eleven for Europeans. Highlands were reserved for the Europeans only. The Indian community summarily rejected this white Paper proposals, non-co-operated with the Government and, to show their intense feeling of resentment, resorted to the policy of non-payment of the Poll Tax. Backed by strong public opinion in India the community stood fast. The Imperial Government stated that the question was kept open. Then in order to show that they were always reasonable in their attitude, Indians agreed to have themselves represented by nomination on the Councils till the question of franchise was settled. Sir Edward Grigg, the then Governor of Kenya, misinterpreted this spirit of co-operation while he was in England and said in one of his speeches that Indians had accepted the communal franchise and that the franchise question in Kenya had been solved! Sir Edward at this time was in England for some very important purpose. The Colonial Office had summoned the Governors of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika for the purpose of discussing the question of the advisability of federation or the closer union of these territories. Sir Edward Grigg had very high ambitions. He had a sort of understanding with the Kenya settlers in the matter of federation. The settlers desired to have Swaraj first and they had asked that as a price of their consent to federation to which they were otherwise opposed. The Governor of Uganda was lukewarm about these proposals whilst the Governor of Tanganyika was opposed to any sort of federation with Kenya.

The Colonial Office therefore appointed a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Hilton Young in November 1927 "to consider certain questions relating to the closer union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa and allied subjects."

The Imperial Government said in their white paper of 1923:

"In the administration of Kenya His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising trust on behalf of the African population and they are unable to share or delegate this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the Native Races."

They also declared in very clear and precise terms their policy regarding the position of immigrant communities. Referring to this the white paper said:—

"Primarily Kenya is an African Territory and His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interest of the African Natives must be paramount and that if and when these interests and the interests of immigrant communities should conflict the former should prevail."

The Indian community accepted this position readily as they saw that it was for the good of the children of the soil. The Europeans understood it in the light of make-shift and make-believe. They knew that Government could never use this policy against them in Kenya.

The appointment of a commission to enquire in to the possibility of closer union was utilized to wriggle out of the position accepted by settlers in 1923. This is clear from the following clauses in the terms of reference of the commission.

"To make recommendations in regard to possible changes in the powers and compositions of various legislative councils of the several territories (a) as a result of the establishment of any federal council or other common authority (b) so as to associate more closely in the responsibilities and trusteeship of Government the immigrant communities domiciled in the country."

In 1923 it was regarded that Imperial Government can not delegate or share this trusteeship of Natives. In 1927 the Royal Commission was charged to find out how to associate more closely in the responsibilities and trusteeship of Government the immigrant races domiciled in country!

So suspicious were Indians of the intentions of Sir Edward Grigg that seeing his influence in the appointment and terms of reference of the Commission, strong movement for its boycott began. It was with very great difficulty and due to the presence of the

representative of the Government of India, who were sent there to help the Indian community, that the oppositionists were prevailed upon to withdraw their resolution from the open session of the Congress.

THE COMMISSION SUBMITTED ITS REPORT

The recommendations did not satisfy the settlers as the principle of Native Trusteeship enunciated in the white paper of 1923 was repeated and upheld. The Commission did not give them official majority in Kenya Council. Closer Union was recommended with the appointment of a High Commissioner and the creation of an advisory Council. To this central body important subjects had to be transferred.

The Commission did only partial justice to the claim for common franchise put forward by Indians. Referring to this question they said:—

"Our view is that in as much as the progress of the territory must depend on co-operation between the races the ideal to be aimed at is a common roll on an equal franchise with no discrimination between the races."

This excellent view was hedged in by a very strange condition which in effect nullified the value of the Commission's view. They said:—

"It is at the same time clear that this ideal can be realized only by consent and that the consent of the European community can only be obtained if they are given a feeling of security that their interests and institutions are not in any danger of being overwhelmed by the mere number of other communities."

The point to be remembered here is that this so called "theory of consent" is to be applied to one side only, namely, to the Europeans. No consent has to be sought when the communal form of franchise is to be applied to Indians against their strong desire and protests. Europeans are not prepared to consent to a common roll as they have declared their opposition to it from the very beginning. The Local Government was not of course keen on finding out means of getting the consent of Europeans. Consent was not forthcoming, so the common roll was not to be introduced and although claim for a common roll was considered to be "an ideal to be aimed at and attained," that was to remain a pious wish of some few well-meaning and benevolent gentlemen of the Commission.

As in India after the signing of Gandhi-Irwin truce deliberate attempts were made by the Civil Service to break the truce, so

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The Aftermath of the North Bengal Flood

By PROF. REBATIMOHAN LAHIRI, M.A.

WITHIN the last decade, flood has visited the North Bengal twice. It made its first appearance in 1922 towards the close of the autumn. Its devastation was then confined to parts of Bogra and Rajshahi districts only. The country responded splendidly to the call of Acharyya Prafulla Chandra Roy and a huge sum of money was collected within a short time and every possible attempt was made to lessen the sufferings of the people struck by the unforeseen calamity. But these were palliative measures dealing with the side-issues of the problem and no serious attempts were made to strike at the root-cause of the havoc. At that time I sent a letter to the Press in which I pointed out among other things that the Sara-Sirajganj railway, which prevented the free passage of the surplus water that flowed down from the Brahmaputra, was mainly responsible for the sad catastrophe and asked the railway authorities to construct a greater number of culverts which would carry the large volume of water that could not find any other natural outlet.

The question was taken up by the late Sir Ashtosh Chaudhuri who paid a visit to our village (situated on the Sara-Sirajganj railway line) and held a discussion with us. Mainly through his efforts one large culvert was constructed near the Saratnagar station and the matter unhappily ended there. The aim of the present article is not however to devise means to prevent the recurrence of floods. We are not of those who think that these floods are natural calamities and as such are beyond the control of human agencies. The silting up of many old rivers and the shrinking of river-beds due to the construction of railway bridges are many of the causes that lie at the root of the floods.

This year the flood made its appearance in the earlier part of the autumn when the cultivators of North Bengal were preparing to gather the seasonal harvests. This time the strain on the people has been very severe, the flood appearing in the wake of general depression and the political, turmoil from which the country at large has been suffering

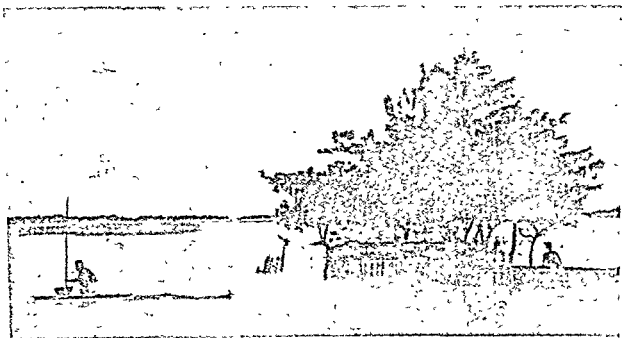
for the last two years. Thus the cup of misery was already full to the brim. The rest was done by this devastating flood, which in its mad fury has washed away the entire jute and paddy crops. So complete has been the work of destruction that many middle-class families which were once so prosperous and hospitable have been compelled to seek the aid of charitable organizations for their means of subsistence.

The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha opened a relief centre at Lahirimohanpur (Pabna) to relieve the distress of the flood-stricken people at a time when the people had hardly recovered from the first shock of the flood. The centre at first began its relief operations with 18 villages, comprising an area of 16 square miles. Day by day its work expanded as the distress and sufferings of the people went on increasing. At present, 700 families belonging to 80 different villages are getting regular help from the Hindu Sabha. The centre has already covered an area of 236 square miles and the days of greater hardship are yet to come. This part of the Pabna district—stretching from Ullapara to Dilpashar has been the worst affected; even the dwellings of many people have been washed away. The Bagdi community of Patiabera are still living in the huts which they raised provisionally when their permanent houses collapsed at the impact of the floods. Famine and pestilence, the twin sisters of destruction, are staring the people in the face. Asiatic cholera has broken out virtually in many parts of this wide area. At Patiabera five persons belonging to two families have died in course of a few hours. To arrest the further spread of this terrible disease the local Hindu Sabha authorities have adopted preventive measures. The services of six physicians were requisitioned and they inoculated 600 people last week, when they gathered to receive the weekly dola of rice from the Mohanpur centre.

The situation, far from showing any sign of improvement, is worsening day by day. For want of sufficient funds we have been compelled against our will to withdraw our



The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha bringing relief to the victims of the floods



The flooded are as of North Bengal

helping hand from Jamalpore and Rahimpore—two of our outlying centres.

Not only sufficient funds will be required to feed this hapless peoples as the relief work is to be carried on into the middle of March next, when another harvest will be

due, but means also should be devised to solve the problem of the floods—which like malaria and kala-azar has nearly made a permanent settlement in Bengal and would greet us with its awful visits every five or six years. It has been found by investiga-



Some more victims of the floods

tion that people suffer most because they mainly depend on agriculture and have no other means of livelihood. Attempts are being made by the Hindu Sabha to introduce cottage industries in this part of the district. Already we have started a *biri* factory, which is thriving. The water has subsided and receded back to its normal level. The ground has become fit for sowing. As a timely solution of the problem, let the agricultural experts think of some crops which may be used as a substitute for paddy and may be sown and harvested in less time. Many people are living on *saluk* and, as a consequence of it, suffering from diarrhoea and dysentery. It is not possible for a single organization to feed and clothe these countless people for months together—specially when sufficient funds are not forthcoming. We fear, we shall be under the painful necessity of leaving our unhappy flood-stricken brethren

in the grip of winter and famine, which are fast approaching. They may have to be forsaken at a time when they will require our help most.

To-day is *Dusserah*—the day of peace, amity and goodwill. The Bengali Hindus all over the world are celebrating this day in a befitting manner, wishing prosperity and peace to friends and enemies alike. But here in this part of Bengal, small groups of people, pale-looking and famished, have been appearing in countless streams from morning till evening before the gate of the relief-office and asking for a handful of rice and nothing more. Dire calamity has made them forget their age-long tradition and custom. This is the effect of the floods. The nature has done its work. Shall we not rise superior to it and conquer it? Therein lies the test of modern civilization and its agents.

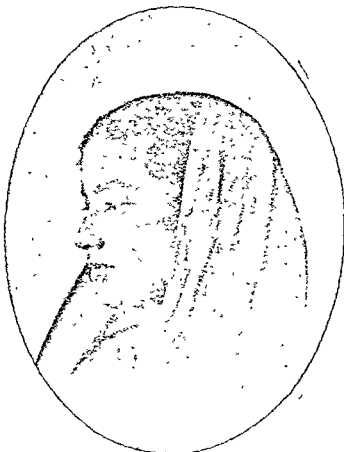


From among those ex-students of the Benares Hindu University who are registered graduates, ten are elected members of its Court for five years. The first election took place this year. Among the ten elected are three ladies:—SRIMATI ASHA ADHIKARI, -M.A., SRIMATI GARGI DEVI MATHUR AND SRIMATI KESHAB KUMARI SHARMA.

MRS. SUJATA RAY, first Indian lady to obtain M. Ed. degree of Leeds University, now Lady Principal Kamrunnessa Girls' School, Dacca.



Srimati Gargi Devi Mathur



Mrs. Sujata Ray

Mrs. PURNIMA BASAK has taken a teacher's diploma from the University of London.

The New Delhi Women's Association

This association, devoted to social welfare work and women's uplift, was founded in 1928 and has recently completed its three years' of existence.



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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Christ as a Revolutionary and a Nationalist

The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon publishes an article by the Rev. E. C. Dewick, M. A., on some recent tendencies of German biblical scholarship and their significance for India. The occasion for this is the publication of a notable book by Dr. Robert Eisler, a German scholar, in which the author presents a very novel view of the personality of Jesus. The basis of Dr. Eisler's reconstruction is the discovery by him of some slavonic accounts of Jesus, which are supposed to be parts of the original text of Josephus, omitted from the Greek version.

The most striking part of Dr. Eisler's presentation of the personality of Jesus is that in which he delineates Jesus as a Jewish revolutionary nationalist. About this point Mr. Dewick says :

A more serious challenge to traditional Christian belief is raised by those passages which suggest that Jesus was closely connected with the Jewish Revolutionary Movement. From one point of view, it might seem that, for the Christian teacher in India, such a conclusion 'would be actually of assistance, in commending the Christian message. For in the present state of tense Nationalist feeling in India, it is difficult to enlist sympathy on behalf of anyone whose teaching does not seem to support the claims of a nation struggling for its liberty against Imperial domination. But in the New Testament record, Jesus definitely abstains from any direct support of the Jewish Nationalist Movement : while He shows no disposition to cringe before Roman Imperialism, and condemns the Jewish minions of the Roman Government with contemptuous denunciation, at the same time, He decisively and repeatedly refuses to ally himself with Jewish Nationalism. This political neutrality of Jesus is frankly disappointing to the Indian Nationalist, who fails to find here any direct support for his own political policy. But if Dr. Eisler is right in his contention that Jesus was closely associated Revolutionary Jewish Nationalism this would seem to offer an immediate point of contact between the policy of Jesus and the desires of Young India to-day.

Moreover, the Christ of Eisler is not without a beauty, pathos and charm of His own, of which Dr. Eisler himself is by no means unconscious. His book contains some striking references to Jesus. In one passage he speaks of Him as :—

"The great King who never reigned : the servant of the Lord who has yet left on all mankind an imprint, compared with which those of all the great world-conquerors and world-destroyers

both before and after him must be regarded as trifling and insignificant." (p. 35)

In another, he speaks of Him as :—
"A man—if it is possible to call this regal beggar, glowing with faith in his God, and filled with divine inspiration,—this poor and crippled wandering workman, whose words have now for almost two millennia resounded through the world, by the same miserable name which designates also the human herd." (p. 568).

Yet, in spite of this note of generous appreciation, we cannot disguise the fact that the figure of Jesus Christ, as painted by Dr. Eisler, has in it defects, weaknesses and errors which would make it impossible for such a figure ever to hold that central place in the devotion of mankind, which Jesus Christ has held in historic Christendom. A leader who is so much entangled with the less noble elements of political controversy, so ready to surrender his own ideals of non-violence when they fail to achieve success, so willing to adopt the method of armed revolt against Rome as a regrettable necessity (Eisler, p. 570),—such a leader may compel our admiration and our pity ; but he cannot claim our whole-hearted allegiance, still less our worship.

The Effects of Rationalization

Professor Gustav Cassel writes in *The Mysore Economic Journal* on the disturbances in the world economy, and in course of his article deals with the effects of rationalization :

Industry has endeavoured to gain compensation for the high wages by those improvements in technique and organization, which are usually summed up under the term "rationalization." In part, these endeavours have been very successful, and have provided a greatly extended market for certain products, such as automobiles. But rationalization is very unevenly distributed and moreover it seems to have but slightly affected those branches of production and distribution which chiefly have in view the requirements of the consumer. This is yet another explanation of the increase in the cost of living as compared with other prices.

The prevalent view that rationalization has created unemployment is hardly correct. But for the thoroughgoing rationalization which has been carried out, industrial goods produced with such costly labour would have been too expensive, the market would have been more curtailed, and unemployment would have been on a still larger scale. Rationalization must therefore be regarded as the means whereby the increase in the price of the products has been limited, and a market provided despite rising wages. Indeed, rationaliza-

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both before and after him must be regarded as trifling and insignificant." (p. 35)

In another, he speaks of Him as :—

"A man—if it is possible to call this regal beggar, glowing with faith in his God, and filled with divine inspiration,—this poor and crippled wandering workman, whose words have now for almost two millennia resounded through the world, by the same miserable name which designates also the human herd." (p. 568).

Yet, in spite of this note of generous appreciation, we cannot disguise the fact that the figure of Jesus Christ, as painted by Dr. Eisler, has in it defects, weaknesses and errors which would make it impossible for such a figure ever to hold that central place in the devotion of mankind, which Jesus Christ has held in historic Christendom. A leader who is so much entangled with the less noble elements of political controversy, so ready to surrender his own ideals of non-violence when they fail to achieve success, so willing to adopt the method of armed revolt against Rome as a regrettable necessity (Eisler, p. 570)—such a leader may compel our admiration and our pity ; but he cannot claim our whole-hearted allegiance, still less our worship.

The Effects of Rationalization

Professor Gustav Cassel writes in *The Mysore Economic Journal* on the disturbances in the world economy, and in course of his article deals with the effects of rationalization :

Industry has endeavoured to gain compensation for the high wages by those improvements in technique and organization, which are usually summed up under the term 'rationalization.' In part, these endeavours have been very successful, and have provided a greatly extended market for certain products, such as automobiles. But rationalization is very unevenly distributed, and moreover it seems to have but slightly affected those branches of production and distribution which chiefly have in view the requirements of the consumer. This is yet another explanation of the increase in the cost of living as compared with other prices.

The prevalent view that rationalization has created unemployment is hardly correct. But for the thoroughgoing rationalization which has been carried out, industrial goods produced with such costly labour would have been too expensive, the market would have been more curtailed, and unemployment would have been on a still larger scale. Rationalization must therefore be regarded as the means whereby the increase in the price of the products has been limited, and a market provided despite rising wages. Indeed, rationaliza-

tion has in a large measure thus rendered possible an increase in wages which would otherwise have been out of the question.

The combined effect of rationalization and the increase of wages is that the standard of quality of labour has been raised. Highly rationalized industries have no use for second-rate labour. Indeed, the risk that this labour may in a large measure be exposed to permanent unemployment is one of the leading social economic problems that have arisen in connection with recent developments. We shall evidently be confronted with the special problem of finding suitable forms for the employment of second-rate labour.

In agriculture also rationalization has been carried out on a very extensive scale, thus rendering possible the production of certain goods at prices which are far below what was previously conceived possible. The most striking example is perhaps the production of rubber. Also in the case of other produce, such as sugar and wheat, rationalization has rendered possible a considerable reduction in the costs of production. But from the point of view of the world economy this reduction has scarcely been an advantage. If rationalization is to be of any value in the social economy, it must, of course, be accompanied by the closing down of establishments which do not pay, thus by the concentration of production to highly rationalized business. But, so long as almost every country refuses to desist from a production of, e.g. sugar and wheat which is no longer remunerative under present conditions, rationalization in these fields will nearly entail overproduction and an accumulation of unsalable stocks.

Indeed, it may be stated in general that the intensification of protectionism which has been characteristic of the post-war period, and which is closely connected with increased unemployment, is, in a great measure, robbing the world of the fruits of rationalization. Whilst production is being equipped with the most consummate technical aids and a great deal of capital is being invested in increasing the output capacity, uneconomic production is, at the same time, maintained. The division of the world market into areas which are being fenced off from one another in increasing measure thus entails a needless extension of the world's productive machinery. The consequence is, an undue shortage makes itself particularly felt in the colonial and agricultural countries, which still require an abundant supply of capital for the development of their natural resources. The shortage in the supply of capital to these countries is further aggravated by the heavy taxation of capital in the money-lending countries. This tendency greatly retarded the development of the world economy after the war and is evidently still exercising its repressive effects.

movement have been in existence even in the long past. The Muhammadans of Western Asia should be said to have been pioneers in Library matters even as early as the 10th century. We are told that the city of Baghdad had as many as 30 public libraries about the end of the 10th century. About the same time Cairo had a famous library known as the House of Learning, but we get some interesting details which have a peculiarly modern flavour from the Persian town—Ramburmuz. The public library of this town not only had a rich collection of books but what is more important, a learned librarian, well-versed in Philosophy. The other officers of that library were chosen from the *elite* of the town. It will be easily recognized that the notion that some of our libraries of today have about the kind of persons that should be recruited as librarians, is so much at variance with the practice of Ramburmuz. It is not infrequently believed that the library is a place for ill-educated never-do-wells of all sorts. If a teacher is found to be incompetent, it is not unusual to send him to the library. Not long ago I received a pathetic letter from a high placed official asking whether I could not take on my staff a middle-aged man who had failed in the School Final Class, on a dozen occasions and hence could not get entry into any other office. When I myself was appointed Librarian of the University of Madras, seven years ago, some of my well-wishers keeping high positions in the educational world were sorry that I was so soon getting into a place which was only fit for a superannuated old man unfit for any hard work and incapable of any initiative. While such crude notions prevail even in the twentieth century, it is indeed very remarkable that the Muhammadans of Persia should have evaluated the functions of a librarian in such a different manner in such far-off days.

While in these matters the Muhammadan libraries of the middle ages appear to anticipate most of the latest developments of the modern library movement the greatest contribution that the Islamic people made to the furtherance of libraries lies elsewhere. The contribution which they made is perhaps no less important than the contribution which Caxton and his countrymen made in the 15th century. This important and far-reaching contribution of Muslims consisted in the improvements made by them in the art of paper making in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Till that period books had to be written on parchment or papyrus and hence they were very expensive and beyond the reach of average men. It was the Muhammadans that introduced the use of cotton and linen as the basic materials for making paper. This made paper cheap, and Egypt and Arabia became the chief paper centres of the world about the end of the eleventh century. Most of the European countries had their paper supply from Muslim countries in those days.

Islam's Contribution to the Library Movement

Mr. S. R. Ranganathan tells us in *Triveni* what Islam has done for the library movement:

While the Library movement, as we understand it today, is quite modern, some of the fundamental notions of the modern Library

The Drink Evil and the Indian Worker

While discussing the report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, a writer deals with the question of the drink evil

among Indian workers, in *The National Christian Council Review* :

The drink evil is far more widespread among the industrial workers than we are led to infer from the family budget enquiries undertaken in some centres. The worker who drinks is, in many cases, naturally reluctant to give information regarding the expenses he incurs on drink, and for this reason the results yielded by family budget enquiries are certainly under-estimates. As a matter of fact, nearly all such enquiries show a substantial amount under this head. The Commission are of opinion that the consumption of drink, and particularly of spirituous liquors is a feature of the majority of industrial areas and has created considerable havoc in some of them. As the Commission felt that, as they were dealing with only a small section of the population and their welfare, anything like instituting a national policy on the subject was no part of their function but they express the conviction that 'a reduction in the consumption of liquor would increase the welfare and efficiency of the industrial workers.'

The only recommendation that the Report makes is that 'efforts should be made in all industrial centres to reduce the number of drink shops and to restrict the hours during which liquor may be sold.' The greatest difficulty in the way of restriction on sales is recognized as arising from the importance of the excise duties to provincial revenues; in Madras country liquors alone contribute over a quarter of the total provincial revenue, and in Bihar and Orissa nearly a fifth of the total. Nevertheless, the Commission record their conviction that reduction of drinking will effect improvements in the health, efficiency and standard of living of the workers. The hope expressed that such improvement will in due course improve their taxable capacity is however based on the assumption that when the drink revenue vanishes the administration of the country can be carried on only by having recourse to additional taxation.

The Mineral Wealth of India

Scientific Indian summarizes an address by Sir Edwin Pascoe, a former Director of the Geological Survey in India, in which the latter gives an account of the mineral fuel resources of India :

If India's minerals be arranged in order corresponding to the nature of their output, the first five are found to be coal, petroleum, lead, manganese and gold.

The most critical of all minerals are the fuels—petroleum and coal. The position in India may be stated thus. The most important of the oilfields—Yenangyaung—has already passed its zenith and its production is maintained at its present high figure only by intensive development. Its place as the premier oilfield of Burma is being gradually taken by the less exploited Singu field, and in this way it will be possible to meet the capacity of the Rangoon refineries for many years to come. The oilfield of the North-West Punjab is capricious in its behaviour, but it is expected to make a

substantial addition to India's total for a considerable period in the future. The same may be said for the fields of Upper Assam, the yield from which continues to show a steady increase year by year.

Oil-shale is known to exist in commercial quantities in the Aungmye district of Lower Burma. Our knowledge of these deposits is incomplete, but they may be of considerable size and importance; at present they cannot compete with any great success with natural petroleum.

India possesses large reserves of coal, the latest estimate—a conservative one being over 26,000 million tons. Something like four-fifths of this, however, has too deep to be raised with profit under conditions as they are to-day, and only about 7 per cent of it can be described as first-grade coking coal; most of the latter comes from Bihar and Orissa. In brief there are large reserves of second-grade coal, little of which can be remuneratively worked, and an amount of first-class coking coal insufficient for the future requirements of the country's iron and steel industry. The construction of canals between the coal-fields and their markets would facilitate and cheapen distribution, and might make it economical to work more of the second-class coal.

India's Industries and the Government

Mr. M. P. Gandhi writes in *The Calcutta Review* on the apathy of the Government towards developing Indian industries :

If the Government of India shakes off its attitude of indifference towards the fate of industries, and adopts a bold and courageous policy like Japan, Belgium, Germany, etc., of industrializing the country, I am hopeful that we can create a record of industrial development within a short period, as India is no less advantageously situated in regard to the possibilities and potentialities of industrial development. With this change in the attitude of the Government towards industries, capital will not remain shy and industrial-mindedness will be created amongst the people who will be induced to invest their money in industrial enterprises instead of locking them up in gilt-edged securities and landed properties, as a result of the confidence created in their mind. For a rapid industrialization of the country, it is absolutely essential that necessary banking facilities which are today unavailable to the people of the country, should also be provided. At present the people do not get any financial facilities for starting industries. The Imperial Bank of India is precluded from advancing money for a period of more than six months. There are no large-sized indigenous joint-stock banks which can finance industries. The Exchange Banks confine their attention only to foreign trade. There is no industrial bank to which the people could turn for assistance. In addition to this lamentable drawback in regard to banking facilities, there is no adequate provision for primary education, technical education, and scientific research. For making labour more efficient it is essential that they should have the benefit of primary education. It is sad to think that in spite of the rule of over a century and a half of

or theirs, however wise, are likely to do by political means.

Political means should and must be used ; but it will not be the descent of the political dove alone—however big the olive-branch it bears—which will make men hear each in his own tongue, (the tongue wherein they were born) the true Christian message of peace and goodwill.

The Revolt of Youth and its Object

The editor on *Prabuddha Bharata* makes the following observations on the revolt of youth :

There is a world-wide change of psychology in the younger generation at the present time. The older generation finds it difficult to understand the true import of the new psychology. To attack old traditions and to seek a better state of things is the most natural phenomenon in the events of all youth movements of the world. The revolt of youth that expresses itself in different avenues in the present-day world is regarded by some thinkers as of a new character. Some take it to be the precursor of a new era with a novel message hitherto unknown to the older generation. That it may prove to be very constructive in its application is hoped by many. "And now, whether we like it or not, the older generation faces two pitfalls. The first is the pitfall of berating and suspecting and still seeking to dominate youth. The second is the pitfall of pretending to agree with youth and pretending to sympathize with it in all its new points of view simply because the older generation is in terror of being cut off, shut out, regarded as Victorian. In both these ways the elders fail the younger generation—as they have failed so many times before." This is the view lately observed by Mr. Zona Gale, one of America's best-known novelists and a recognized student of changing society, in *The New York Times Magazine*. The writer deals mainly with the juvenile psychology of modern America. Nevertheless, his article breathes a deeper idea so far as the revolt of modern youths in general is concerned. "Whatever we may call the rebellion of youth," continues he, "it is never ultimate. Already among the sophisticated, among that small group of those who rebound most sensitively from any standardized behaviour, there is to be noted a certain return. Perhaps it is because of the fundamental sanity of the American, even of the human temper and spirit ; or, perhaps, it is because of the old-new shadow of humanism ; or it may be only because of Victorian clothes ; but for some reason this return, a flair for decorum, is observable now among certain young people. There is here and there even a slight spiritual renaissance. Before the war in France there was a society of young intellectuals formed for and dedicated to the worship of The One, The Being. In the American Colleges there is a frank seeking for new values, for a standard more reasonable than that of despair. All these are symptomatic

of factors on the long, long road, the eternal road, of the quest of the young human spirit. In less than another hundred years there may be a younger generation that is serious and spiritual and inordinately bored by the vagaries and intoxications of the generation older."

The younger generations, in whatever ways of revolt they may try to express themselves should be imbued with a spirit that can construct a future which will enable mankind to interpret human life and activities in terms of spiritual values. The idealism that lacks a far-reaching result on the ultimate good of man has but a temporary value as patching up the contemporary evils.

Americanism

Dr. Sadhindra Bose writes in the *Hindustan Review* on the transformation of the English language in the United States of America :

Advocates of Anglo-American unity do not like to admit that America differs from England not only in things social and political, but also linguistic. There is a wide divergence in vocabulary and pronunciation between the two peoples. Englishmen complain about the "nasal twang" of Americans and Americans are not one bit slow in returning the compliment. They retort by saying that the English guttural is unpleasant, that the English accent is very disagreeable, and that the English speech is not infrequently unintelligible. If Americanism is sneered at in the British Isles, so is Britishism in the United States.

Shortly after the Great War I happened to be in England where I saw an enterprising London tobacconist put up a sign bearing the legend, "American is spoken here," to the front of his shop. He was imitated by various other London, Liverpool, and Paris shop-keepers.

Many Americans tell me point blank that they do not speak a degenerate English. They speak the American language. They say that they do not like to be hyphenated imitation Englishmen with their language a mere loan from England. Englishmen may detest American-English but it is developing along its own lines and is slowly and inevitably differentiating itself from the British English. Americans are creating an American language of their own. The King's English is all right in the King's own United Kingdom among his subjects, but it plays little part in American life and manners. It seems to me that on some not too distant to-morrow the pretence of a "common language" between the United States and England will have to be given up.

The American language is not inferior to English spoken by Englishmen in their native land ; it is different. Just as Americans have built their skyscrapers differently making them a product of this country ; just as they have inaugurated their own ways of systematizing and conducting business so they have shaped their language to suit their needs. Americans are a strong nation and therefore their language is vigorous and colourful.

the rights on which at ordinary moments it is bound to insist. But another function remains more vital than ever at such a moment. Parliament must instruct itself, and in doing so must instruct the electorate, on the issues before it.

In the present juncture the average member of Parliament and the average elector were confronted with problems quite beyond their unaided comprehension. There was, indeed, no shortage of guidance: the press teemed with erudite and competent opinion, often admirably expressed. But for purposes of education and instruction it was not decisive. To begin with, each paper was, as a rule, wedded to one of the opposing views; men wanted to hear both, but not in isolation but connectedly, as argument and counter-argument. Controversy by the medium of successive written memoranda has its uses; but it lacks the quality of debate where man answers man in an atmosphere of challenge. There personality tells; and both Parliament and electorate, in a perplexing issue, need two distinct yet mutually supporting perceptions. They need to learn the relative value of arguments; they need also to judge the quality of the men by whom they are urged. In this respect no other form of publicity is comparable to the House of Commons, for none other has such hold on the public imagination. What passes there of importance never passes unperceived; perhaps owing to its traditions, perhaps to the sense that the reality of power is present, any momentous debate creates an atmosphere which is not soon forgotten. The vast majority of time spent in the House is tedious; so it was in trenches; but when things become exciting, they are more exciting than I ever knew in war. Personality had more chance to display itself, and to tell. The result is that during hours of acute collision a temper is generated which makes itself felt immeasurably beyond the immediate environment. For this, no doubt, the press is in great measure to thank; the British press, whatever its party bias, does as a rule faithfully reproduce the spirit of what passes in the House of Commons.

A fortnight ago, when the forces, so strangely reassembled, grouped themselves on the benches, personality counted far more than argument, yet in order to count, personality had to convey itself through argument and against argument. Nowhere else, and indeed in no other way, could the myth of the "bawlers' rump" have been so swiftly disposed of. Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Snowden thought it wise to convey their personal views to the widest public by broadcasting; but I doubt if they won half, or a tenth part, as much support through the uninterrupted transmission of their actual views as by the printed account of their interventions in a stormy debate.

Sex and the Law

In practically all parts of the United States the America woman is threatened by archaic laws concerning sex offences. This forms the subject of a very interesting article in the *Scribner's Magazine*. The writer points out some of the oddities of the laws which are a legacy of old Puritan days:

Perhaps the nearest that laws against sex expression ever have come to representing the will of the people was in the very early Puritan days in New England. Yet even here the laws were repressive rather than expressive, and therefore attended by ill consequences. Then very soon, as the population became less single-minded, the situation was out of hand, as it had always been in England and as it has been in America ever since.

Yet the laws of the colonial Puritans are, according to the statute books, the law of the United States to-day, the newer States copying the laws of the colonies, even to the identical lurid adjectives—lowly, lascivious, wanton—which had voiced Puritan sentiment in these matters. The laws remain, but the forms of punishment have changed. The whipping-post and the scarlet letter have given way to fine and imprisonment. And the administration has changed most of all. If the Puritan was stern, he was equally stern with men and women, rich and poor alike. His morality, however misguided, was sincere. To-day, as V. F. Calverton recently pointed out in these pages, a hypocritical respectability, not morality, is the criterion. Women are oppressed by laws that prove inapplicable to men: rich women escape the punishment that falls grievously on the poorer woman's head. The Park Avenue mistress comes and goes at will, but the tenement prostitute is harried from one cheap address to another.

Occasionally a locality particularly oppressed with its sense of sin still voices that feeling in the traditional Puritan way. The law still stands, I am told, on the books of one State prohibiting a man's kissing his wife on Sunday, the Lord's day when all expressions of carnal emotion are wicked. Six years ago, with a recklessness worthy of the medieval Christians themselves the citizens of an Arkansas town forbade sexual intercourse anywhere within the corporate limits, even to the married, unless they were prepared to prove that their act had not been of a "grossly improper and lascivious nature."

Still, changes do come. The anthropologists have shown us that in other latitudes and longitudes other races have not always agreed with us in our sex taboos. The historians have showed us that we have not always agreed with ourselves. The new sciences of psychology and sociology and the newer developments in physiology, together with a greater refinement in ethics, have raised many questions in the minds of sincere people as to what standards should prevail. To demand a uniform conduct for all does not seem as wise as once it did.

The Liberty of the Press in America

The New Republic has a very interesting editorial note in which light is thrown on the liberty of the American Press:

The New York Times, which is in many ways America's leading newspaper, last week celebrated its eightieth birthday. Among the numerous letters of congratulation was one from President Hoover, who seized the golden moment to pen a few imperishable thoughts about the duties and respon-

sibilities of the press. "Democracy cannot function," said he, "except when accompanied by a free and constructive press. There is great responsibility on the press that the news shall be accurately presented without colour or bias." These are handsome words, but when we compare the President's preachments with his recent practices, and those of his aides, in helping the press to give a correct picture of what the government in Washington is doing, we confess to a state of bewilderment. Within the past few days about a hundred of the leading Washington correspondents have signed a petition to the National Press Club asking that body to appoint a committee to investigate the present disgraceful misrepresentation and suppression of important news by the government of which Mr. Hoover is the head. They charge, among other things:

That Mr. Hoover himself has so frequently refused to answer questions put by newspaper men, and has cancelled so many of his semi-weekly meetings with the press, that most of the Washington correspondents have in despair almost abandoned the White House as a source for news.

That when Governor Roosevelt wrote to President Hoover on the important subject of New York's right to be represented in the St Lawrence Waterway negotiations, the White House secretariat denied that any such letter had been received, though afterwards, when Governor Roosevelt made the text public, it explained that this letter had in fact been received and referred to the State Department.

That the Federal Farm Board has repeatedly refused to give out important news which the public has a right to know, and that its chairman went so far as to profess ignorance of the sale of Farm Board wheat to Germany, even after the purchase had been officially announced in Berlin.

That the United States Shipping Board, which many well informed persons in Washington believe, will some day furnish a scandal comparable to the naval oil leases, has for many months pursued a policy of silence, equivocation and falsification. This has notoriously been true of Chairman O'Connor, who has gone to the length of keeping newspaper men waiting four hours, and then sneaking out the back door to avoid seeing them.

That other government departments, for all of which President Hoover has ultimate responsibility as he has for those mentioned, have pursued similar tactics.

Under the circumstances, what is one to make of President Hoover's letter to *The New York Times*? We should be glad to hear from any of our readers who can explain the paradox.

Stalin at Home

Essad Bey writes in the *Prager Tageblatt* regarding the family life of Stalin, and is translated in *The Living Age*:

Although Stalin has little time for any private life, he leads one that differs in its peculiar Asiatic way from the lives of the other Communists. In his youth Stalin married a young Georgian girl who died of an infection of the lungs before the Revolution. He had one son by her. Later, at the age of fifty and at the peak of power, he married a

girl of fifteen. Nadja Alleluia, a mountaineer's daughter who, Oriental fashion, is slavishly obedient to him.

Stalin is a good husband but an Oriental. The wives of the leading Communists dwell in the Kremlin, behaving as women usually do when they have suddenly come up in the world. From the Eskimo wife of Ordjonikidze to the distinguished English wife of Litvinov, they all devote themselves to gossip, petty intrigue, and feminine chatter. Scandal is the order of the day. Since all government life is confined to the Kremlin, these women have rich opportunities to give free rein to their feminine nature.

Stalin's wife is the one exception. During the whole history of Soviet rule Stalin's wife has not uttered one single word of gossip, and there has never been a breath of scandal about this 'mightiest woman in Russia.' Shy and silent, she dwells behind the walls of the Gorki Castle. It is said that every morning when Stalin leaves his house he locks up his wife in good Oriental style and puts the key in his pocket. Though this is only a joke, it accurately reveals the position Stalin occupies in his family.

The truth is that little is known about Stalin's wife. She speaks almost no Russian, understands nothing about politics, is very young, and has borne the fifty-year-old dictator two children. Stalin is, as I have said, a good father and family man. The wife of a world-renowned Socialist has described some scenes she witnessed during a visit of a few days with the dictator. Stalin, his wife and the wife of the Socialist were sitting near the cradle containing Stalin's five-months-old baby. Stalin's wife had to go to the kitchen, and asked her husband to look out for the baby while she was away. Stalin, who kept smoking his pipe, nodded his head without saying a word. Hardly had the mother left when the child began to cry. Stalin approached the cradle, played awkwardly with the child, and blew tobacco smoke in his face, apparently to soothe him. But the baby at once protested loudly. Stalin thereupon lifted the child out of the cradle and, as a sign of his paternal affection, put his pipe in the baby's mouth. The child shrieked as if it had been impaled on a skewer, whereupon Stalin grew angry. He dropped the child carelessly back in the cradle, exclaiming, 'Just a rascal. Not a Bolshevik at all.' Stalin's evening was spoiled. He kept finding fault and complaining until he went to bed.

Yet Stalin can act kindly and takes care to provide his family with things he himself does not need and even despises. His mother, a dress-maker, now lives in a palace in Tiflis surrounded by regal elegance. Her power in Tiflis is unlimited, and even the mighty ruler of that city, Comrade Eliava, bows respectfully and politely when the old Georgian lady enters his office and makes some demand of him. To any of his visitors who do not know the old lady, Eliava whispers anxiously, 'That is Stalin's little mother,' whereupon all present stiffen with respect. When Stalin's grown son failed to get through the technical school in Moscow and showed no enthusiasm for science, Stalin at once exiled him to a remote part of Georgia, giving him this wise advice, 'If you don't want to be an engineer, be a cobbler.' But when Stalin's

sister married a Czech Communist, he celebrated the event with Asiatic pomp in an affair that combined Tsarist lavishness and barbaric splendour.

Armament Manufacturers and Wars

It is a notorious fact of present-day international politics that armament manufacturers deliberately obstruct efforts towards securing universal peace. A writer contributes a very interesting article to the *Paris Crapouillot* on this subject, some passages from which are quoted below:

But this is not all that happens. Since traffic in arms is a private affair, private corporations are not forbidden, provided they have enough capital, to equip armies at their own expense. When the Standard Oil group and the Royal Dutch Shell group were competing for petroleum land in Mexico, a revolution would break out the moment the Mexican government took measures that favoured one or the other of these two rival companies, and the two armies advanced marched on Tampico, where the petroleum wells were situated. One army was invariably equipped with heavy artillery, machine guns, and airplanes manufactured in America, and the other with armaments made in England. Thus Mexico for twenty years was the scene of civil war, and it has only become peaceful again because the two oil companies recognized that too much crude petroleum was being produced and agreed not to exploit any more new territory.

China offers a similar spectacle on a still larger scale. For twenty years that country has been the prey of a dozen or more war makers who raise armies of mercenaries. These armies are equipped in European style, and if anyone wants to know where their munitions come from he has only to follow the newspaper accounts of visits from Cressat, Krupp, or Vickers officials. The big armament firms provide them with abundant heavy artillery, machine guns, and ammunition, and are paid out of the proceeds from pillage in the provinces. All Chinese generals have their sleeping partners, whose names can be discovered at the banks of Hong Kong, Paris, London, New York, Yokohama, or even Moscow. Simple removals of capital divide or join whole armies, depending on whether the sleeping partners are changing their generals, or whether the generals are changing their sleeping partners. This system has released on the unfortunate Chinese nation all the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, and conditions will remain the same until some Chinese Wallenstein brings peace to the Celestial Empire.

The League statistics give an indication of the role that munition makers play in this drama. China is revealed as having spent \$5,455,000 on armaments during the year 1925, and Mexico spent \$2,468,000. Believers in historical parallels can see in these two countries in the twentieth century the same type of army that existed in the century of the fifteenth century.

Private commerce in armaments inevitably engenders private wars. Of course the governments and the great powers pretend to ignore this traffic.

With Olympian serenity they maintain their official representatives at Mexico City and at Peking or Nanking, whichever happens to be the momentary seat of power. No matter how remote the theatre operations may be, the armies always destroy goods, railways, and European property. Concessions are pillaged, diplomatic and customs agreements are violated. First, the rebels come in conflict with the various foreign governments, and then the foreign governments disagree among themselves. The victory of one Chinese general over another provokes an exchange of menacing notes between Japan and the United States or England and Russia, and the sudden arrival of Mustapha Kemal at the Dardanelles led Lloyd George to demand general mobilization of the Empire to safe-guard the Straits. But the House of Commons replied by overthrowing the statesman it had followed through all the vicissitudes of the Great War. In like manner the parliament of any great state may find itself unexpectedly threatened with war simply as the result of a traffic in arms over which it has no control.

Book Ballyhoo

Mr. Hugh Walpole contributes to the *Week-End Review* and imaginary dialogue on literary ballyhoo:

Mr. Malthus has just been staying with me. I hope that he has enjoyed himself, because he has a fine, serious spirit, cares for the right things, and sees life both steadily and whole. Last evening—the final one of his visit—we had a little conversation that should be given. I think, a wider publicity.

It began as we were sitting on the lawn, looking at a sleepy, sulky lake (already called by Mr. Malthus 'Wordsworthian'), by my guest's suddenly remarking, 'Mr. Galsworthy says that there is too much enthusiasm about new books. Every day, he says, a new genius is announced.' (Malthus always calls authors 'Mr.' however well he knows them. He thinks that this is due to their talents.)

'Mr. Galsworthy,' I replied, 'is undoubtedly right.'

'Mr. Ervine says so, too,' remarked Malthus. 'Mr. Ervine is undoubtedly wrong,' I replied—not at all because I meant it, but because I was half asleep and answered mechanically. And, anyway, Mr. Ervine is always wrong, most especially about the Scandinavians, who must be aching, if they have any proper pride, to boil him in oil.

'Yes, but,' continued Malthus (this is his favourite conversational gambit), 'don't you think yourself that publishers and book societies and personal friends of the author and truly enthusiastic people like yourself are making altogether too much noise? Now I can't open a paper any morning without seeing a photograph of Mr. Shaw.'

'Mr. Shaw is making a noise about himself,' I replied. 'While we others...'

'It comes to the same thing, the end,' Malthus answered.

'Yes, but not intentionally,' I replied.

'Yes, intentionally,' said Malthus.

By this time I was thoroughly awake. 'Now look here, Malthus. Listen to me. The other day I said of a certain book that it reminded me in its

unliterariness of Borrow. In every other respect, I said, it had no resemblance to Borrow whatever. But the publisher of that work announced hugely week after week simply my comparison with Borrow. Everything else he omitted.

'Yes, but,' said Malthus, 'publishers must do what they can for their authors. And you weren't born yesterday. Why do you do such things? Will you never learn?'

'Probably not,' I replied. 'But I am not the question. We are considering Mr. Galsworthy. Mr. Galsworthy is serious and honest and very seldom interferes—therefore he must be considered. Now, Malthus, is there too much noise about new books? Can there possible be?'

'Not if they are the right books,' said Malthus, cautiously.

'Ah,' I cried, throwing my pipe into the lake. 'There you have the root of the matter. I observe that everyone thinks that he or she knows just what the right books are, and yet the right books are all different. Everyone from Mr. Galsworthy to "Beachcomber," everyone from Miss Rebecca West to myself. We all, in fact, have our confident judgments. Only this week, for instance, I learn that Mr. John Cowper Powys thinks

that Miss Dorothy Richardson is more important than Dostoevski, that Mr. Harding thinks Mr. Geoffrey Denis a genius, that Miss Vera Brittain and Miss Winifred Holtby think Mrs. Naomi Mitchison's last novel incomparable...'

'Who,' asked Malthus, 'are Miss Brittain and Miss Holtby?'

'They are the Miss Buss and Miss Beale of contemporary letters.'

'Well, but,' went on Malthus, 'who are Miss...'

However, I brushed him aside. It is his fate to be brushed aside by all sorts of people. 'Don't you see, Malthus,' I went on, 'that everyone who is enthusiastic shouts and disapproves of the shouting of every other person? And that this has been so since the beginning of time? Ben Jonson shouted about Shakespeare. Dr. Johnson (a very bad judge of letters) about Richardson. Scott about Joanna Baillie, and so on and so on. And then the publisher takes advantage of the shouts in his favour—nor can anyone blame him.'

'Yes, but,' said Malthus, 'the ballyhoo is much worse now than it has ever been before.'



A German View of the Round Table
Gandhi in the lion's den
E. Schilling, in "Simplicissimus" (Munich)

To Gautama Buddha

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

[Written in view of the opening of the Mulazandhakuti
Vihara at Sarnath]

Bring to this country once again the blessed name
which made the land of thy birth sacred
to all distant lands !

Let thy great awakening under the *bodhi* tree
be fulfilled,

Sweeping away the veil of unreason
And let, at the end of an oblivious night,
freshly blossom out in India
thy remembrance '

Bring life to the mind that is inert,
thou Illimitable Light and Life '

Let the air become vital with thy inspiration '
Let open the doors that are barred,
and the resounding conch shell
proclaim thy arrival at Bharat's gate.

Let, through innumerable voices,
the gospel of an immeasurable love
announce thy call.



NOTES

Meaning and Value of Mahatma Gandhi's Life

The completion of the 62nd year of Mahatma Gandhi's life on October 2 last has been an occasion for rejoicing in India and wherever abroad he is known. His life marks the beginning of an epoch in the history of India in particular and of the world in general.

The ascetic view of life, combined with the service of humanity and of all that lives, is not new. But whoever cherishes and lives up to it in all sincerity, as Mahatma Gandhi does, is entitled to loving homage. Not that it is a complete view or ideal of life. But that need not be discussed here.

In ancient and modern times, others have laid stress above all on the spiritual element in religion, on freeing oneself and society from the trammels of outward observances which have become lifeless and meaningless, on following the dictates of reason and on listening to the inner voice and walking by the inner light which is heard and which shines when the lust of the flesh is renounced, when thought, word and deed are pure, and wealth and power cease to be sought for the earthly advantages and enjoyment they bring. But as no morning is a copy of any previous morning, so is no pure and inspired life a repetition of any previous one. Every such life, as Mahatma Gandhi's is, has elements of singular power and beauty.

That there have been social reformers before Mahatma Gandhi and there are such persons among his contemporaries now, does not in the least derogate from the value of the reforms which his precepts and practice have been helping to bring about. Though he has not denounced caste with the thoroughness of some other reformers and has in fact defended it according to his conception and interpretation of it, he has been instrumental in lessening its rigours. The campaign against "untouchability" started by him, by word and deed, is being prosecuted with unprecedented vigour and on a more extended front than ever before. The *satyagraha* movement initiated by him has given an unexampled

and unexpected fillip to the movement for the broadening and deepening of woman's life in India and for restoring it to its pristine power and effulgence, which began in the last century.

The sublimation of politics by the infusion into it of spirituality and asceticism has been carried further and higher by Mahatma Gandhi than by any previous political worker. He has enthroned truth and open dealing in political negotiations and other political work. In the movement for winning freedom for India his inner spirit and word and work have installed full confidence where there was doubt, hope where there was despondency, self-reliance where there was cringing beggary, calm courage where there was either fear or bluff or bravado or violent outbursts of daring.

There may be, as there is, difference of opinion regarding the value and probability of ultimate success of the movement for clothing India with hand-spun and hand-woven textiles. But its principles and objects are valuable and laudable. It seeks to make India self-sufficing as regards clothing, to make the peasant industrious throughout the year by filling up his idle months and moments, to supply a second string to his bow, to make man superior to the machine instead of his being a slave and part of it, to keep the spinner and the weaver in the wholesome environments of the village home and the village society, and to put an end to the exploitation of the unorganized and backward peoples by industrial nations and magnates.

As war is an epitome of all crimes, a moral equivalent of war has been a desideratum. The worthiest object of war has ever been the gaining of freedom and independence by subject peoples. Mahatma Gandhi has sought to gain this worthy object by *ahimsa* (non-violence) and *satyagraha* (soul-force and unflinching devotion to truth). He has been the first man in history to wage a bloodless war for independence. It required a man of his spiritual elevation, self-control and profound faith in the perfectibility of human nature to make this new departure.

Sufficient pressure of some kind had to be brought to bear on Great Britain to make it agree to India's acquisition of freedom. Mahatma Gandhi started *satyagraha* for that purpose, as, on the one hand, he was opposed on moral and spiritual grounds to all violence and therefore to any armed war of independence and, on the other, he believed that civil disobedience, coupled with the endurance—without even the thought of retaliation—of all sufferings, even unto death, which it might bring on the civil resisters, was an active force sufficient for winning freedom.

The success of *satyagraha* in India would be a gain, not only to India, but to all mankind. Armed warfare for independence or for the settlement of international disagreements would then no longer be absolutely necessary. That would mean the saving of much expense on both sides. The economic ruin brought on by war would also be prevented. But the moral and spiritual gain would be far greater. The chief redeeming feature of war is the heroism it evokes. In war men bear endless suffering, carry their lives in their hands and meet death with perfect non-chalance. In *satyagraha*, while the *satyagrahis* remain non-violent, their opponents can be and often are violent and oppressive. Hence *satyagraha* makes men not less heroic than war. The excitement of battle makes it easy to forget fear. The calm courage of unresisting *satyagrahis* is more difficult to attain. Thus in *satyagraha* there is no loss of heroism, and in addition there is great moral and spiritual gain.

Ordinary war is violent. *Satyagraha* is non-violent. The former necessarily involves bloodshed; the latter does not. There is certain to be hatred at some stage or other of ordinary warfare, if not throughout; but in *satyagraha* as actually carried on by Mahatma Gandhi there was not and could not be any hatred. In ordinary wars, keeping one's plans secret, taking the enemy by surprise, ambushes, camouflage and other falsehoods, treachery and trickery of various kinds are not only considered legitimate and permissible but are taught, recommended and enjoined. In Mr. Gandhi's ideal of civil fight everything is open and aboveboard and honourable. His objective and plans have been made known to all the world. He has placed all his cards before his antagonists, has kept nothing concealed up his sleeve. He has, when necessary, been generous, too, to his opponents, as

some well-known episodes in his South African career testify.

In war, pillage is not considered wrong, is often ordered and sometimes held out as an inducement to soldiers. In *satyagraha* there is nothing of the kind. Though in war ravishment is not recommended nor enjoined, few campaigns of any large proportions and long duration have been free from this cruel and odious crime and outrage on womanhood. Also, an army of fallen women often accompanies bigger armies of far more sinful men. Civil resistance is entirely free from menace of either kind to womanhood. What is more, in Mahatma Gandhi's last *satyagraha* campaign it so appealed to the heart of India's womanhood that mother and wife and maid flocked to its standard.

There is no question, then, that *satyagraha*, as understood, expounded and conducted by Mahatma Gandhi, can be a more economical, more humane, more moral and more spiritual weapon than war. Whether it can prove more or equally effective in fact, must await the course of events. We think that it can and ought to, and that it is the part of wisdom for all men to see that it does prove effective.

Majority Rule and the British Empire

Separatist Indian Musalmans—or rather probably Indian Musalmans in general—want Moslem domination in Bengal, the Panjab, Sind etc., made sure by the coming constitution of Federated India, on the ground that Moslems are in a majority in these provinces. And British imperialists support this demand.

To be consistent, Indian Moslems and their patrons, the British imperialists, ought to make strenuous efforts to give the British Empire the benefit of the domination of the majority of its inhabitants, assured by a new British Empire Constitution to be framed for the purpose.

The *Statesman's Year-book* for 1931 gives the population of the British Empire, generally according to the census of 1921, as 449,583,000. In that year the population of India stood at 318,942,000. This year its population stands at 332,986,876. In other parts of the British Empire, too, there has been an increase of population. So it may be assumed that at present the population of the British Empire is not less than 500 millions. Of these five hundred

millions more than 350 millions live in India. Hence, the principle, advocated by British imperialists and Indian Moslems, according to which Moslem domination should be permanently established by statute in the Panjab and Bengal, on the ground that the latter are a majority there, should also lead to the establishment of permanent Indian domination in the British Empire. But it is well known that, far from agreeing to make India the predominant partner in the British Empire, British imperialists and separatist Indian Moslems do not want India to have real self-rule—to be an equal partner of Great Britain.

As British imperialists and separatist Indian Moslems want permanent Moslem domination in Bengal and the Panjab, because the Musalmans form the majority of the population in these areas, it is necessary to name the religion which is professed by the majority of the inhabitants of the British Empire. According to *Whitaker's Almanack* for 1930, page 510, of the total population of the British Empire,

"Over 210,000,000 are Hindus, 100,000,000 Muhammadans, 80,000,000 Christians, 12,000,000 Buddhists, 12,000,000 Animists, 4,000,000 Sikhs, Jains and Parsees, 750,000 Jews, and the remainder Polytheists and Idol worshippers."

As according to the census of 1931 in India alone there are more than 238 millions of Hindus, the numbers of the followers of the other religions must at present be greater than that quoted above from Whitaker. But in spite of the increase of the latter in numbers, Hindus still far outnumber every other single religious group in the British Empire. But they do not on that ground contend that they ought to be made the permanent dominant religious group in the British Empire by a new constitution framed for the purpose.

All this will show that the principle of majority rule in Bengal and the Panjab, advocated by separatist Indian Moslems and "divide-and-rule"-Imperialist Britishers, cannot be logically and consistently applied in the British Empire—whatever other value it may or may not possess.

These politicians may contend that, as in the whole of India, where Hindus are in a majority, and in the provinces in which Hindus are in a majority, they will be the predominant group, there should be no objection to Muslim predominance in the provinces in which Moslems are in a majority. But it should be borne in mind that Hindus

do not claim to be made the permanent dominant group anywhere by statute. In Bengal and the Panjab, where they are minority groups, they do not even claim reservation of seats according to proportion of population or weightage in addition. In India as a whole and in these provinces, Hindus depend on their capacity and public spirit for proportionate opportunities of serving the country and acquiring proportionate influence thereby. In the pre-British period, before Maratha ascendancy over a large part of India and Sikh ascendancy in the Panjab, there was Moslem ascendancy, and at that time Musalmans were a minority. This minority could rule the greater part of India, because it was superior to the majority in certain respects. In our days also, it is possible for the All-India Moslem minority and the Bengal and Panjab Moslem majorities to have political ascendancy by the acquisition of superiority in political capacity and public spirit. To the acquisition of such ascendancy by Moslems there cannot be any reasonable objection. If it has been possible for the small community of Parsis in India to acquire political and economic influence out of all proportion to their numbers, it is certainly not impossible for so numerous a group as the Moslems to acquire still greater influence. To be given a secure permanent ascendancy by statute is the surest way to the maintenance of inferiority and to decadence; whereas to be under the necessity of constantly endeavouring to acquire and maintain ascendancy is the surest way to become and remain powerful. The open door is best for all.

Minority Rule and the British Empire

From the figures given in the previous note it is clear that in the British Empire as a whole there is no majority rule. In fact, both from the point of view of race as well as of religion, there is minority rule in this Empire. The native inhabitants of Great Britain were estimated to number 44,692,000 in 1930. They are the predominant group in the British Empire, which contains a population of more than 400,000,000. The vast majority of the natives of Great Britain profess Christianity. So a minority of 45 millions of white men, professing Christianity, are the dominant group in an Empire containing 500 millions of inhabitants. It is true, the series of

Imperial conferences have resulted in giving the self-governing Dominions a position of equality with Great Britain—at least in theory, for these Dominions are not yet in a position to defend themselves unaided by Britain. Assuming that the Dominions are equal partners with Britain, the total of the white Christian inhabitants of Great Britain and of these self-governing regions must be regarded as the dominant group in the British Empire. The numerical strength of this group does not exceed ninety millions. It is a small minority of the 500 million inhabitants of the British Empire.

It has been stated above that, though majority rule does not exist in the British Empire as a whole, British imperialists support the Moslem demand that there should be permanently fixed communal majority rule wherever in India Muslims are in a majority. But this does not mean that the Indian Muslims are blind to the fact that there is minority rule in the British Empire. They want to establish minority rule, too, over the whole of India by an indirect method. In fact, they want majority rule where it is advantageous to them, and minority rule where it would promote their group interest.

Both nationalist and separatist Moslems want one-third Moslem representation in the Central or Federal Legislature. Originally, the separatist Moslem demand of one-third representation related only to British India. But their latest demand includes one-third of the Indian States' representation also, with the additional proviso that if the States do not, cannot or will not provide the full quota, British India must make up the deficiency! Whether the nationalist Moslems concur with this claim of their separatist brethren has not yet been made clear. They have not yet said that they do not concur.

The separatist Muslims also want that minorities like the Depressed Classes, the Anglo-Indians, the Indian Christians, the Europeans, etc., should have special representation with weightage. If the demands of all these minorities were conceded, they in combination with the Moslems would occupy the majority of the seats in the Central or Federal Legislature, the Hindus being reduced to a minority therein. And as among the minority communities the Moslems are the biggest, they would then be in the ascendant.

Let us now look at the matter from another angle. The Princes have claimed half the seats in the upper chamber and one-third in the lower. Let us assume that they would get one-third in both. So they would get one-third, the Moslems one-third, and out of the remaining one-third the Depressed classes, the Anglo-Indians, the Europeans, the Indian Christians, etc., would get small fractions. What would then remain for the Hindus, who, taking those in British India alone (even minus the depressed classes), are the biggest group in India? Perhaps not even one-fourth of the total number of seats.

It is clear, therefore, that efforts are being made to establish minority rule in India. It may be that every minority group is not consciously and deliberately making or co-operating in such efforts. But it is probable that all or most of these groups want that the biggest groups in India, the Hindus, should be made powerless, at least weak.

It should be understood that it is to the interest of British imperialists to support these efforts. For, if these efforts succeed, it is not the combined minority groups or any one of them which will rule India, but the British imperialists will do so. For, except the Congress (in which nationalist Moslems, who have no influence with the British Government, are included) no other party wants complete independence. The other parties all agree to some powers (which would practically mean the final controlling power) being reserved in the hands of the British paramount authority.

The Congress, through its spokesman Mahatma Gandhi, who has been repeatedly laying stress upon the principle of Hindu surrender, is unintentionally playing into the hands of those who want minority rule.

Why there is Minority Rule in the British Empire

There is no racial or other inherent superiority in the British or other white man professing Christianity. The reason for the rule of the white Christian minority over the non-white non-Christian majority in the British Empire has to be sought elsewhere. The white British Christians are better organized than the non-white and non-Christian peoples of the Empire. There is greater solidarity among them because of the absence among them of hereditary caste distinctions and other similar dividing causes. They are better

educated and possess greater knowledge of theoretical and applied science and, hence, greater mechanical skill. This has enabled them to prepare and equip themselves with terribly destructive weapons and accessories of warfare. They are also greater experts in the use of Machiavellian policy than non-white non-Christian peoples. The imperialist policy is to enlist mercenary soldiers from the least educated and least politically conscious of the non-white non-Christian classes and leave the rest in an emasculated condition. It is part of that policy to restrict facilities for the education—particularly for the scientific and technological education—of subject races, to as great an extent as may be compatible with the semblance of enlightened rule.

As there is minority rule in the British Empire as a whole, it would not be strange if some Indian communalists had taken that as a hint for seeking to establish minority rule in Federated India. But it is not enough to wish to establish minority rule. The conditions must be fulfilled.

If any minority group in India had been superior to the majority group in this country in all those respects in which and to the extent that the white Christian minority in the British Empire is superior to the non-white non-Christian majority in that Empire, then it would have been possible for that Indian minority to acquire or maintain domination over the majority. But there is no such superiority, except perhaps in the skill to make use of a Machiavellian policy,

The Majority Rule We Want

In order to guard against any possible misconception, it is necessary to state that our ideal is not the establishment of Hindu communal majority rule in India or in any province of India. We want the rule, through wholly elected legislatures, of majorities of an entirely political or politico-economic character, consisting of men of all communities elected by mixed electorates. In such majorities, the proportion of men of different communities will vary from time to time. It is probable that, oftener than not, in the Federal or Central Legislature the majorities will consist of more Hindus than of men of other communities, though it is not beyond the range of possibility

for the majorities to sometimes consist of more men from the minority communities than from the Hindu community. In the provincial legislatures, it is probable that, more often than not, in the Moslem majority provinces the majorities will consist of more Moslems than others, and in the Hindu majority provinces they will consist of more Hindus than others. But sometimes in both these kinds of provinces the majorities in the legislatures may consist of more men from the minority groups than from the majority group.

For acquiring great political influence, it is not indispensably necessary to belong to a majority group. Though belonging to the very small Jewish community in Great Britain, Lord Beaconsfield enjoyed unchallenged political supremacy for a number of years. Lord Reading, belonging to the same small community, exercises great influence. In India, Dadabhai Naoroji and Pherozshah Mehta, though belonging to the very small Parsi community, exercised great influence in their day.

Self-rule and Fixed Communal Majorities in Legislatures

In ancient times it was only in some small city states that the citizens themselves could meet in an assembly hall to make laws for themselves and transact other state business. So far as they were concerned, they were literally self-ruling. But in bigger states, ancient and modern, self-rule cannot possess that literal meaning. In them it means government by those who are elected by the people.

There has been a demand that in some provinces the majority of the seats in the legislatures should be reserved for Moslems and that these Moslem representatives should be elected by Moslem voters alone. Suppose, there were a similar demand made by Hindus for some other provinces. If both such demands were met, would there be self-rule in all these provinces?

It is clear that in such provinces, there would be always, or at least more often than not, government by the communal majorities in the legislatures. This cannot be called self-rule, but rather its opposite. For the minority communities in these provinces would be ruled by men with whose election they had nothing to do.

Such communal majority rule would be a negation of self-rule, not only for the minority communities, but perhaps also for some men belonging to the majority group who might think that some persons not belonging to their religious communities would have been better representatives but for whom they were precluded from voting.

It is clear then that the reservation of the majority of seats for any particular community, to be filled by election by a separate electorate of that community, is a negation of self-rule for other communities and possibly also for some voters belonging to the majority communal group.

Let us now consider whether the reservation of the majority of seats for a particular community, to be filled by election by a mixed or joint electorate, can result in self-rule in a strict sense. It is, no doubt, better than the election of the communal majority in the legislature by a separate electorate of the majority community. But it, too, is not entitled to be called self-rule. For the voters in the joint electorate are deprived of freedom of choice: they cannot choose the best men from any community but must pick out the majority of legislators from a particular religious community.

Even the reservation of some seats for particular minority communities, to be filled by election either by separate electorates of those communities or by a joint electorate of all communities, cannot be called self-rule in its full sense. For, if the election is by separate electorates of some communities, the other communities have nothing to do with the election of some legislators, who are therefore not their representatives. And if the election is by a joint electorate the voters are partly deprived of freedom of choice, as they are bound to elect a fixed number of men from a particular community and are thus to that extent precluded from choosing the best men from any community.

Mr. R. Chatterjee's Cable to Dr. Moonje

Some dailies have published Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee's cable to Dr. Moonje without printing at the same time the latter's cable to him, to which Mr. Chatterjee's cable was a reply. We print both in order to remove any possible misconception, the words in italics being supplied by us to

make the messages quite easy to understand.

The following cable reached Mr. Chatterjee on the 17th October :

"I am wholeheartedly co-operating with Mahatmaji and Malaviyaji in legitimate and reasonable concessions. But they, despite Congress mandate, and other Liberal Hindus are agreeable to conceding to Moslems fifty-one per cent reservation in Panjab and Bengal, present weightage in Moslem minority provinces, one-third reservation in entire Federal Legislatures and residuary powers in provinces with separation of Sindhi, and adequate representation of Moslems in services and Cabinets. Referendum of Moslem voters will choose either separate or joint electorates. I personally consider the proposal suicidal, but agree to impartial arbitration. Sikhs will be alienated and annoyed. Wire instructions.—Moonje."

It is to be understood that Dr. Moonje's cable represented the position of the communal pourparlers on the day and hour he sent the message; for the situation has been changing from day to day and sometimes almost from hour to hour (It is lucky that, up to the time of our correcting the proof of this paragraph, news of the capitulation of the two Indian leaders has not reached us, and it may be that Mr Gandhi will not have to surrender, because of the non-fulfilment of his conditions by the Moslem separatists in London.) It is also to be understood that Mr Chatterjee was asked to wire instructions as an honorary office-bearer of the Hindu Mahasabha. It is also necessary to state under what circumstances Dr. Moonje felt it necessary to cable to Mr. Chatterjee and to some other persons connected with the Hindu Mahasabha. We understand that a certain Indian gentleman in London sent a cable to a gentleman in Calcutta asking the latter to request Dr. Moonje to co-operate with Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The Calcutta gentleman must have sent such a request to Dr. Moonje, which was a broad hint that the Doctor should cry ditto to Mahatmaji and Malaviyaji in communal matters. Thereupon Dr. Moonje must have felt perplexed owing to conflict between his private judgment based on the Hindu Mahasabha's Delhi manifesto of March last and the above-mentioned request. He may also have thought that Mr. Chatterjee and some other persons were privy to that request, which, of course, they were not. Hence he cabled to them that he was wholeheartedly co-operating with Mahatmaji and Malaviyaji in legitimate and reasonable

concessions," but wanted "instructions" about questionable concessions.

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee's answering cable to Dr. Moonje ran as follows :

"Gandhi-ji and Malaviya-ji's surrender amounts to unintentional betrayal. Bengal Hindus are positively against statutory Moslem majority in Councils, separate electorate, residuary powers in provinces and service recruitment and cabinet construction on communal basis. Referendum futile. I agree to really impartial arbitration. I consider unrepresentative Moslems' demands to be camouflaged Imperialist demands."

As Mr. Chatterjee's authority for sending the message that he did may be questioned, it should be stated that he did not depend entirely on his private information relating to Bengali Hindu opinion regarding communal matters, but was guided also by the consensus of opinion of the conference held on the 11th October at the Indian Association Hall of "representatives of all sections of the Hindus of Bengal," which was convened by Dr. Sir P. C. Ray, Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Mr. J. Chaudhuri, Mr. Satyananda Bose, Mr. B. N. Sasmal, Dr. P. K. Acharya, Mr. Narendran Kumar Basu and Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, and was guided in addition by the sense and unanimous resolution of a public meeting of the Hindus held at the Albert Hall on the 14th October. We are personally aware that some Congressmen in Bengal hold the opinions expressed in Mr. Chatterjee's cable.

In order to give an opportunity to the Hindus of Bengal, within and outside the Congress fold, to criticize or repudiate the views embodied in Mr. Chatterjee's message, he released both Dr. Moonje's and his cables for publication. But we have not so far come across any such criticism or repudiation, though the messages were published in both Congress and non-party newspapers in Calcutta.

Mr. Chatterjee holds, of course, that Mahatma-ji and Malaviya-ji are incapable of intentional or conscious disloyalty to the national cause; but as they are not infallible, some of their decisions taken with the best of intentions may sometimes result in serious injury to it. Hence the use of the word "unintentional."

Communalism and Communal Organizations

Every communal organization is not necessarily guilty of communalism. The Hindu Mahasabha is undoubtedly a communal organization. But in our opinion it is not guilty of communalism in politics. Musalmans do not like it, and those of them who claim to be nationalists accuse the Mahasabha of communalism. That is because the Mahasabha opposes the unreasonable, undemocratic and anti-national demands of Musalmans. But some Hindu nationalists also, particularly of the Congress school, consider it guilty of communalism. They class it with the Moslem organizations of which separatist Musalmans are members. This they do, perhaps because they have not taken pains to acquaint themselves with what the Mahasabha stands for in politics, or perhaps because in their anxiety to appear impartial and neutral they throw equal blame on the Moslem communal organizations and the Mahasabha. Yet it is a fact which nobody has yet been able to controvert that the Mahasabha's manifesto on the coming constitutional reforms, issued from Delhi in the fourth week of March last, is entirely free from communalism—far more free from it than the Congress Working Committee's communal settlement.

We have read in a Moslem paper an accusation to the effect that it is to gain communal ends that many Hindus pose as nationalists. It means perhaps that Hindu nationalism like that which has found expression in the Hindu Mahasabha's manifesto is communalism in disguise. We are not sure that we have been able to fully grasp the meaning of this accusation. It may mean that Hindus pose as nationalists pure and simple, because they know that being a majority in India they are sure to have political ascendancy in all-India affairs. This is undoubtedly an irrefutable argument! For the Hindus in India are certainly guilty of being a majority community like the Turks in Turkey, the Persians in Persia, the Afghans in Afghanistan, the British Christians in Britain, etc. Hindu nationalism is communalism in disguise like Turkish, Persian, Afghan and British nationalism. If, for example, the Christian communities in Turkey, the Christians, Jews, Parsis and Bahais in Persia, the Hindus in Afghanistan and the Jews in Great Britain had made demands like

modern peoples, the ancient Indians had some defects. The defect to which Dr. Stein calls attention was that they did great things but failed or did not care to record by name who did them and how and when. It was a defect, no doubt; but it was a more pardonable one than if they had failed to do anything great.

The Castes of Majorities and Minorities in India

The majority and minority communal groups in India seem to be in one respect like caste groups. Taking the whole of India as one unit, Hindus are a majority group and Moslems a minority group. Hence, if the rights of minorities are to be safe-guarded in any way, the case of the Moslem minority certainly deserves to be considered by the Minorities Sub-committee of the Round Table Conference, so far as the Central or Federal Legislature is concerned. But so far as provincial legislatures are concerned, it is only the minorities in particular provinces whose cases should be considered by that Sub-committee. Hence, because Moslems are an all-India minority, that is no reason why in provinces like Bengal and the Panjab, where they are in a majority, their cases should be specially considered by that Sub-committee. Such consideration can be explained on the assumption that Moslems belong to the Caste of Minorities, and hence even where they are the majority, their case is to be given the special consideration meant only for minorities. On the same kind of assumption, Hindus belong to the Majority Caste, and hence even where they are in a minority the Minorities Sub-committee do not give their cases any special consideration.

Briefly then it comes to this: As Brahmans are considered Brahmans everywhere and under all circumstances irrespective of their character, occupation and intellectual and educational standing, so people belonging to the biggest all-India minority group are to be treated as a minority group deserving of special consideration even in provinces where they constitute the majority, and people belonging to the all-India majority group are not to receive the special consideration meant for minority groups in every province where they are a minority.

As its name implies, the Minorities Sub-committee is meant to consider the cases of minority groups. Hence, in Bengal and in the Panjab, it should enquire what kind of arrangement is wanted for the Hindu, Sikh and other provincial minority groups. If it busies itself to satisfy the majority group in these provinces and does not care for the demands and desires of the minority groups there, its name becomes a misnomer.

Change of Government in Great Britain

It is absolutely certain now that, on the result of the recent general election in Great Britain, the Conservatives will come into power. Whether a Conservative Government will be able to remedy the state of things which led to the dissolution of parliament, may well be doubted. But it would be best to judge that Government by its work. The defeat of Labour is a setback to world democracy, though no remarkable achievement stands to the credit of the Labour Government.

So far as India is concerned, if Labour had continued to be in office, it could not and would not have agreed to India becoming free. The chance of India becoming free under a Conservative Government would not certainly be greater. Even with Labour in office, there would most probably have been a renewal of the struggle for freedom under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership and the consequent repression. A similar struggle with the resulting repression would seem to be inevitable now. The only difference seems to be that, under a Tory Government, repression may be sterner and more undisguised.

Teaching of 'Ahimsa' and Swadeshism in Bengal

As a renewal of the struggle for freedom seems very likely, as a vigorous Swadeshi movement must form an essential part of it, and as in consequence much suffering will have to be borne, without any thought of retaliation, it is only proper to remind ourselves of Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose's advice to his Bengali countrymen in 1905 with reference to the partition of Bengal and the consequent agitation. He contributed three letters to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. He wrote on the 7th August, 1905:

"Let those amongst us who wish to do so, proceed with agitation in England, against the already decided question of the partition of Bengal, though I for one do not believe that any good will result from it in the existing state of affairs."—Hem Chandra Sarkar's *Ananda Mohan Bose*, p. 186.

What then was his programme of constructive work in lieu of agitation in England? He wrote in the same letter:

"Let us resolve, so far as may be done, by every means in our power, to avoid all English goods, and to use those of Indian manufacture instead. Efforts should be made at the same time to make it possible to use Indian goods, by introducing manufactures and industries in our country."—*Ibid.*, p. 187.

This passage is followed by an evident note of *ahimsa*:

"It ought perhaps to be noted that the object is not to injure Manchester or any English manufactures. Let their trade extend and expand. All that we aim at is to give resolute and earnest vent to our patriotic feelings, further our indigenous industries, and draw the attention of English people to our sad grievances."—*Ibid.*, p. 188.

As regards Government service, he wrote in his third letter:

"Business,—industrial, manufacturing and otherwise,—and not Government service, must be our hope in future. Let us remember that it cannot be by foreigners, but by ourselves, that our true salvation must be wrought."—*Ibid.*, p. 190.

The spirit of non-violence and revengeless suffering found full vent in Mr Ananda Mohan Bose's 'Federation Hall' speech, delivered on October 16, 1905. Said he:

"Let us all specially see to it, that no lawlessness characterize or even tinge our proceedings. Let us be the victims, if need be, never the perpetrators of wrong—the victims it may be of ignorant, misinformed or perverse authority, or of a too often unscrupulous police. We have to learn the divine lesson of how to suffer. No *vajna* is complete without sacrifice; and this is the teaching of all Scriptures. Let us be prepared, if such should be the short-sighted and suicidal policy of our rulers, to suffer persecution for the sake of our Motherland; for, from the thorns we shall tread, will be formed a crown of glory for the country that gave us birth."—*Ibid.*, pp. 89-90, Appendix.

The Round Table Conference

The daily newspapers publish every day summarized accounts of the formal discussions in the different Sub-committees of the so-called Round Table Conference, and of the informal talks of different "delegates" among themselves and reports of Mahatma Gandhi's speeches and talks relating more

or less to India's political demands. There are Reuter's messages, Free Press messages, special cables of correspondents of several newspapers and despatches sent by air mail by some correspondents. The same issue of a daily contains different items of news, often bearing the same London date, without any indication of the chronological order of their despatch from London or their receipt in India. And as the situation in London often changes several times in the course of a day or a night, it becomes difficult to determine which is the earlier and which the later development. By the time this issue of our Review is published and reaches its readers, the situation may change greatly. So any detailed comments on our part on the proceedings of the R. T. C. would be futile and out of date. And as we appear before the public at intervals of a month, we do not possess the daily paper's opportunity of correcting, amending or bringing up to date to-morrow what we write to-day.

Even the wisest, best informed and most apposite comments of our dailies are of no use so far as the deliberations of the R. T. C. "delegates" are concerned, though they undoubtedly serve to enlighten and entertain their readers. We say this, because the latest issues of our dailies reach London 16 days from the date of their despatch, by which time their comments become ancient history, the situation having changed in the meantime. Moreover, the "delegates" have little time to read both fresh British newspapers and old Indian ones. If any news agency could telegraph the comments of our papers to London, that would have been of some use. But this is rarely, if ever, done. All this was anticipated. And for this and other reasons we expressed the opinion, long before the first R. T. C. met, that, to serve any useful Indian purpose, a real R. T. C. should hold its sessions in India.

Mahatma Gandhi and the R. T. C.

Mahatma Gandhi took the earliest available opportunity to insist on the British Government laying their cards on the table and stating to what extent they were prepared to agree to the demands of the people of India. It is mere delaying tactics and waste of time to discuss details when the main thing, that is to say, whether India is

to get freedom or not, has not been settled. But Mr. Gandhi's request has not, up to the time of this writing, been complied with.

In and outside the Conference he has stated India's case plainly and in an uncompromising manner. Except in his attitude towards the Hindu-Moslem problem and, to a lesser extent, his attitude to the Princes and their subjects, we generally agree with the views he has expressed.

It is not necessary to repeat the reasons for our inability to subscribe to his policy or principle of surrender to Moslems. We shall here make only two observations.

At the first session of the R. T. C. Sir Mohammad Shafi was satisfied with claiming for the Bengal Moslems 46 per cent of the seats in the Bengal council to be filled by separate communal election. Probably on account of Mahatmaji's repeated declarations of readiness to surrender, and as the result of British die-hard wire-pulling, that demand has mounted up to 51 per cent. At the first R. T. C. session Moslem "delegates" wanted one-third of the seats in the Federal Legislature from British India. Now they demand one-third of the States' quota of the seats, too, with the proviso that if the States or their rulers cannot or will not give so many, the deficiency is to be made good from British India seats! The Moslem communalists' appetite has been growing, both on account of Gandhiji's oft-repeated promise of surrender and of British imperialists' instigation and wire-pulling.

Mahatma-ji is opposed to Christian proselytization—particularly through the instrumentality of secular advantages. But we do not know whether he feels that the concession to Moslems of all the special privileges claimed by them would amount to offering inducements to non-Musalman to become Musalman. If Musalman were to practically become permanent rulers of some provinces, if it became easier for Musalman to enter Legislatures, become Ministers and get jobs, would not that indirectly promote Moslem proselytization? Where then would remain the religious neutrality of the State?

As regards the Princes and their subjects, Mahatmaji was originally reported to have left it to the pleasure of the former as to whether the latter would have the right to elect the States' representatives in the Federal Legislature, and other rights. Mr. Mahadev Desai has to some extent succeeded in

removing this impression by publishing a report of Mr. Gandhi's speech about that topic in *Young India*. Mr. Sadanand, the Free Press "commissioner," has also by a special cable produced the impression that Mr. Gandhi's informal talks with the Princes relating to their subjects' rights have been satisfactory from the people's point of view.

Mr. Gandhi is reported to have used words to the effect that the Princes having "generously" agreed to come into the Federation, he could not lay down any conditions on which they were to enter the Federation so far as the conditions related to such internal matters as the rights of their peoples, etc. We do not think that the Princes were led by generosity to propose to join the Federation. Self-interest led them to do so. This can be proved from a document of princely origin which was not meant for publication but got published. As for laying down conditions, "British Indians" cannot obviously think of compelling the Princes to enter the Federation on any conditions. But they also cannot compel us to enter a Federation of which autocratically governed States are to be some of the units. We are certainly entitled to say that we will federate only with States of which the people have representative responsible government. Otherwise, let British India alone have freedom, leaving the States to decide for themselves. We certainly desire that the whole of India should be free. And it is very doubtful if one part of India can become or long remain fully free whilst the other part is in bondage.

Humiliation at Break-down of Communal Negotiations

We do not share with Mahatmaji the feeling of humiliation to the extent to which he and some other prominent "delegates" gave expression to it at the break-down of informal communal negotiations. It is certainly not a thing to be proud of that India has groups and some men who, either of their own accord or under instigation, have taken up an unreasonable and irreconcilable attitude. But that no agreement could be arrived with the particular knot of men, purposely nominated by British bureaucrats and official Musalman communalist, is not a thing of which we need be ashamed.

After his expression of humiliation language of unconscious exaggeration, due

humbled and wounded patriotic pride, Mahatmaji has correctly stated the causes of the break-down. His description of the Indian "delegation" as unrepresentative on the whole, is correct. It may be that some of the "delegates" would have been elected by some groups if given the right to choose, but others would not have been. But, even if it be true that all the Government nominees would have been elected by some group or other, the present R. T. O. would not have been representative of India. Government chose not only the men but also the groups or organizations from which the so-called delegates were to be selected and in addition Government fixed the number to be taken from each such group. It is the height of absurdity to assume that all the other groups singly or taken together have the same weight or representative character as the Congress, or that those groups have the relative importance assigned to them by Government. It is a transparent trick to drown the voice of the Congress in the noise made by nonentities and creatures of British die-hards. Mahatmaji's assertion that these men are being instigated by British wirepullers is quite correct. They are simply human gramophones reproducing their masters' instructions in disguised voices. He is also quite right in stating that the British Government is like a wedge between the different communities in India preventing their coming together and agreeing, and that, if they were left to themselves, agreement would be far easier to accomplish.

Mr. Gandhi and the Depressed Classes

We agree with Mahatma Gandhi in refusing to allow the depressed classes of the Hindus to have separate representation. There are many reasons why they should not be recognized as a separate group. They should, in their own interest, remain part of the entire Hindu society, for then the work of reform leading to their rising in the social scale would be easier. It should not be forgotten that even before Congress came into the field of action with its anti-untouchability programme, reforming bodies like the Brahmo Samaj, the Theosophical Society and the Arya Samaj had been doing uplift work. The Congress has given a great stimulus to the movement. Education and political exigency have been powerful

forces acting against untouchability. Hence, it is certain that within a measurable distance of time, the gradually dwindling number of the groups called the depressed, will cease to be separately thought of or treated as submerged classes. Mahatmaji has promised that some depressed class men will be returned to the Councils by private arrangement and convention and that under Swaraj there will be penal legislation against discriminating treatment of the depressed classes to their prejudice and disadvantage.

But if now the depressed classes are stereotyped, so to say, by being treated as a separate group, their gradual absorption in the so-called higher social ranks of Hindu society would be prevented—at least retarded.

It must be apparent to thinking members of the depressed classes that it is humiliating—it goes against one's self-respect—to permanently consider oneself and be thought of as "depressed" and on that ground to claim and be given a so-called right. And what can a few depressed class representatives do for them without the help of the representatives of bigger groups? In our opinion, the depressed class people can exercise greater influence and apply greater pressure for their own welfare through adult suffrage and joint electorates than through the reservation of a few seats for them.

That Musalman leaders advocate the separate representation of the depressed classes is presumably due to a desire to lessen the power and influence of solid Hindu votes, to a desire to disintegrate further the little Hindu social solidarity which exists and to a desire to promote indirectly Moslem proselytization.

Assuming that some seats are to be reserved for the depressed classes, to members of what castes in what provinces will these be given? There is no authoritative list of depressed classes. Are we going to witness a shameful scramble for being classed as "depressed"? For some years past many castes have been claiming to be Vaishyas, Kshatriyas and Brahmans. Many are being invested with the "sacred thread" of the twice-born. Many aboriginal people have been invested with the sacred thread as Kshatriyas and call themselves "Singh." Is this upward movement to be replaced by a downward one?

Number of the Depressed Castes

Let us come to grip with facts. Let us take the lists of castes given in the Appendix to the Census of India Report for 1901, prepared by Risley and Gait. There are no such lists in subsequent census reports. We will not mention the names of the castes. That may give offence.

In Ajmeer-Merwara, Rajputana, the Panjab, and Kashmir, the castes from whose *lots* the twice-born will not take water, mentioned by name, number sixteen; and then there are others. Castes untouchable, mentioned separately by name, number seven; and there are others.

In Bombay, Baroda and Coorg, the depressed class, whose touch is supposed to pollute, consists of eleven castes, besides others.

In Madras Presidency, Mysore, Hyderabad Travancore and Cochin, castes of Sudras who habitually employ Brahmans as priests and whose touch is supposed to pollute number ten, besides others. Castes of Sudras who occasionally employ Brahman priests, but whose touch does pollute number fifteen, besides others. Castes of Sudras who do not employ Brahman priests and whose touch pollutes number five, besides others. Castes which pollute even without touching, but do not eat beef number seven, besides others. Castes eating beef number three, besides others. Castes eating beef and polluting without touching number five, besides others.

In Chota-Nagpur and States of Orissa, there are more than eight inferior Sudra castes, more than twenty unclean Sadra castes, and more than seven castes of scavengers and filth-eaters.

In the Central Provinces and Berar there are more than three lower cultivating castes from whom a Brahman will not take water, more than ten castes of lower artisans from whom a Brahman will not take water, more than ten low Dravidian tribes and more than seventeen castes who cannot be touched.

In the United Provinces, castes from whom some of the twice-born take water while others would not, number more than six. There are besides more than nine castes from whose hands the twice-born cannot take water, but who are not untouchable, more than six castes that are

untouchable but do not eat beef and more than three castes eating beef and vermin.

In Bihar there are more than thirteen inferior Sudra castes, more than ten unclean castes, and several castes of scavengers and filth-eaters.

In Bengal there are more than six castes whose water is not taken, more than fourteen low castes abstaining from beef, pork and fowls, more than six castes of unclean feeders and two castes of scavengers.

In Orissa there are more than two unclean sudra castes, more than four castes whose touch defiles, more than five castes eating fowls and drinking spirits and several castes of scavengers and beef-eaters.

In Assam there are more than seven castes from whose hands Brahmans will not take water.

The descriptions of the castes are taken from the 1901 census report. The lists in that report were drawn up thirty years ago. In the meantime caste restrictions have become much less rigorous than before. From our experience in Bengal we know that water is freely taken now from castes which have been given degrading descriptions in the aforesaid lists. Supposing, however, the lists hold good even to-day, we would ask Dr. Ambedkar and men of his ilk to say which of the numerous castes mentioned therein, they will satisfy with a few reserved seats? Some provinces have more depressed castes, some less, with varying numbers of members. Which castes of which provinces would they satisfy? Such questions do not arise in the case of the "higher" castes, as they are not so mutually exclusive as the lower ones.

A Handbill Inciting to Violence

Advance calls attention to the following handbill, which we have also seen:

"Congress Terrorism must be Crushed
Bengal Outrages
MURDERED!!
Lowman Simpson Peddie
Mukherjee Garlick Ashanulla
WOUNDED!!
Holton (?) Nelson Cassels
Donovan sent home for Safety!
Yesterday—Darno
This morning—Vilbers
WE WANT ACTION
ROYALISTS

Printed for the Royalists, by W. H. Armour
Ganges Printing Co., Ltd., Sibpur, Howrah."

and asks:

"Can anyone doubt what is meant by the words 'we want action'? May we ask the Government if it falls within the mischief of the provisions of the Penal Code?"

There is little doubt that if any organization of Indians had issued a similar handbill, official and non-official Europeans in India would have understood the word "action" to mean "violent retaliatory action," and the handbill would have fallen within the mischief not only of the Penal Code but of the recently enacted Press Act. Any Indian organization issuing such a handbill would have been classed as a terrorist organization and the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1930 would have been set in motion against its members according to Ordinance No. 9 promulgated on the 29th October last by the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

The expression "Congress Terrorism" is a libel. The Congress stands between the Government and violent revolutionary outbreaks. The supreme leader of the Congress Mahatma Gandhi, has again and again denounced terrorist violence and has thereby incurred the openly expressed displeasure of those who are in favour of violent action. If any European opponent of his doubts his sincerity, that man is, to say the least, fit for a mental hospital. Even those Congressmen who are not thoroughgoing ahimsaists like Mr. Gandhi, sincerely and firmly believe that freedom cannot be won by the outrages denounced in the handbill. Besides, there is no reason why every attack on any official or non-official European and on any official Indian should be considered, without clear proof, to have a political motive, though every such outrage, whether political or not, must be dealt with according to the law.

Some Indian Scholars Abroad

In the sphere of international cultural co-operation, some Indian scholars have been doing good work abroad. The activities of these men and women in foreign lands have great importance in removing misconception about the ability of the youth of India and their aspirations.

Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar of Calcutta University has been one of these representatives of Young India. He is

leaving for India after his two years' stay in Europe. During this period he was the first Guest Professor of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie to lecture on Indian social and economic problems in the Engineering University of Munich. Prof. Sarkar not only taught his subjects in German but he went to various culture-centres of Germany to deliver lectures on India. He also lectured in the Austrian Universities of Vienna and Innsbruck. Later on he lectured in the Italian Universities of Padua, Milan and Rome in Italian. He lectured in the International Congress on Population Problems held in Rome in September 1931. During his stay in Geneva he lectured on India.

Dr. Kali Pada Basu of Dacca was one of the young Indian scholars who were awarded scholarships by India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie in 1929-1930 for a year. His original research in Bio-chemistry was so promising that the authorities of Die Deutsche Akademie renewed his scholarship for the academic year of 1930-1931. During the period of his study in the University of Munich Dr. Basu published several original papers and was, in last July, awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with the highest honour, "Summa cum laude." Dr. Basu has returned to Dacca University to teach.

Indians generally do not get the opportunity to represent India internationally. It is a matter of great satisfaction that Dr. Subodh Ch. Mitra, M. B. (Col), M. D. (Berlin) and F. R. C. S. (Edinburgh) of the Chitta Ranjan Seva Sadan Hospital of Calcutta, through his initiative represented the Indian medical world in the International Radiological Congress held in Paris in July last. Dr. Mitra read before this Congress an original paper embodying results of his research and it was highly appreciated. After visiting various hospitals and medical institutions of France Dr. Mitra went to Geneva to get in touch with the Health Section of the League of Nations. On September 1, Dr. Mitra delivered a lecture in German on "Ancient and Modern Midwifery and Gynaecology in India" in Strassman Women's Hospital, Berlin. Gehemrat Prof. Dr. Strassman was in the chair. Professors of different Gynaecological Hospitals were present. The lecture was followed by a discussion. Dr. Mitra was entertained by Gehemrat Prof. Dr. Friedrich von Muller, the President

of Die Deutsche Akademie at a dinner attended by many professors.

India's best men from all professions should participate in international congresses. They should go to foreign universities to carry on research work as well as to exchange ideas with great scientists and professors. This will break up India's cultural isolation and create new consciousness about Indian ability and efficiency. Only India's best and most serious-minded scholars should come out for higher studies in foreign lands. Those who wish to spend a few months in Germany should plan their visit during the period when the Universities are in session; and possibly the months of April, May, June and July are best suited for study tour in German culture-centres when the professors are expected to be in the Universities.

T. D.

Wider Powers of Arrest and Detention in Bengal

"The Viceroy and Governor-General of India has promulgated an Ordinance, widening the scope of the existing Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, with a view to enabling the local Government to arrest and detain, not only persons concerned in committing offences or about to commit them, but also those who are members of terrorist associations or help such associations.

"The penal provisions have also been widened by bringing the offences committed under the Ordinance within the meaning of the sections relating to waging war against the King or harbouring the King's enemies."

This is Ordinance No. 9. There is a vicious circle. The future historian will have to determine to what extent terrorism was the cause of the "lawless laws," given the name of Ordinances, and to what extent the "lawless laws" gave rise to terrorism.

When the ordinary criminal law is administered, in the ordinary way, that is, when accused persons are tried in open court according to the ordinary processes of the law, conviction is not obtained in a considerable number of cases. Let us try to have some idea of the percentage of convictions. Those who are arrested and detained without trial, according to the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1930 and Ordinance 9 of 1931, are suspected of having committed, or aided and abetted, serious crimes. If tried according to the ordinary law, persons accused of such offences are usually committed to the sessions.

So the latest annual Bengal Police Administration Report (for 1930) should be consulted to find out the percentage of convictions in sessions cases. This is given on page 22 of the Report, as follows:

"The total number of persons tried was 4,663, against 3,992, and 48.9 per cent. against 496 in 1929, were convicted. In 71 cases, against 78 in 1929, Judges disagreed with the verdict of jurors and made references to the High Court. Of these 30 ended in conviction, 24 in acquittal and 17 were pending at the close of the year."

So, though more than half the accused were acquitted, let us say that only 50 per cent of the accused, in round numbers, were innocent. It was stated some time ago that 800 persons in round numbers were then in detention without trial in Bengal. And their number has recently increased. The present number of detenus is not the first batch. For a number of years hundreds of men in Bengal have been arrested and deprived of their liberty for indefinite periods. So, altogether, many hundreds, exceeding perhaps a thousand or two, have been punished in this way. From what happens in sessions cases, as quoted above, one is warranted in asserting that at least half of the persons arrested are innocent. We say "at least," because in sessions cases the official prosecutors, knowing that the cases would be subjected to open scrutiny by trained lawyers and the accused would be defended by such lawyers, take some care to send up cases for trial. But in the case of arrests and detentions without trial, there being no such fear of exposure of unwarranted prosecutions, no such care is likely to be taken. Hence among detenus without trial, it is almost demonstrably true that the percentage of the innocent is most probably much higher than 50. Thus we are driven to the conclusion that for years in Bengal hundreds of innocent young men have been punished without trial.

This is not the kind of thing which can produce that atmosphere which is destructive of the terroristic spirit.

The Condition of Detenus

Almost every day one finds in the Indian-owned dailies of Bengal woeful accounts of the sad plight of many detenus as regards their health and supply of necessities, and the helpless condition of some families whose sole bread-winners have been taken away

without any or adequate provision being made for the maintenance of the former. The tale of hungerstrikes is also unending.

House Searches without or with Arrests

Some weeks ago there was in Bengal an epidemic of searches of houses without anything incriminating being found in most of them and without any inmates of most of them being arrested. Subsequently the proportion of arrests increased; and now that Ordinance No. 9 has been added to the armoury of the Executive and the Police that proportion has increased still further.

Official Hijli Enquiry Committee's Report

The Official Hijli Enquiry Committee's Report does not give entire credence to the evidence of the detenus, not necessarily because of deliberate untruthfulness on their part in all cases, but on account of other circumstances, some of which are mentioned in course of the discussion of the evidence. In the opinion of the committee "the detenus were by no means all non-violent." The Report, however, nowhere states or suggests that any detenu's violence was likely to be fatal to anybody. But in spite of this finding and in spite of the committee finding some parts of the evidence of the detenus unreliable, with what justification we will not now discuss, they have recorded this very damaging finding against the sepoys:

We have recorded our findings as to what took place in the evening of the 16th September. Having regard to our findings on the question of the alarm raised and also on the question whether the alarm was pre-arranged or not, we hold that the entry of the sepoys into the compound after the alarm had been given was justified. But there was, in our opinion, no justification whatever for the indiscriminate firing (some 29 rounds were found to have been fired) of the sepoys upon the building itself, resulting in the death of two of the detenus and the infliction of injuries on several others. There was no justification either for some of the sepoys going into the building itself and causing casualties of various kinds to some others of the detenus.

Among the facts about which, according to the Committee, "there is no dispute," are the following:

Twenty [detenus] altogether received injuries, and in some cases the injuries were of a severe nature necessitating in one case—the case of detenu Babu Gobinda Pada Dutt—the amputation

of the left arm. It is undisputed also that the sentries and some of the constables who entered the compound after the alarm was given were armed with smooth bore Martini-Henry muskets with triangular bayonets, that those who fired seem to have used ball and buckshot indiscriminately and that some of the injuries on the detenus were gunshot wounds, some were stabs such as a bayonet might have caused and some bruises that might have been due to blows from a "lathi" or the butt of a musket.

The Committee's indictment of the veracity of the sepoys is far more serious than the doubts they have cast on some parts of the evidence on the detenus, as, for example, the following sentences in the Report will suffice to show:

Sirajul's story of his bayonet having been snatched away from his rifle seems to us to be extremely doubtful. To begin with, Sirajul made no mention of this fact to Mr. Baker. Then the bayonet which Sirajul had attached to his musket could not be wrenched off. Anyone who took it off would have to know the way in which it has to be turned before it can be removed.

As regards what actually took place after the constables had gone in through the inner gate, the story which the sepoys gave us will not in our opinion bear a moment's scrutiny.

Among the discreditable arrangements which made such a criminal outrage possible, the Committee mention the following:

The Hijli Detention Camp is a pretty big place, the number of detenus detained there being between 170 and 180. There is a Commandant and also an Assistant Commandant. But both of them live at a distance of about three-quarters of a mile from the camp itself. Inspector Marshall, who is in immediate charge of the guard, has his residence at least three-quarters of a mile further off, and at night time there remains no one but the guard constables in charge of Havildars to look after the camp. The Commandant, the Assistant Commandant and Inspector Marshall are no doubt in telephonic connection with the guard. But important orders, such as orders to open fire, cannot ordinarily be given by an officer on the telephone and unless the officer sees for himself what the situation really is. From the distance where the Commandant, the Assistant Commandant and Inspector Marshall live one cannot ordinarily come to the camp in less than four or five minutes. On that particular night the Assistant Commandant, Rai Sahib Anath Bandhu Chakravarti, was lying ill at his house and there was no one acting for him at the time. The fact that there was no responsible officer present on the spot was, in our opinion, indirectly, responsible for the most deplorable and tragic affair that took place on the night of the 16th September last.

The Committee would have been guilty of culpable leniency even if their report implied only mild censure of the high officers. But there is no blame at all thrown on them either directly or by implication. On

the contrary, there seems to be an indirect attempt at justifying their conduct.

We appreciate the Committee's unequivocal and clear finding that there was no justification whatever for the firing. But they ought to have discussed how one of the sentries came to think that the butt-end of a musket, being Government property, was more valuable than the lives of the detenus and how all the sentries came to think that the detenus could be shot down and bayoneted with impunity, if, as the Committee think, the shooting was not a pre-arranged affair and the high European officials had nothing to do with it. We are not quite satisfied with all the arguments contained in the Report to disprove the allegation of pre-arrangement.

Mr. Baker's complete innocence was perhaps a foregone conclusion, as even before the conclusion of the Committee's enquiry he was given leave to go home. The public will wait to see whether all others concerned, high or low, will be similarly punished.

Falsity of some Government Communiqués

Though we have pointed out a few defects in the report of the official Hijli enquiry committee, it is certainly entitled to praise in certain other respects, as will have been clear from the greater part of our previous note. It also contains material for convincing one of the falsity of official communiqués on the Hijli outrages.

The Bengal Government's communiqué of the 17th September contained the following passage :

Shortly after 9 p. m. on Wednesday the 16th September determined attacks were made on four sentries by bands of detenus of Hijli Detention Camp, Midnapore. One sentry had the bayonet pulled off his musket by his assailants and another sentry was with difficulty saved by the timely approach of a patrol. The position of the sentries was undoubtedly grave and fire was opened to extricate them and restore control of the Camp.

One finds from a perusal of the Committee's report that all the statements contained in the above passage are false. The evidence of Commandant Baker, I. C. S., before the Committee shows how these incorrect statements came to be made. He admitted having written a letter to detenu Bibbuti Babu in which he told him :

You do me an injustice when you say that the first communiqué issued by the Government was mine. As a matter of fact, it was drawn up by

the Deputy Secretary, Political Department, based on the version of the constables only.

As it was rather surprising that in I. C. S.-ridden India an I. C. S. officer should prefer "native" constables' version to that of a brother I. C. S. officer, Mr. Nisith Sen, Counsel for the detenus, asked Mr. Baker :

"Do you mean to suggest that, although you are the man on the spot, your version of the incident was not taken into consideration before issuing the communiqué?"

To this Mr. Baker's reply was, "No, it was not taken."

The Bengal Government's communiqué of the 21st September contained the following contradiction :

The statements which have appeared in the Press to the effect that indiscriminate firing and assaults on unarmed and peaceful detenus took place inside the main building are untrue.

This official contradiction is found to be itself absolutely without foundation when one reads the following passage, already quoted above, in the official committee's report :

There was, in our opinion, no justification whatever for the indiscriminate firing (some 20 rounds were found to have been fired) of the sepoys upon the building itself, resulting in the death of two of the detenus and the infliction of injuries on several others. There was no justification either for some of the sepoys going into the building itself and causing casualties of various kinds to some others of the detenus.

The Government communiqué of the 21st September from which we have quoted a sentence above included some "facts" said to have been ascertained by the District Magistrate by investigation on the spot. The "facts" were :

Investigation goes to show that few if any serious injuries were inflicted on the detenus outside the main building. The gun-shot cases appear to have occurred among persons who were standing in the verandahs overlooking the affray, the fire of the constables being towards the main building. There is nothing to indicate that any of the guards entered the building or that fire was specifically aimed at persons on the verandahs.

But the official committee say in their report :

On a consideration of the evidence as we have before us we are clearly of opinion that some of the sepoys did not go into the building and were responsible for some casualties that took place in the eastern portion thereof.

The Anglo-Indian Press and Hijli

We believe the facts given above are sufficient proof that there was a deliberate

attempt on the part of some of the officials at any rate to suppress the truth about Hijli, and but for the determined stand taken by the Indian public and Press this attempt would certainly have succeeded.

That the Indian section of the Press has not had the co-operation or the sympathy of the European Press and public in this championship of truth and fairness, is not the most amazing part of the story. The Indian Press has, on the contrary, been subjected for its pains to gross and scurrilous attacks on their part. When after the issue of what has been demonstrated by the judicial enquiry to be an extremely unreliable version of the happenings at Hijli, the Indian section of the Press still dared to publish reports about the incident, the *Englishman*, confident of the discriminatory application of repressive laws in India, did not hesitate to call for drastic curtailment of the liberties of the Indian press:

Additional proof, it wrote, of the urgent need of powers for the better control of the Press has been supplied by the scandalous reports of the deplorable affair at Hijli detention camp published by Congress newspapers and their comments thereon. The official *communiqué* issued the day after the occurrence made it clear that shooting followed determined attacks on four sentries by bands of detyens, that the position of the sentries was undoubtedly grave, and that fire was opened to extricate them and restore control of the camp. The revised version of the incident as published in the extremist Press describes in lurid detail "indiscriminate firing without warning on unarmed detenues inside their rooms and in the hospital"; "men attending to the wounded themselves wounded by bullets and bayonets, buttons and butt-ends of rifles"; "men injured by buckshot lying on the floor groaning in agony kicked and batoned by the sepoy." Needless to say the stories of these "bloody atrocities" telegraphed by the Congress newspapers' "own correspondents" at Khargpur are accepted as the gospel truth, and the Government *communiqué* is dismissed as containing "nothing which a man in his senses would believe."

The comments on these shameful inventions are as inflammatory as the reports themselves, one paper going the length of suggesting that the two detenues killed during the disturbance were "victims of a ruthless and vigorous policy of reprisals and of summary vengeance." Is there no limit to the licence the Government are prepared to allow the gutter Press of Bengal?

Unfortunately for the Olympian Press of Calcutta, the report of the judicial enquiry committee proves that it was the gutter Press of Bengal which was substantially right and the "shameful inventions" were by the Olympians.

The Royalists

No less unequivocal was the position taken up by some of the European political organizations in Calcutta. We have referred to an inflammatory handbill issued by the "Royalists" of Calcutta. That, however, was not the first exercise in silliness of that romantically inclined body. Before coming on the stage with that flaunting appeal (we do not recall whether we have mentioned that the handbill is printed on scarlet paper), it had already written two excited and, strangely enough, crass letters to the Calcutta *Statesman* on the Hijli incident. The correspondence columns of the *Statesman* serve the same useful purpose of a safety valve for super-heated European opinion in India as those of the *Times* do for the disgruntled ones in England. Naturally, one does not look for much sense there. Yet excited people are not usually uninteresting. That is, however, more than we can say for the Committees "B" and "C" of the Royalists, who wrote the letters to the *Statesman*.

Who are the Royalists our readers will perhaps ask that we should take so much notice of them? We are sure we know no more about them than do our interlocutors. But we have heard that there are among them some triple blues from Oxford who have not considered themselves too good for Clive Street. We cannot tell whether there is any truth in this report. But we should not be surprised if it were true. The Royalists have the authentic ring of King Charles's men, only recast in a commercial mould for a commercial age. And by their goings-on they seem determined to prove that in India, as well as in England, Oxford ought to be the last refuge of lost causes.

Our First Comments on Hijli

Before we have done with Hijli, we should like to observe incidentally that the findings of the Government Committee tally in many respects with the conclusions put forward by us in last month's Notes. In them, we pointed out the extreme improbability of the story of snatching away the bayonet and concluded that the happenings were inexplicable on the facts given by Government. We find that on both these points the official enquiry bears out our contentions. It also substantiates the

hypothesis we had tentatively put forward as a possible explanation of the events. We had said :

From the point of view of the Government, the detenus are not easy people to deal with, and the police are very unpopular everywhere. The wholesale white-washing of the police by the Government has not convinced people, because it is done as a matter of course. If the police are insulted and hated outside the camp, they must be much more hated and insulted inside it. Now, supposing the police have been listening every day to a stream of abuse and insult from the detenus, their tempers must have been roused. Now it is possible that the detenus made some remark to the sentry which aroused him and he therefore called out the guard, and then events occurred before anyone could gain control. Alternatively the police may have been waiting for an opportunity for getting even with the detenus and took the chance which seemed to offer itself. This would explain their eagerness to open fire. No reasonable person will dispute that this is a possible explanation, and if it is true, the Government would gain nothing by pretending that there has been no blunder. The more the Government does this and tries to explain away matters, the more will one remember the old proverb, "qui s'excuse, s'accuse."

The Commission's conclusions with regard to the general trend of events are on the same lines, though they are not expressed in the same words. We do not share the conclusions of the Commission in respect of the responsibility of the higher authorities in the camp and in spite of the official enquiry, we do not perhaps yet know the whole truth about the incident. But so far as it goes, we believe that the report gives a not improbable account of what really happened at Hijli.

Congress Working Committee on Hijli and Chittagang Atrocities

Better late than never. At its recent meeting the Congress Working Committee has passed a proper resolution on the Chittagang and Hijli atrocities.

When Sardar Patel said some time ago that nothing was done till then because the Congress authorities in Bengal had not given him information about those terrible events (though the Bombay and other dailies must have published news relating thereto), his words sounded like many replies of the Secretary of State for India in Parliament that "he had no official information."

Mr. Kishori Lal Ghosh's Application

Mr. Kishori Lal Ghosh, M. A., B. L., of the *Aurita Bazar Patrika* editorial staff, who is

one of the gentlemen undergoing trial at Meerut for 26 months has applied to the proper authority for permission to contribute to the Press as a journalist, as he requires at least Rs. 250 per mensem to maintain himself and family. Considering the length of the trial, this is an entirely reasonable request.

Big Boon to India—Dyarchy at the Centre

When some days ago Sir Samuel Hoare said that British troops would not take orders from Indian officers (They used to before the Mutiny.—Editor, *Modern Review*), and that it was the British authorities in Britain who would determine the number of the British troops to be reduced or kept in India, and other similar things, he only confirmed Indian anticipations. His speech at the Federal Structure Sub-committee's meeting on the 28th October supplies further confirmation of Indian anticipations of the futility of the so-called Round Table Conference. One has only to read the following cable dated London, October 28, to find that the British Government are going to give us the big boon of Dyarchy at the centre :

A request to Government to indicate its policy with regard to Central responsibility was made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at this morning's meeting of the Federal Structure Sub-committee.

He said that now that Britain had National Government he was entitled to expect that it would have a national and broad outlook on this question. Time had come for Government to give the lead. Indians had frankly disclosed their views. Whether they agreed or not among themselves, they should receive a satisfactory response from Government this week or next. Sir Tej remarked that he admired Mr. Gandhi for observing his weekly silence, but did not admire Government for keeping silence every day of the week.

Sir Samuel Hoare replying, remarked that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru seemed to think that Government were under a perpetual vow of silence and were following Mr. Gandhi's example so sympathetically that they were silent every day. Sir Samuel assured the Committee that Government had undertaken no such obligation and so the implied criticism was not altogether justified. Sir Samuel accepted that some time or other Government would have to state their views, but to ask them to do so in the course of next two or three days when the new Government was scarcely formed and when the Federal Structure Sub-committee itself had not even reached the question of Central responsibility was making rather an extreme demand. If Government tried to do so to-day they would be out of order and moreover the opportunity had not arisen.

Sir Samuel expressed the opinion that many matters could be best settled in the actual working of the constitution; and referring to the bigger

question of distinction between representatives of Crown subjects and other Ministers (which the Federal Structure Sub-committee had been discussing), expressed the view that it would be better in the transitional period frankly to recognize the existence of the distinction. He pointed out that the representatives of the Crown subjects would be under the directions of the Governor-General, whereas the Ministers would be advising him. That constituted a very definite distinction. He suggested that it would be better to keep facts in mind than gloss over them and make it appear that collective responsibility existed when such was not the fact.—"Reuter."

According to a Free Press Beam Service message, dated London, October 28,

Considerable importance is attached to the speech made by Sir Samuel Hoare at the Federal Structure Committee in reply to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's charge about the silence of the Government. The speech is regarded as indicative of:—

(1) That the Government would outline their attitude on the broad issues next week.

(2) That the Governor-General and official Ministers in charge of the Army, Foreign Affairs etc. will be wholly unamenable to the control of the Indian legislature.

(3) That as regards the vital issues as to whether the Cabinet is to resign on the adverse vote of a bare or substantial majority in the Legislature or whether it is responsible to the single house or to both houses of the Legislature, the Government is likely to favour the view that it should be left entirely to developments after the introduction of the Reforms and that the Government must be empowered to make rules according to the situation ensuring that the Constitution will be responsive to Indian opinion or arbitrary as the Government for the period decides.

The underlying object of such an arrangement is to enable the Government entirely to dominate the Constitution through Rule-making powers in case the Congress decides to boycott the reforms and to obstruct. On the other hand, if the Congress decides to enter the Legislatures, the Government would depend upon the Muslims, the Princes and the smaller minorities for the purpose of counterbalancing the voting strength of the Congress.

In the Note in this issue on Minority Rule and the British Empire, written on the 26th October, it was in effect anticipated that the British imperialists wanted to continue to rule India through the minorities and the Princes.

Relief of Distress Caused by Floods in Bengal

We invite the attention of the public to Prof. Rabatimohan Lahiri's article in this issue. He is actually engaged in administering relief to those who are in distress owing to the floods in Bengal. When, therefore, he says that the work of relief is to be continued till March next year, the public

should continue to give what they can. There are different relief organizations, and givers will naturally send their help to those which they consider most trustworthy and efficient. Mr. Lahiri and some other gentlemen are working on behalf of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha relief committee. Though it is an organization of Hindus, which almost all the other relief organizations also in Bengal practically are, relief is given at its centres to Hindu and Moslem alike. Those who may like to help the Hindu Sabha relief committee, of which the editor of this Review is the chairman, should send their contributions to its treasurer, whose address is given below:

Babu Sanat Kumar Roy Chaudhuri,
Treasurer, Hindu Sabha Relief Committee,
9, Williams Lane,
Sealdah, Calcutta.

Edison

Thomas Alva Edison, the famous American inventor, whose death was announced last month, was born on the 11th February, 1847 at Milan, Ohio, U. S. A. His father was of Dutch, and his mother of Scottish descent. The latter having been a teacher, gave him what schooling he received. At the age of twelve he began life as a newsboy. His subsequent eminence as a scientist and inventor was due entirely to his genius and industry. The number of his patents runs into thousands. He lived and died a worker.

Agitation against the Maharaja of Kashmir

Like the people of other Indian States generally, the people of Kashmir, professing different religions, have their grievances. The approved method of obtaining redress of these grievances is for the people of different faiths to make joint non-violent efforts in the cause of reform. As Kashmir has a Hindu ruler with Musalmans as the majority of his subjects, so Hyderabad has a Musalman ruler with Hindus as the majority of his subjects. Recently, the Musalmans and Hindus of Hyderabad combined to hold a conference to make known their grievances and desires. The people of Kashmir ought to have done the same thing and followed it up with persistent joint endeavours. Instead of this, there has been for months past, a violent agitation against the Maharaja of Kashmir, fomented and directed from outside that State, under the auspices of a Moslem organization

calling itself the Kashmir Reform Society, helped by Anglo-Indian newspapers. There have been sanguinary riots in that State in consequence. The Maharaja has been subjected to a campaign of lies. He has throughout acted with great forbearance and statesmanship, and has introduced many reforms, before, during and after the anti-Kashmir agitation. He could have been firm also, but for the unholy alliance between the communalist Moslems outside Kashmir and the Anglo-Indians. It is surmised that some Anglo-Indian officials are also interested in this agitation, as the Princes' Protection Act could and should have been set in motion, but has not. In fact, the Anglo-Indian papers wanted that some of their kindred should get fat jobs in Kashmir. That object has been partly gained. Even in the last century, it was discovered that Kashmir could be made a white man's land.

As soon as or even before one agitation against Kashmir dies down, another is set on foot. Some of the latest Moslem demands are extremely unreasonable and bear a family resemblance to some demands made by communalist Moslems in British India. For example, the establishment of schools specially for the benefit of Musalmans, giving of foreign-study scholarships specially to Musalmans,

"communal apportionment of High Court judgeships, and the demand that in state employment a Muslim matriculate should be preferred to a Hindu B.A. The interests of the British Indian Muslim agitators are sought to be safeguarded by the demand that if no Kashmir Muslim is available for a job, a Muslim from outside might be imported."

Destructive Floods in Champaran and Vizagapatam

Recently there have been devastating floods in Champaran (Bihar) and in the Vizagapatam district in Andhradesha. We extend our sincere sympathy to the sufferers.

U. P. Agrarian Situation

The latest developments in the U. P. agrarian situation can be understood from the telegrams printed below.

New Delhi, Oct. 29.

The following is the text of the resolution, adopted by the Congress Working Committee regarding the agrarian situation in Allahabad district:

"This Committee has considered the statements of the presidents of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee and Allahabad District

Congress Committee, asking for permission to offer satyagraha against the present agrarian policy of the United Provinces Government and in particular the oppressive collection of rent and revenue at a time when the agriculturists of the United Provinces have been subjected, to a great deal of hardship and oppression, particularly in the course of the past five months, and they have now to face a grave crisis. The Committee feels that it is the duty of the Congress to assist them in every possible way in removing the economic hardships they suffer from.

In the opinion of the Committee, however, the question of defensive action should first be considered by the Provincial Congress Committee. The Committee, therefore, refers the application to the United Provinces Congress Committee and in the event of the Provincial Congress Committee being of opinion that it is a fit case for defensive satyagraha on the part of the agriculturists in terms of the Simla agreement, dated the 27th August, the Committee authorizes the president of the Indian National Congress to consider the application and give such decision on it as he may consider necessary."—*"Associated Press."*

Associated Press of India

Lucknow, Oct. 30.

The Council of United Provincial Congress Committee will meet to-morrow and discuss the desirability or otherwise of starting a no-rent campaign in certain district, of U. P. This question will also be referred to the Provincial Congress Committee, which will meet on Sunday. Chances are remote that a definite decision will be arrived at either to-morrow or the day after.

As at present arranged Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will meet certain revenue officials at Allahabad on the 3rd November and it is not likely that the Provincial Congress Committee will commit itself to any definite line of action until the Allahabad meeting is over.

Constitution of an Orissa Province

We have all along supported the demand of our Oriya brethren that there should be a separate Orissa province. We are glad a non-partisan committee has been appointed to report on the subject. To help the committee some gentlemen have been nominated from the provinces from which Oriya-speaking parts have been suggested to be taken for the formation of the Orissa province. But no one has been chosen from Bengal, though the Oriyas have suggested that south Midnapur should form part of Orissa. This ignoring of Bengal is not surprising, but it is wrong all the same—and significant, too.

Unification of Bengali-speaking Areas

When new provinces are being proposed to be constituted on linguistic bases and provincial boundaries readjusted, it is but just that all Bengali-speaking areas should

be re-united with Bengal and that the southern part of Midnapur should not be cut off from Bengal against the wishes of its inhabitants. Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara in Assam, and Manbhum and other Bengali-speaking areas in Chota-Nagpur and Bihar should again form part of Bengal.

Consecration of a New Vihara at Sarnath

It is a matter for rejoicing that after eight centuries the sacred site where Buddha preached his first discourse, known as Isipatana, is going to have a new Buddhist Vihara. It became consecrated ground 2500 years ago. A ruthless invader devastated it 800 years ago. The chamber in which Buddha resided in this place was known as the "Gandhakuti" or "perfumed chamber." The new Vihara has been named *Mulagandhakuti Vihara* after it. The persevering labours and enthusiasm of the Venerable Sri Devamitta Dharmapala have been crowned with success mainly owing to the munificence of the late Mary Elizabeth Foster. Buddhists of most countries have contributed to the erection of the Vihara and the Government of India have rendered valuable assistance. It will be consecrated on the 11th of this month, and the celebrations will last for three days. Buddhists will congregate from many parts of the world. It is hoped that Sarnath will henceforth become and remain for countless years a centre of attraction for men and women of all races.

Mr. Broughton of the London Maha Bodhi Society has volunteered to defray the expenses of the frescoes which are to decorate the Vihara and has thereby deserved the thanks of the public. But we do not think it was necessary for him to stipulate or suggest (we do not know which) that the work should be done only by Japanese artists. We have nothing to say against them—particularly as we do not know which Japanese artists have been given the commission. Some Japanese and other artists have visited Santiniketan to be acquainted with the way fresco work is done by the artists there.

As the Vihara is in India, as it is an institution for the promotion of the cause of a religion born in India, and as competent Indian artists are available for fresco work, we should have been pleased if Mr. Broughton had tried to secure the services of Indian artists. Indian artists were requisitioned from far-off London to decorate

the walls of the new India Office. Their work has given general satisfaction and has earned the commendation of so high an authority as Principal Sir William Rothenstein of the College of Arts, South Kensington. There are other competent artists at Santiniketan. We are not thinking at all of who will get the money by doing the work. What hurts us is that people from abroad (and even Indians) visiting the Vihara will in future carry away the wrong impression that India had no artists, hence Japanese artists had to be imported.

Panjab Nationalist Muslim Conference

A commendable resolution was adopted at the Panjab Nationalist Muslim Conference declaring the determination of the Nationalist Muslims to achieve complete independence and accept no constitution which would not give control over army, finance and foreign relations and fiscal and economic policy of India. The conference also supported joint electorates. The other proposals supported by the Conference are substantially the same as those on which communalist Musalmans take their stand.

Dr. Annie Besant's Birthday

We congratulate Dr. Annie Besant on her completing the 84th year of her life last month. Hers has been a life of great and varied public activity for more than half a century. She has been distinguished throughout for her oratory, intellectual vigour, organizing capacity, idealism, personal magnetism, and courage and power to offer battle for the cause she loves. She has been a great educational and political worker in India and has done much to promote and make known and respected Indian ideals, according to her lights, in India and abroad.

Mr. Gandhi's Patient Sojourn in England

It has been asked, perhaps rather impatiently, why Mahatma Gandhi continues to stay in England when it is plain the R. T. C. cannot bring freedom to India.

Before he started, we anticipated the futility of the R. T. C. and yet supported his going to London on other grounds.

His stay in England has not been useless. It has given him a platform from which India and he can be heard all over the world. Moreover, the British people directly and

other Western peoples indirectly have now come to know that it is not ancient India alone which produced men but modern India also continues to do so—men who can stand up to any other specimens of humanity. Of course, this, though pre-eminently due to Mahatma Gandhi's visit, is also due to the presence in England of some other distinguished Indians.

Indian Military College Committee's Report

The Indian Military College Committee's Report has not had a good press, perhaps because of pre-occupation with the R. T. C. and, in Bengal, with the official measures and acts of repression. Probably also people are not interested in a scheme for "Indianizing" the Indian army, goodness knows in how many decades, generations or centuries.

Nevertheless the Report deserves to be read, if only to know how Indians were proposed to be duped. For that object the separate minutes of some of the members should receive particular attention, specially those of Dr. B. S. Moonje and of Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer and Major-General Rao Raja Ganpat Rao Raghunath Rajwade.

Dr. Moonje calls "the artificial distinction of martial and non-martial classes" a "myth," and quotes authority for this view. As Bengalis are officially considered the least fit for the army, he especially controverts that view. The whole paragraph in which he does it should be read (pp. 51-52). It concludes thus:

"In short, if honourable openings for the fervour of patriotism can be devised, Bengali intellect will not fail to make its mark particularly in the scientific departments of the Army, while taking their due share on the battlefields along with officers of other classes of Indians."

The futility and mockery of annually training only 60 Indians for officership in the Army will be obvious from some figures given by Dr. Moonje. He writes:

The figures supplied to us in this Committee are as follows:—

(a) 120 annual total wastage.

(b) 3,200 total number of officers with King's Commissions in the Indian Army.

As against the figure of 120 for annual wastage, I quote below the opinion of Colonel Brownrigg, Deputy Director of Staff Duties, War Office, London, who expressed the opinion as the representative of the War Office, London:—

"In conclusion Colonel Brownrigg confirmed the Sub-Committee's view that 180 was an approximately accurate estimate of the annual

wastage among officers serving with Indian units."

(Skeen Committee's Report, Volume No. 1, p. 41.) Now, against the figure of 3,200 which, we are told in this Committee, represents the total number of officers holding King's Commissions in the Indian Army, I have to mention three different figures—one of 3,141 as given in the Report of the Defence Sub-Committee, p. 83; the second of 3,600 given by the Skeen Committee and the third of 6,864 mentioned by the Shea Committee, as will be evident from the following quotation from the Report of the Shea Committee, p. 14, paragraph 4:—

"The Committee direct attention to the fact—Appendix I (C) of their main report—that the grand total of King's Commissions to be granted completely to Indianise the Army in 42 years (on reconsideration reduced to 30 years) would be 6,864."

Now, the question is—which is the correct figure 3,141, as given in the Report of the Defence Sub-Committee; 3,200 as given to us in this Committee; or 3,600, as given by the Skeen Committee; or 6,864, given by the Shea Committee?

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer and General Rajwade write in their Minute with reference to the Simon Commission's remarks on martial and non-martial classes:

The fact that the Simon Commission have endorsed this theory of the Military Authorities furnishes no proof of its correctness. Internal evidence shows that their remarks are an uncritical reproduction of some official memorandum. The soundness of this theory of martial and non-martial classes has been the subject of an elaborate and critical study by Mr. Nirmal C. Chaudhuri, who has contributed a series of very able and illuminating articles to the *Modern Review* (See the numbers for July and September 1930, January and February 1931.) It would be useful to give a summary of the facts gathered from an impartial study of the history of recruitment of the British Indian Army.

The New India Assurance Co., Ltd.

We have received a copy of the Balance Sheet of the above Company and note with pleasure its sound position and remarkable progress. It is the largest of all Indian Composite Insurance Companies and has on its Board of Directors men of world-wide business reputation like Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, Kt., C.I.E.; The Hon'ble Sir Pheroz Sethna, Kt., O.B.E.; S. N. Pochkhanwala, Esq.; Ambalal Sarabhai, Esq.; Sir Chunilal V. Mehta K. C. S. I., and others.

The Company at first did not do any life insurance work but engaged solely in fire, marine and other general insurance work. In 1929, however, the New India Assurance Company started its life department and established a record during the two years that have passed since that time.

Compared to any of the British Companies working in India, New India shows a position which is 100 per cent stronger.

During the year under review the Company shows a fall in expenses and losses and an all-round increase in Reserves. The Life Department has made a mark by completing Rs. 71,03,500 worth of business in its second year of existence. This is a record, as no Indian Company has so far been able to do this. The Life Fund increased from Rs. 31,497 in the first year to Rs. 1,28,050 in the second year.

Among the General Branches of the Company the Calcutta Branch has done exceedingly good work, being credited with $\frac{1}{3}$ of the entire business of the Life Department.

We hope the Company will make every effort to keep up its present rate of progress, so that, very soon it may vie for honour with the greatest Insurance Institutions of the world.

Case Against Separation of Burma

The Reverend Bhikkhu Ottama of Burma has broadcast a powerful and well-reasoned plea against the separation of Burma from India, in the shape of a pamphlet entitled the "Case against the Separation of Burma from India." He has shown that Burma's connection with India is hoary with age and that her culture, religion and traditions have been moulded by the Indian contact more than by any other single factor. We are convinced that his, with that of every comrade of his, is the true voice of Burma. And he tells the public that the mass of the people of Burma are against the separation. By being separated from India, Burma is sure to be a loser politically, economically and culturally. Let Burma and India be mistresses in their own households first, and then they would be in the best position to judge whether to separate or remain united.

The public should read Bhikkhu Ottama's pamphlet from the first line to the last. It is printed at Sri Gouranga Press, 71-1 Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.

No Surprise in Simla

The *Civil and Military Gazette* has told its readers that the break-down of the communal deliberations in London occasioned no surprise in Simla.

Why should it? People are not surprised when things happen exactly as pre-arranged.

Gandhiji's Prophecy Turns True in Advance!

At a reception by the Indian Students' Union, Gandhiji is reported to have said:

Manifestations of goodwill by the people in England had convinced him that the English people would never again tolerate repression in India.

How true Mahatma's anticipations are may be judged by the recent history of Bengal, both before and after he uttered these words on the 13th October last.

Punishment to Precede Trial

In the course of the press legislation debate in the Assembly Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, the officiating Law Member, was reported to have observed:

"The amendment proposed to judicialise initial proceedings, which must, as in a summons case, retard speedy actions. But once speedy action was ensured, the provisions of the Bill, taken together, actually converted the High Court for the purpose of scrutiny of proceedings into a trial court."

This in plain language means that punishment should precede trial. Or as the homely Hindi adage goes, "Agé lith pichhé bāt," "administer the kick first, the wordy part of the business may follow afterwards."

Einstein and others demand M. N. Roy's Release

The *Bombay Chronicle* of the 22nd October last published the following letter from a Berlin correspondent:

Berlin (mail week).

A large public mass meeting was called in Hamburg under the auspices of the Communist Party of Germany which voted unanimously in favour of a resolution against the arrest of M. N. Roy. The resolution took the form of a letter addressed to the British Consulate in Hamburg demanding Mr. Roy's release.

The resolution was introduced by a representative of the German Communist Opposition. The speaker of the evening, Mr. Jaddash, a Communist member of the Reichstag, endorsed the resolution which was adopted.

EINSTEIN'S PROTEST

Many famous persons of Germany, among them the world-famed scientist Einstein, have sent protests and appeals to the Round Table Conference for M. N. Roy's release.

Resolutions demanding the release of M. N. Roy are pouring in from all parts of Germany, Sweden, Alsace, Czechoslovakia, U. S. A. and other countries.



BESIDE THE WELL.
By Panchanan Karmakar

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE REVIEW

COMPLETES ITS TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR

BY the grace of God, *The Modern Review* completes the twenty-fifth year of its existence with the publication of its present (December, 1931) issue.

On this occasion I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude to all my literary and artistic contributors. If the journal has been able to render any service to the public during the last quarter of a century, it is due mainly to their friendly assistance. I also gratefully acknowledge the help received from its subscribers and other customers and its advertisers. Suggestions and words of appreciation and advice from many fellow-journalists and other persons, known and unknown, have given me much help and encouragement. Critics who have corrected me have been friends in deed no less. I should be failing in my duty if I did not also thank all my former and present assistants of all ranks in the editorial, business and printing departments. The magazine has owed much of its popularity to the presses which printed it during the greater part of its existence and to the photo-engravers who have been making blocks for it.

I may perhaps truthfully claim that I am more conscious than anybody else of its defects and shortcomings, which I regret, and of my own faults of omission and commission, which I regret no less. I am aware also of my failing health and strength. Nevertheless, I may be permitted to hope that, with the help of all those who have been friendly to the journal and whose continued friendliness I wish to bespeak, and with the assistance of my young juniors on the staff, I may be able not only to prevent any falling off in the standard of the magazine but also to make some improvements in it.

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Emperor Muhammad Shah and His Court

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C. I. E.

LIFE-STORY OF THE DELHI EMPIRE

THE first Muslim State of Delhi was born at the close of the Twelfth century, and from this centre it continued to expand with varying fortunes for two hundred years till at last it embraced the whole of Northern India and even overflowed into the Southern land beyond the Vindhya range. Thus all Hindustan came to be placed under one civilization, one official language, and during some short spasmodic periods under one sceptre also. Then, at the end of the Fourteenth century came the hopeless decadence of the royal house; the unifying and protecting Central Government disappeared; the Empire was broken up into jarring fragments whose mutual conflicts and the consequent set back to culture and material prosperity fill the next century and a quarter, till 1526, when the Turkish adventurer Babur laid the foundation of a mightier political structure in India. This new-born Mughal Empire, after a short and all but fatal contest with the Afghan house of Sur, became established beyond challenge under Babur's grandson Akbar soon after 1560. In the succeeding hundred and thirty years, its growth in territory, wealth, armed strength, art and industry was rapid, uninter-

rupted, and dazzling to the eyes of the Asiatic world and even of lands beyond the confines of Asia. The whole of Hindustan and much of the Deccan too bowed under one sceptre; administrative and cultural uniformity was given to all parts of this continent of a country; the roads were made safe for the trader and the traveller, the economic resources of the country were developed; and close intercourse was opened with the outer world. With peace, wealth, and enlightened Court patronage, came a new cultivation of the Indian mind and advance of Indian literature painting architecture and handicrafts which raised this land once again to the front rank of the civilized world. Even the formation of an Indian nation did not seem an impossible dream.

But in the second half of Aurangzib's reign we first see this national progress arrested, and then, after a quarter century of heroic struggle by that monarch, when at last he closed his aged eyes in death (1707) we find that decline had unmistakably set in; Indo-Mughal civilization, whose agent was the Empire of Delhi, was now a spent bullet; its life was gone, it had no power for good left in it. But dissolution did not take place

immediately after Aurangzib's death. His wonderful capacity, strength of character, and lifelong devotion to duty had generated a force which held together the frame of the Delhi Government seemingly unchanged for thirty years after him. Whatever might happen in the frontier provinces, the Central Government still stood intact. But with a succession of weaklings and imbeciles on the throne, the downfall of the Empire was bound to come at last. The dry rot in the heart of the Mughal State manifested itself publicly when Baji Rao's cavalry insulted the imperial capital in 1737 and his example invited Nadir Shah's invasion and the utter collapse of the Government of Delhi in 1739.

INDIA AFTER NADIR SHAH'S INVASION

By the end of April 1739 the horrors of Nadir's conquest came to a natural close in Delhi. Laden with the plundered treasure of the richest empire in Asia, the Persian conqueror left the Mughal capital on his homeward march on 5th May. Eight days later the Emperor Muhammad Shah held his first public audience after his restoration and coins were once more stamped in his name, replacing those issued for Nadir Shah in the interval. The Court chroniclers record that on this occasion the nobles offered their presents and the Emperor on his side conferred robes of honour and rewards on them. Thus the usual ceremonies of the imperial darbar were gone through as if no political disaster of the first magnitude had taken place in the meantime. But nobody present could forget that things were not as before the Persian invader's coming. The Emperor and his wazir were there as before, but the second officer of the realm—the Head of the Army Khan-i-Dauran, had perished as well as Sadat Khan Burhan-ul-mulk, the most powerful of the provincial governors, and the Emperor's personal favourite Muzaffar Khan, besides a host of officers of lower rank but high connections. Ten to twelve thousands of the regular soldiery had fallen on the field of Karnal and 20,000 people had been put to the sword within the city of Delhi itself. Sack and massacre had devastated lesser towns like Thaneshwar, Panipat, Sonapat etc. The imperial treasury and the nobles' mansions had been

drained dry to supply the indemnity exacted by the victor,—fifteen *crores* of rupees in cash besides jewellery rich clothing and furniture worth 50 *crores* more. The imperial regalia had been robbed of its two most famous and costly ornaments, the Koh-i-nur diamond and the Peacock Throne. The imperial family and the proudest peers had been forced to descend to a still lower depth of humiliation. The Khurasani leather-coat weaver's son had married his son to a princess of the family of the Padishah, and he had dragged to his bed all the virgin wives and maiden daughters of Muzaffar Khan, lately killed in battle.

[*Ashub*, ii.]

In the months immediately following Nadir Shah's invasion Heaven seemed to have taken pity on the sorely afflicted people of Northern India. In the next season there was adequate and timely rainfall, the earth yielded a profuse harvest, and all foodstuffs became cheap and plentiful, "as if to make amends for the people's recent sufferings." (*Ashub*, ii. 416.) But Nature is not half so much the cause of a nation's misery as Man. To outer seeming, "some dignity and splendour returned to the Delhi Court after Nadir had left India, and the Emperor and the nobles turned to the management of State affairs and gave up all sorts of uncanonical practices." (*Ibid.*) But the moral canker in the Mughal Empire was too deeply seated to be killed by such outward show of piety and obedience to lifeless convention. A Nemesis worked itself out inexorably on the destiny of the Empire from the character of the Emperor and his leading ministers.

CHARACTER OF MUHAMMAD SHAH

Muhammad Shah had come to the throne (1719) at the age of 17. For seven years before that event he had been kept under confinement in the palace harem and had received no education such as might fit a man to rule a kingdom or lead an army. He possessed natural intelligence and a good deal of foresight; but the fate of his predecessors, who had been set up and pulled down by their wazirs, effectually crushed any desire that he might have once had to rule for himself and to keep his nobles under control. He, therefore, totally withdrew himself from public

business, leaving it to his ministers and plunged into a life of pleasure and amusement, hardly ever going out of Delhi during his 28 years of reign, except to visit parks in the neighbourhood (usually at Loni) and occasionally to see the annual fair at Garh Mukteshwar (a hundred miles east of Delhi). His only two military movements were to follow in his wazir's train in the short and futile campaigns against Nadir Shah and Ali Muhammad Ruhela.

At his accession he was a fresh youth, extremely handsome, large of limb, and strong. But his sedentary life of inactivity and sexual excess soon impaired his constitution and he became a confirmed invalid by the time he was only forty. The evil was aggravated by his taking to opium, and this drug habit made him weak and emaciated, till at last it became impossible to move him from his palace.

His sole diversion outside the harem was witnessing animal fights on the sandy bank of the Jamuna below the window of morning salute in the Delhi palace, occasionally varied by the cares of a bird-fancier. We can understand his wish to enjoy from a safe distance the excitement of the heroic and dangerous game of elephant-combats, which his forefathers had reserved as an imperial prerogative. But when we read how Muhammad Shah spent his morning hours not in doing public justice or holding State councils, but in viewing a wrestling match between two bears, or a fight by "three pairs of bears, a goat, a ram, and a wild boar, which were wrapped in tiger skins and trained to attack an elephant" (as he is recorded to have done on 25th April 1743), we wonder whether such spectacles would be considered a worthy diversion by any one outside a nursery unless he were a vulgar country clown, and whether the lord of a hundred and fifty million souls at the ripe age of 41 had no more serious use for his time and no higher tastes.

As the fires of youthful passions burnt themselves out in Muhammad Shah, a deep melancholy settled on him, and towards the end of his life he loved to frequent the society of *fajirs* and to hold long converse with them, discussing spiritual questions like an initiate. Three such hermits became his spiritual

guides, and the Court nobles and the common people followed his example.*

Thus, throughout his long reign the administration was utterly neglected by its supreme head, the nobles divided the land and political power among themselves or fought for these things, as if no master existed over them. Muhammad Shah would assent to every good advice of his wazir or any other minister, but could never summon up enough courage to take the necessary step; like other weak men he found supreme wisdom in putting off action from day to day, till a crisis precipitated itself and things took their own turn. Such a man is destined to go through life as a puppet moved by his favourites, who were shrewd men with the most charming manners and strength of character, and this was Muhammad Shah's ignoble fate too.

But though he was a mere cypher in respect of his public duties, he had some redeeming traits in his private character. Naturally timid and wavering, he was also free from insolent pride, caprice and love of wanton cruelty. Nor did he lack consideration for others and courage of a certain kind, as was illustrated when, instead of fleeing to Bengal as advised by his friends, he voluntarily went forth into Nadir's captivity in order to save his people and capital from the horrors of violent assault and forcible subjugation to incensed victors. "He never gave his consent to shedding blood or doing harm to God's creatures. In his reign the people passed their lives in ease, and the empire outwardly retained its dignity and prestige. The foundations of the Delhi monarchy were really rotten, but Muhammad Shah by his cleverness kept them standing. He may be called the last of the rulers of Babur's line, as after him the kingship had nothing but the name left to it." [*Siyar*, iii. 25.]

* "His Majesty gave Shah Mubarak the title of Burhan-ul-tariqat, Shah Badda that of Burhan-ul-baqiat, and Shah Ramuz Fasih-ul-bayan, and used often to frequent their company. All the ministers and rich lords followed suit. Other people also imitated, so much so that the lazar craftsmen in the villages of every province put on imitation [imitates] turbans on their heads and *aqadir* tunics on their backs, till at last even the women took up the fashion." (*Shakir*, 33.)

Such was the head of the State in India towards the middle of the Eighteenth century. We shall now examine the character of his highest instruments.

CHARACTER OF WAZIR QAMR-UD-DIN KHAN

Ever since the death of Aurangzib, the Padishah had been a non-entity,—Bahadur Shah I by reason of his age and softness of nature, and his successors because they were mere puppets set up and moved by their prime ministers. Therefore, the destiny of India's millions lay in the hands of the wazirs, and the wazir's character and strength of position alone determined the nature of the administration in an empire of continental vastness.

The first wazir of Muhammad Shah after the overthrow of the Sayyid brothers was Muhammad Amin Khan (surnamed Itimad-ud-daulah I), the son of the Nizam's grandfather's brother. He was installed in office in November 1720, but died only two months later (16th January 1721), men said as a divine chastisement for his having helped to shed the blood of the Prophet's kith and kin (the Sayyids of Barha). Nizam-ul-mulk succeeded him, but being thwarted by the false and fickle Emperor and his unscrupulous confidants, he at last resigned in disgust, in 1724. The next wazir was Qamr-ud-din (entitled Itimad-ud-daula II), the son of Muhammad Amin Khan. He was a great drunkard, but, happily for the people, an extremely indolent man. For the quarter century (1724-1748) that he held the supreme office in the realm, the administration merely drifted along, under this harmless kind old man, who always foresaw the trend of affairs and the effect of every measure, but never had the courage to tell the honest truth to his master or dissuade him from any wrong course on which his heart was set. In fact, he considered it supreme wisdom to keep his post and do as little work as possible.

And yet the condition of the empire, even before Nadir Shah gave it the death stab, was such that only a wise, strong and active wazir, exercising dictatorial power, could have saved it. On the contrary, king and minister alike were now more dead than alive. As the historian Warid, whose youth had been nurtured in the dignified

and strenuous reign of Aurangzib, wrote in the bitterness of his heart about the times of Muhammad Shah, "For some years past it has been the practice of the imperial Court that whenever the officers of the Deccan or Gujrat and Malwa reported any Maratha incursion to the Emperor, His Majesty, in order to soothe his heart afflicted by such sad news, either visited the gardens—to look at the newly planted and leafless trees,—or rode out to hunt in the plains, while the grand wazir Itimad-ud-daula Qamr-ud-din Khan went to assuage his feelings by gazing at the lotuses in some pools situated four leagues from Delhi, where he would spend a month or more in tents, enjoying pleasure or hunting fish in the rivers and deer in the plains. At such times Emperor and wazir alike lived in total forgetfulness of the business of the administration, the collection of the revenue, and the needs of the army. No chief, no man, thinks of guarding the realm and protecting the people, while these disturbances daily grow greater." [*Mirat-i-Waridat*, 117-118.]

FACTIONS AT COURT

With a foolish, idle and fickle master on the throne, the nobles began to give free play to the worst forms of selfishness. They found it necessary to form parties of their own for their support and advancement, and even for their very existence. The controlling and unifying centre of the government having ceased to function, disintegration became inevitable in the Court itself. The instinct of self-preservation drove the nobles to group themselves in factions according to race, to divide the administration among themselves, and to gird themselves around with a body of clients from among the vassal princes and the provincial governors. The Court was divided into two armed camps of Turanis and Iranis, each with its hand ever on the hilt of its dagger, and this civil dissension spread throughout the realm.

Itimad-ud-daula II, as became an emigrant from Samargand, was the patron of the Turanis, while his rivals and enemies perforce joined the opposite party, composed of the Persians, whose leadership after the

death of Sadat Khan (March 1739), was taken by Abul Mansur Khan, Safdar Jang, the Subahdar of Oudh. And the history of the later Mughals, from 1736 onwards is only the history of the duel between these parties. After 1765, when Oudh became a dependency of the English and the Nizam entirely dissociated himself from Northern India, the imperial Court continued to be the same scene of struggle, though the competitors for power now were mostly Afghans or individual adventurers of other races, rather than parties knit together by tribal connection.

CAUSE OF EMPIRE'S RUIN

Where the king has no inborn capacity to rule a realm, government by a responsible prime minister is the only alternative, unless administration is to disappear from the country and the State to break up. But no *fainéant* Mughal Emperor would give his wazir the same chance of working that George II. gave to Walpole or Pitt with the happiest results for both king and people. Muhammad Shah, like Farrukh-siyar, was too imbecile and inconstant to inaugurate any statesmanlike policy, conduct operations in the field, or control his officers; but he had cunning enough to countenance and even initiate conspiracies among his personal favourites against the publicly responsible wazir and secretly to lend the prestige of his name to the rebellions of the wazir's rivals. Therefore, an honest and capable wazir, under such a sovereign, would soon discover that if he insisted on administrative vigour and purity or tried to force honesty and consistency of policy on the Emperor, he would be only courting his own death, and that if he wished to escape the fate of the Sayyid brothers he must give up all noble ambitions and statesmanly projects, he must swim with the current, leaving the realm to drift. He would probably console himself with the belief that if the State escaped a catastrophe in his own time, he had done enough for one man.

In the Court of Delhi as it stood after Nadir Shah's departure, Qamr-ud-din Khan Itimad-ud-daula was the Wazir or Chancellor as before. The office next in importance, namely, that of the Army Chief (*Mir Bakshi*) with the title of Amir-ul-umara, had been

recently bestowed upon Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-mulk, a cousin of the Wazir.

Both of them continued at these posts during the remainder of the reign. The head of the imperial household, called the *Khan-i-saman* (Lord High Steward) was Latfullah Khan; but he died at this time and was succeeded (on 21st May) by Danishmand Khan, who lived for only twenty days more and then gave place to Saduddin Khan (12th June). This last-named noble also held the office of *Mir Atish* or Chief of Artillery which gave him control over the imperial palace within the fort and consequently charge of the Emperor's person and treasures. But his influence was less on the administration of the Government than on the Emperor's mind by reason of the constant personal association with the Emperor which his office ensured. The same was the position of the *Diwan of Crownlands*.

MUHAMMAD SHAH GOVERNED BY FAVOURITES

But with a timid and unwise sovereign like Muhammad Shah and an ease-loving negligent Wazir like Qamr-ud-din, it was not the high ministers of State that counted so much in shaping the policy of the empire and the fate of the people as the household officers about the Emperor's person and his favourite companions, whose influence was constantly exerted and supreme over his mind.

Throughout life Muhammad Shah had never thought out any problem or made a decision for himself. He had always been led by his favourites. In early youth he had emerged from the bondage of the Sayyid brothers only to fall completely under the tutelage of a vulgar woman named Koki-ji and her associates, Raushan-ud-daulah (of Panipat) and Shah Abdul Ghaffur.

These three fell from favour and were sent into disgrace in 1732. Thereafter, for seven years the Emperor's feeble mind was dominated over by Samsam-ud-daulah Khan-i-Dauran and Samsam's brother Muzaffar Khan without a rival. When Samsam and Muzaffar died (1739), they were succeeded as the Emperor's guiding angel by Amir Khan and three other men brought to the Emperor's notice by Amir Khan, namely, Muhammad Ishaq, Asad Yar, and (four years later) Safdar

Jang. The life and character of these men therefore deserve study with some fulness.

AMIR KHAN : HIS CHARACTER

In the highest place among the Emperor's confidants and personal favourites stood Amir Khan II, Umdat-ul-mulk, a son of that Amir Khan I Mir-i-miran who had been Aurangzib's famous governor of Kabul during twenty-two years. He belonged to a very high family which was honoured in Persia as well as raised to supreme eminence in India. His father's mother was a daughter of the Empress Mumtaz Mahal's sister and his paternal uncle was Ruhullah Khan I the ablest Bakhshi of Aurangzib's times, while his own sister was married to Ruhullah Khan II, another Bakhshi of that reign. In spite of such notable connections and incentives to emulation, Amir Khan II never showed any capacity for civil government or war nor rose to any higher post than the Third Paymastership. But he was a darling in private life. His remarkable and varied personal accomplishments and cleverness drew scholars and artists to him, while his power of extempore versification, apt reply, eloquent and lucid exposition of every subject, and above all his command of *bon mots* and unfailing skill in jesting made his conversation irresistibly fascinating and gave him boundless influence over the frivolous Muhammad Shah's mind. Some foundation was given to his reputation for wisdom by his versatile general knowledge of many things and his capacity for quickly mastering the details of any kind of work. But his real capacity was insignificant. In the end pride led to his tragic downfall. His complete sway over the Emperor's mind turned his head and he came to despise and insult the highest nobles of the realm, as is well illustrated by his reply to the wazir and the Nizam, "So long as the shadow of my master's grace is over my head, I am prepared to confront Gabriel and Michael, not to speak of peers like you." [*Shakir*, 86.]

MUHAMMAD ISHAQ KHAN I

Muhammad Ishaq Khan I, surnamed Mutaman-ud-daulah, was still dearer than Amir Khan to the Emperor. His father, who had emigrated from Shustar in Persia to seek

his fortune in India, did not rise very high. Ishaq himself was for long a petty subaltern in the imperial artillery on a cash salary of Rs. 200 a month. He was an accomplished speaker and ready versifier in Persian, which was his mother tongue, and his elegance of taste, perfect manners and innate discretion made him easily take the foremost place in society far above his official rank. He attached himself as a private companion (*musahib*) to Amir Khan II, both being Persian by race and Shias by faith, and soon won his heart. Amir Khan could not help praising this jewel of a companion to the Emperor, who asked to see him. Muhammad Ishaq was presented; the Emperor was charmed with his accomplished manners and smooth tongue and immediately enlisted him among his personal attendants (*Khawas*). Ishaq was day and night present with Muhammad Shah during the terrible period of Nadir's invasion. While the Emperor was staying in the Persian conqueror's tents at Karnal, Ishaq's speech and judgment, in a man occupying such a low position, so favourably impressed Nadir that he asked Muhammad Shah "When you had Muhammad Ishaq, what need was there for you to appoint Qamr-ud-din as Wazir?"

When the Padishah stole back to Delhi from his camp at Karnal in deep humiliation, Ishaq accompanied him on the same elephant and tried to keep up his spirits. By this time he had completely cast his spell over the Emperor's heart and his rise was startlingly rapid. On 3rd June 1739, from superintendent of the royal gardens at Delhi he was promoted inspector of the Crown Prince's contingent, and soon afterwards reached the summit of his greatness as Diwan of the Crownlands with the rank of a 6-*hasari* and the title of Mutaman-ud-daulah, besides a plurality of minor lucrative posts, and finally (on the 8th November) received the highest insignia of honour called the *mahi* and *muratib*. But his meteoric career ended as rapidly in his death within a few months (18th April 1740).

Ishaq was a devoted and sincere well-wisher of the Emperor and honestly gave him very sound advice regardless of his own interests. [*Siyar*, ii. 100]. He enjoyed the

Emperor's greatest confidence and favour and never abused his power. His eldest son, Mirza Muhammad, who succeeded to his title as Ishaq Khan II, (Najm-ud-daulah) in 1740 and seven years later (13th Aug. 1747) to his post of Diwan-i-Khalsa, gained the Emperor's trust and personal affection in an even greater degree than his father and "becoming the Emperor's life as it were," so much so that Muhammad Shah used to say, "If Muhammad Ishaq Khan had not left Mirza Muhammad behind him, I do not know how I could have survived him." Other sons of the first Ishaq Khan rose to high rank in the Emperor's service and his daughter (later known as Bahu Begam) was married, by the Emperor's express command, to Safdar Jang's son and heir Shuja-ud-daulah and became the mother of Nawab Asaf-ud-daulah of Oudh.

SAFDAR JANG

Mirza Mugim, entitled Abul Mansur Khan and Safdar Jang, was the nephew and son-in-law of the late Sadat Khan Burhan-ul-mulk and succeeded to his subahdari of Oudh immediately after his death (1739). He was now at the maturity of his powers, being about thirty-five years of age, and maintained the best equipped and most martial contingent of troops in the Empire next to the Nizam's. The most valuable core of his army consisted of six to seven thousand Qizilbashs (i.e., Turks settled in Persia) who had once belonged to Nadir Shah's army, but elected to stay on in India. Safdar Jang was extremely lavish of money on his army and would pay any price, without the least thought, in order to secure famous captains or good soldiers. Iranian Turks (popularly called 'Mughals' in India) were the best fighting material then available in Asia; these were his special favourites and he paid them Rs. 50 a month per trooper against Rs. 35 only which India-born horsemen drew. When he reviewed his forces, if his eyes were struck by a soldier's look of smartness or efficiency, he would on the spot raise his pay, by Rs. 10 for a trooper and Rs. 2 for a foot-soldier. In addition to giving high pay, he took care to supply his men with complete equipment and good arms and to keep them in comfort.

ASAD YAR KHAN

Another *protege* of Amir Khan raised to the Emperor's favour was Asad Yar Khan, a native of Agra. On 3rd June 1739, he was first presented to the Emperor and immediately created a *5-hazari* and *Darogha of harkarahs*, i.e., Postmaster-General and Head of the Intelligence Department.

Though his knowledge of the arts and sciences was elementary, he had a very agreeable well-balanced nature and could compose *impromptu* verses in Persian, which were pleasant to hear though not marked by scholarship. Benevolent and discreet, he never shut his doors on the crowds of suitors who daily thronged before the mansions of the great, but had a kind word for everybody. Well-born men, however poor and low of rank, were treated by him like friends and brothers. Thus all men liked him. Though Amir Khan in the end turned hostile to him out of envy and got his troops (*shamshir-dagh*) disbanded by influencing the Emperor, Asad Yar continued grateful for the Khan's early favours, and sold his own jewels and household goods to discharge the dues of Amir Khan's unpaid and mutinous troops and thus saved his former patron from insult and outrage. [*Chahar Gulzar*, 383.]

The fame of his liberality and personal care for his troops spread abroad and large numbers of recruits flocked to his standards for enlistment. According to one writer, "his Mughal troops numbered 20,000, but among these were many Hindustanis, who dressed themselves as 'Mughals,' spoke the Persian tongue, and drew the [higher] pay. This was especially the case with men from the district of Jadibal in Kashmir, who were all Shias," like Safdar Jang himself. In short he came to be looked upon as the sword arm of the Shia party in India. His character will be described in the course of the history of the next reign when he dominated the stage for five years. [*Imad-us-Sadat*, 31.]

Such being the real state of things at Court in the last nine years of Muhammad Shah's reign, we can more easily understand the shape that events took during that period.

Russia and the Five-Year Plan

By C. A.

I

UNTIL quite recent times it was customary to speak of Africa as "the dark continent," since, except for small strips of land near the coast, the greater part of it remained unknown. Today the phrase could better be applied to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, usually grouped together under the name of Russia, and in this case the difficulty of discovering what is happening is due not so much to geographical difficulties as to the deliberate misrepresentation of information. On the borders of the U.S.S.R. there exists a colony of journalists, White Russians and others, who earn their living by informing the outside world, as frequently as possible, of the imminent downfall of the Soviet, due to the inhuman brutalities of the government. Beside this deliberate anti-Russian propaganda which is to be found in most capitalistic countries, there is also the difficulty that investigators who penetrate into Russia, usually look at Russian problems, economic and political, without having any clear idea of the background of Russian history under the Czarist government, and also, having been trained under a capitalist economic system, they judge what they see by comparing it with a totally different, and therefore irrelevant system. This may be made clearer by taking a concrete example. Recently Stalin, the General Secretary of the Party, made a speech (July, 1931), which was hailed by the capitalist press of the world as marking the break-down of the Five-Year Plan and the return to capitalism, since he spoke about the "establishment" of piece rate wages. Now, if one has studied anything of the Russian statistics, one finds that piece rate wages were frequently paid long before this announcement was made and at most this announcement merely extended the scope of the existing practice. The important part

of the speech, which most papers hardly noticed, was the section dealing with the position of the expert and technician since up to the present the U.S.S.R. has not felt it safe to trust the non-party experts of the Czarist regime, whose help would however greatly facilitate the progress of the famous Five-Year Plan.

The great object of the U.S.S.R. is the establishment and maintenance of a class-less society, which is to be based on collective ownership of the means of production, and the success or failure of the Five-Year Plan will not in any way affect the realization of this purpose, it may hasten or retard matters, but that is all. The capitalist countries of the world have only just awakened to the fact that the U.S.S.R. is a fact, and for them, possibly an unpleasant fact. The Russian Revolution has definitely passed from the first stage of violent upheaval, which was unavoidable since power was suddenly transferred from a propertied minority to the proletarian masses, and has now entered on the second stage of social advancement. The capitalist countries have been amazingly slow in realizing that the communistic economy is rapidly and successfully being spread in Russia, and many people today still seem to think of the U.S.S.R. as a country governed by a gang of unscrupulous criminals who are in daily peril of assassination at the hands of the enraged masses whom they are exploiting. Nevertheless, the world today is slowly awakening to the fact that the barely possible is being achieved; but when one considers the amazing progress in hydro-electric developments or the building of new factories, one should remember that these are of only superficial interest; the tractor and combine have a symbolic value of the progress that has been made and reflect the enthusiasm of a newly awakened people as contrasted with the somewhat hopelessly helpless feeling that pervades so many other countries at present.

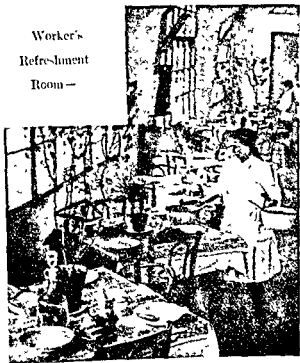
dependent on the weather which cannot be controlled. The difficulties are to a large extent overcome by the establishment of the big state farms, and by the introduction of collective farming. There has been the deliberate extermination of the *kulak* or rich peasant class, not because of their wealth, but because in official soviet theory a *kulak* is exploiting others by means of hired labour, and obviously every individual peasant might aspire to become a *kulak* if favoured with a lucky harvest, and this would be an obstacle to any scheme for collectivization. The

staff of agronomists and mechanics. The result was that the cost of cultivation decreased from twenty to fourteen rubles per hectare, and the income increased from fifty-two to eighty-three rubles per hectare.

All this may be interesting, and suggestive, especially to the unemployed in a capitalist country, but the usual side that one reads about in the Press, is the wickedness of the U. S. S. R. in dumping cheap articles in other countries, whose cheapness is the result of "sweated" labour. Now, in the first place, the object of the U. S. S. R. is to have fixed stable prices for the different commodities, and therefore it may allow larger profits in some industries, than in others, and in some cases it may even arrange that the article shall be sold at less than the cost price. When, for example, it is necessary to buy a certain amount of raw material outside Russia, take for instance the case of cotton, of which seventy-five per cent at present is produced in Turkestan, and the rest bought from foreign countries, the price (control price) paid to the growers in Turkestan was not based on external prices, but calculated on the basis of what the standard of life in that part demanded. For buying the remaining cotton the *Obshchestvennaya* is allowed to utilize a certain amount of foreign exchange to buy the foreign cotton at the world price, and then this is sold at the control price to the factories.

The system of price control makes the management of production a technical problem only, and thus those responsible for production are not worried by the problems of negotiating contracts on a competitive price basis. The management is concerned only with the reduction of the cost of production through the efficient utilization of the resources at their disposal. Thus the whole idea of profits is altered, and in place of the huge gains and losses which one is accustomed to in capitalist countries, there may be regulated, planned profits, or again there may be super-profit or loss. If profits occur they are not necessarily assumed to belong to that particular industry, a part, varying from ten to twenty per cent is deducted for the "cultural benefit" of the workers in that particular industry: ten per cent is withdrawn by the state as a

Worker's
Refreshment
Room—



—where meals are served to workmen

solution of the Russians for encouraging large scale farming is the introduction of machinery on the farm. Thus though the village may be in one particular place, the workers are housed in caravans which follow behind the tractors and combines. In 1928 at Shevchenko twenty-six villages entered into an agreement with the M. T. S. (machine tractor station) that they on their side would unite all their fields removing the dividing fences and boundaries, and in return they were to have at their disposal the necessary tractors and an accompanying

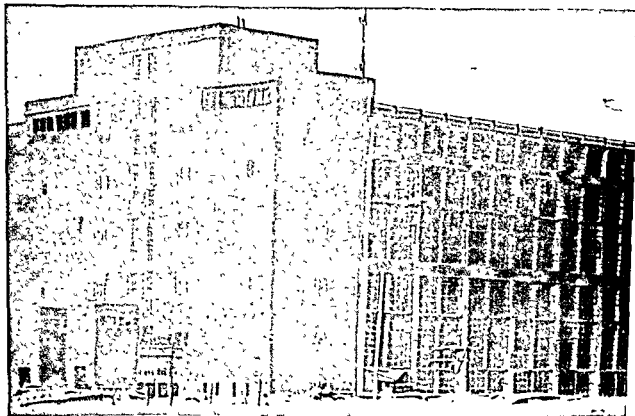
CONDITION OF WORKERS IN RUSSIA



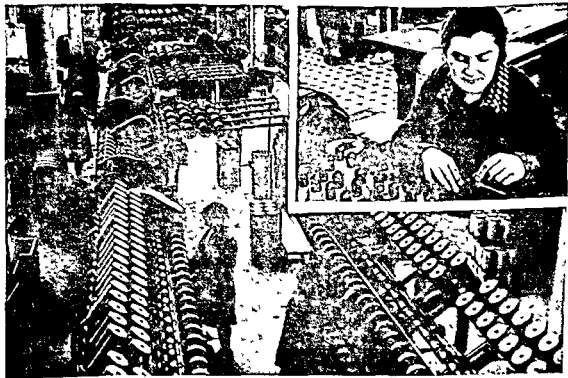
Children at Their Meals



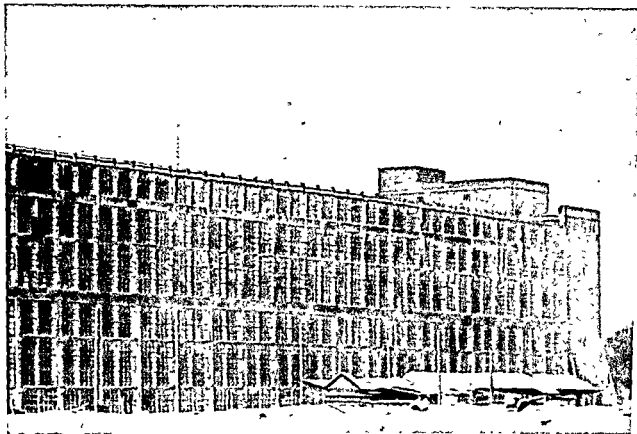
A "Culture Club" in Moscow



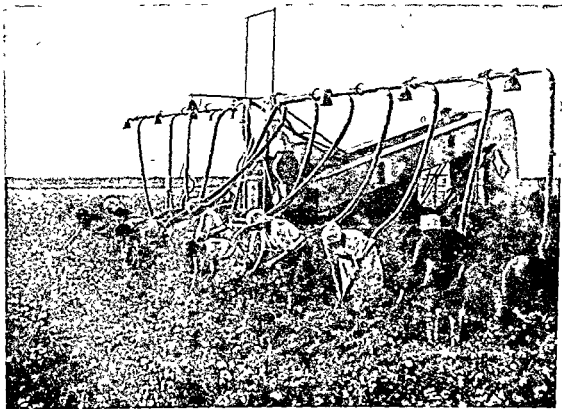
One Of The



Interior of a Textile Factory. Inset—A Woman Worker



Big Cotton Mills



Cotton Growing and Gathering in Central Asia



Floating Timber Down a River in Rafts



Felling Trees in Winter



Interior of a Workmen's Club

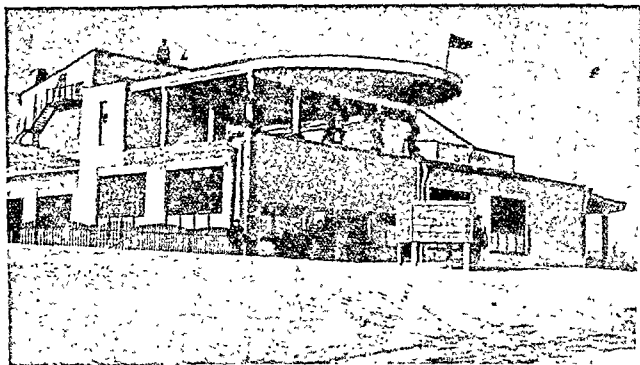
tax on profits; twenty per cent goes to increase the working and fixed capital of the industry and the balance goes to the general budget, and is used as is thought to be best.

Another thing that one must remember is that profits in the U. S. S. R. are a poorly

disguised form of progressive income tax. Workers are paid on a piece rate but the man who receives the equivalent of Rs. 500 a month does not have ten times the purchasing power of a man who gets Rs. 50. In the first place rent is about ten per cent of the income, and so Rs. 50 here equals Rs. 5, and the remaining Rs. 45 will purchase the minimum amount of necessities which are necessary to do something more than sustain life. The man who receives Rs. 500 has then Rs. 400 left, but now he finds that he has to buy non-essentials at inflated prices — inflated not because of competitive buying, but because of price fixing. Thus there may be no shortage of perfumes or silks, but whereas the ordinary ratio of rice to silk is 1 to 10 per unit, in Russia the ratio may be 1 to 25. Thus the man with Rs. 50 is practically untaxed, while the man with Rs. 500 is indirectly taxed down to about Rs. 200.

V

To sum up then, the Russians at present seem to be demonstrating two things, first, that machines can be used by man to improve his standard of life instead of degrading him



Another Workmen's Club

as seems to be the case in most other countries, and secondly, that there is less wastage and consequently a higher standard among all the people.* Whether the Russian plan is possible or desirable for other countries is obviously a matter of personal opinion, but whatever else the Soviet government may or may not have done, they have given people in Russian new enthusiasm and energy. There is all the difference in the world between Dostoevsky, the writer of Czarist Russia, and Boris Pilnyak, the writer of Soviet Russia. There may be certain aspects of Bolhevism that repel one, but both Bolhevism and Fascism have this in common, that they have revolted from the idea that the State exists for the service of the individuals composing it. Instead the doctrine that the citizen owes a debt to the State is strictly and continuously enforced. The aristocracies of the past have fallen because they admired themselves for being alive! There is no reason to suppose that a democracy possessing the

aristocratic failing of self-admiration will be more tolerable than the old aristocracies. It will most probably come to a similar unpleasant end. Unless the different countries of the modern world can instil into the minds of the citizen the idea that the citizen has a duty to the State, and that he must gladly do all he can to repay the State for the benefits conferred on him, the so-called democratic civilization of the West is bound to perish. The great merit of Fascism and Bolhevism is that they have made the individual community-centred in his outlook, and therefore both systems are likely to flourish.*

* I have deliberately avoided statistics and technicalities so that the idea and the method of the Five-Year Plan may be understood by those who have not studied political economy, nor read much about Russia. The following books gave fuller details and are not too technical:

Books recommended for general study:

1. New Russia's Primer—M. Ilin (by a Russian writer as a popular book for Russians, very clear.)
2. The Five-Year Plan—M. Farbmann, (simple and clear.)
3. Soviet Russia—Chamberlain (good but more details wanted.)
4. The Challenge of Russia—Sherwood Eddy (interesting and suggestive.)

Modern Fiction giving an idea of the social conditions

1. Three Pairs of Silk Stockings—Romanof.
2. The Volga Falls to the Caspian—Boris Pilnyak.

* Compare the Russian attempt to produce more with the following typical case of capitalism trying to destroy more. On Sept. 1, 1920, a train load of water-melons left Washington, (U. S. A.) and as soon as a convenient place was reached all the fruit was thrown into the river Potomac. This, and many similar cases, are given by Stuart Chase in his book *The Tragedy of Waste*, p. 191.



Conflicting Interests in Manchuria

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A. Ph. D.

THOUGH it is reported that the present trouble in Manchuria was occasioned solely by the violent provocative attack launched by the Chinese on the Japanese railway zone, yet one wonders if it is quite so easy to localize the trouble in view of the fact that the Manchurian situation involves the interests of more than one nation. The present trouble certainly throws into bold relief the tangled economic and political relations of Russia, China and Japan, and the Herculean task of bringing order in that region out of the present chaos and clashing interests. During the last half a century millions of Chinese colonists have settled down on its plains of rich virgin soil, making it really Chinese in population. Being the richest undeveloped region in Eastern Asia, it has stimulated also the ambitions of Russia and Japan. Though its resources in coal and iron have been successfully exploited for years by the Japanese, yet the potentialities of Manchuria have been lightly tapped. Her natural resources, her strategic location and tremendous man-power have been the unflinching source of attraction to foreign powers. International rivalry caused by the temptation of her untold riches has made Manchuria the danger spot of the Far East. The Russians, for instance, have long coveted it; in fact, it was for the control of Manchuria that the Russo-Japanese war was fought. As a result of that war, Japan obtained important railroad and other concessions in Southern Manchuria. Russia and Japan divided Manchuria by a secret treaty into two spheres of influence. But since the time of the outbreak of the world war and of the collapse of Russia, Japan has been slowly pushing her interest into the northern (Russian) sphere. She succeeded even in building railroad- to drain the Russian area and cripple the Russian-built Eastern Railway.

JAPAN'S AMBITIONS

Japan's special interest in Manchuria prompted her, when Chang Tsaolin retreated

from Peking before the advancing Nationalists, to wara both factions that no fighting would be permitted within the borders of Manchuria. And it was made clear that Japan would, if necessary, make use of her own troops to prevent the Chinese from fighting. This action of Japan brought out two points of vital interest. By preventing the Nationalists from pursuing the Mukdenites into Manchuria, Japan, in effect, detached that region from the rest of China. To the Nationalist leaders the proposition meant risking a war with Japan with the almost inevitable linking up of world opinion on the side of China, or of seeking a peaceful solution of the difficulty. This hands-off policy of Japan in Manchuria meant, in other words, that Japan declared to China, and also to the world, that she considered Manchuria as, in effect, a Japanese protectorate. Outwardly it is but natural that Japan should deny that she has any intention to abridge Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria. They only declare that because Manchuria has a vital bearing upon the self-preservation of Japan as a barrier against Russia, and as a reservoir of raw materials for Japan, the cardinal principle of the Japanese policy is only to develop the natural resources of the region and to protect the lives and property of both natives and aliens.

In this good-will of Japan, the Chinese have never placed an iota of faith; they hold that the special interest of Japan is in bringing about disunion in China, and in preventing the union of Manchuria with the rest of China. Such suspicion cannot but ever be a source of danger. Though Manchuria is the richest, but not yet fully developed, part of China, yet much of its prosperity is due to Japanese and Russian capital. It is best administered and most free from the threat of civil war. The Japanese technique, skill and efficiency have made the railroad system in Manchuria one of the finest in the world. Japan has also done much to further the economic development of the country and has

spent over Rs. 3,000,000,000 in China and Manchuria. Though she sent thousands of managers, engineers and other technical men in the hope of making Manchuria a home for the surplus population of Japan, yet only 200,000 Japanese have settled down there during the quarter of a century of Japanese control.

THE SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

The Chinese attitude towards Japan, however, is one of non-co-operation, and this interferes with Japan's programme of development. The real fear of the Chinese is that Japan means to annex Manchuria slowly just as she did Korea. Even under normal conditions Japan maintains an army of about 7,500 soldiers along her railway zone. And the growing determination of China to end foreign domination in every section of her territory, whether it be in the form of treaty port concession areas, leased harbours or railway zones in which foreign troops can be kept under old treaty terms,—has been causing Japan a great deal of anxiety during the last few years. With the rising tide of nationalism, she expected new China to infringe upon Japanese ownership of the South Manchurian Railway, or upon Japan's long leasehold on the tip of Liaotung Peninsula, an area of 1,300 square miles which includes the cities of Dairen and Port Arthur. For the present trouble the Japanese accuse the Chinese of having attempted to destroy the South Manchurian Railway, while the Chinese maintain that Japan provoked trouble in order to find a pretext for the occupation of Manchuria.

The Chinese would naturally like to see the railway and the leased territory handed back to her, but Japan would consider no "handing back" until or unless she is forced to do so. Japan won her position in Manchuria through two costly wars. After the first of these which was with China, she was forced by a concert of European Powers into giving back what she had won, only to have Russia move and grab the coveted prize within less than two years. In 1900 Russia acting under the pretext of necessities caused by the Boxer uprising,

filled Manchuria with troops, and after signing the Boxer protocol did not move them out, though she obligated herself to do so. The continued presence of Russian troops in Manchuria and Russian aggressions in Korea brought on the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, and Japan naturally maintains that had she not spilled blood and treasure in those two years all of Manchuria would today be as much a part of Russia as is Siberia.

The treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the Russo-Japanese war, and which was later confirmed by China in a separate treaty with Japan, made the Japanese Empire Russia's successor in the lease of the Dairen-Port-Arthur area, and gave Japan the Russian-built transportation line running northward from Dairen to Changchun, a distance of about 438 miles, together with a south-easterly branch running from Mukden to Antung on the Yalu river, which marks the boundary between Korea and Manchuria. The whole system, to which Japan has added less than 50 miles in the last 24 years, is 694 miles in length. But in this railway Japan inherited a run. The Russians had built the line on Russian five-foot gauge and then, as their armies retreated, they took the opportunity to wreck the tracks and bridges. After the war, Japan rebuilt the line on standard American gauge, and has now more or less completed the costly double-tracking of the whole system. The Government of Japan and some private Japanese investors have 440,000,000 yen invested in this enterprise, the balance sheets for which topped 994,000,000 yen in 1928. At Dairen the Japanese have converted a poor little Russian town and a silted harbour into a magnificent city of 250,000 people with one of the best harbours in the Far East. Having achieved there what she has, Japan is determined not to relinquish her special position in Manchuria and in inner Mongolia. In spite of the present negotiations, Japan declares that her stand is unalterable, even should it become a question of Japan against the rest of the world. Besides her claim to her position based on what she had done for Manchuria, Japan covers it because much of her food for her over-populated islands, and raw materials for her growing factories come from there.

MANCHURIA'S NATURAL RESOURCES

What is it that is so attractive about Manchuria that China, Russia and Japan are struggling to have a hold upon it? First of all it must be mentioned that Manchuria is a territory of 385,000 square miles in extent. It contains vast areas of untilled land equal in fertility to the best of the farm lands anywhere in the world. For its size it is sparsely populated, having about 24,000,000 inhabitants. Comparatively stated, it may be noted that Manchuria with its 24,000,000 people is six times as large as Chihli and Shantung provinces in China combined. While these provinces are greater in man-power, having together a population of 55,000,000, Manchuria is far richer in its natural resources. Besides her vast areas of virgin soil, Manchuria has mountain stands of timber, splendid waterways and navigable rivers. It is also rich in coal, iron, oil shale and mineral deposits.

Manchuria's importance in the trade of the Far East may be gauged from the fact that her exports were more than a third of the exports from all of China and her imports more than a fourth of the total imports of all China in the year 1928. The South Manchurian Railway hauls about 9,000,000 tons of freight from interior points to Dairen in a year, and Dairen's export tonnage has gone up to more than 1,125,000. These astounding figures are in a large measure due to the rapidity with which Chinese immigrants, suffering from disorder and extortion in China proper, have flocked to Manchuria and settled down to cultivation.

The South Manchurian Railway, which is owned by Japan, is considered by Japanese civilians to be a magnificent civilizing agency; its philanthropies every year are enormous. Though there are only 102,000 Japanese in all of Manchuria, outside of the Dairen-Port-Arthur zone, yet in 1928 the South Manchurian Railway appropriated 2,400,000 yen for schools, 997,000 yen for colleges and universities, 284,000 yen for public libraries, 1,771,000 for hospitals and 389,000 yen for a central laboratory which investigates uses to which Manchurian products may be put. These schools, hospitals and libraries are open to Japanese and Chinese alike. In addition

to these, the Railway maintains livestock and experimental farms for the benefit of Manchurian peasants. But the Chinese declare that the Railway is an exploiting agency and that it drains Manchuria's wealth to Japan. Against this picture of development of new lands, influx of hardworking immigrants, growing tonnage and imports and exports must be set the continual uncertainty of the internal Manchurian situation, and the fact that business in general in Manchuria staggers under the tremendous handicap of various inflated and frightfully depreciated currencies.

Along the South Manchurian Railway the Japanese yen is in general use but Mukden has its own fengpiao, Kirin province has its own paper money and the city of Harbin has its own dollar notes which are unacceptable outside of the city except at a heavy discount. Japan's plan is to stabilize the whole of the Manchurian situation by attracting to Manchuria large amounts of American and other foreign capital, under Japanese guarantees if necessary, thereby swelling the foreign population of Manchuria. China too wants American capital but she resents the idea of its coming under Japanese guarantee or guidance.

JAPANESE AND RUSSIAN INTERESTS

However much China may protest against Japan's domination, the Japanese seem unwilling to consider the Chinese point of view on Manchuria. Japan's real fear is the Soviet threat embodied in what is called the Soviet Protectorate over Outer Mongolia. The Chinese determination to end foreign domination is worrying Russia also. The Soviet Government fears, and not without reason, that new China may attempt any day to seize the whole of 1,090 miles of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and if this ever happens, Russia will have either to yield or fight. The Chinese Eastern, which lies wholly within Manchuria, was built by Russia in order to reduce by 568 miles the distance between Moscow and Vladivostok, when measured against the northern or all-Russian route north of the Amur River. The railway was completed in 1901, under an agreement signed in 1896, which provided that the title

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American business concerns in Dairen, eighty-nine in Mukden and one hundred and sixty-six in Harbin. The managers of large American firms in Manchuria all say frankly that they would not have a dollar invested there except for the security which is afforded by Japan's interest in Manchuria, and her determination not to allow disorders into her zones of interest. Several scores of American firms use Japanese firms in Dairen as their importing and distributing agents, thus saving large overhead expenses. Though America has always been sympathetic to China's national aspirations, her determination in regard to the present situation is to act, as far as it is in keeping with her sense of international justice, with the League. Secretary Stimson of the United States State Department is making an intensive study of the Manchurian problem and is investigating if Japan is carrying out her pledges to withdraw her troops in Manchuria to the railroad zones defined in the Portsmouth treaty, and as to the measures taken by China for protecting Japanese nationals in Manchuria in the event of evacuation. In bringing about a settlement America may stress with the League the Kellogg anti-war treaty and the nine Power treaty of the Washington Conference, which guarantees the administrative and territorial integrity of China. America will, of course, maintain complete independence of action, though the general feeling is that she should co-operate fully with the League. In fact, the measures taken thus far by the League have the approval of the United States.

MANCHURIA, THE DANGER SPOT

From the standpoint of international relations, Manchuria is the most dangerous spot in the world today. The burning question of China in the present conflict with Japan is: Is Manchuria, which is a part of China, to be Chinese or Japanese? Japan maintains that Manchuria is necessary for her self-preservation, and China declares that Manchuria being a part of China, foreign domination in that part must be ended. She

sees no relation between political aggression and economic interest. While China wants Manchuria to be under her control, she welcomes foreign investments in Manchuria. She resents, and that rightly, Japan's political aggression which she considers to be an infringement on her sovereignty. Since the Shantung incident China has been using economic boycott as a weapon against Japan to awaken her to respect China's sovereign rights. But then the trouble in Manchuria is not merely between China and Japan. Students of world politics consider that Manchuria will be the scene of another war between Russia and Japan. Whether the present situation will lead to that or not no one can tell at this stage. But the ever-growing determination of China to end all foreign domination will certainly bring Russia into conflict with China as it has Japan.

Russia, anxious as she is concerning the possibility of holding what she has, would certainly welcome any factor which would serve to check Chinese aggression,—any factor that is not, of course, allied to Japanese interests or tolerant of Japan's supposed ambitions. Whatever may be Manchuria's political future, it is considered probable that the population will become overwhelmingly Chinese. Without indulging in undue optimism it may be said that the new China faces a better future than she did a few years ago, since she has attained at least a responsible degree of unity among her different sections. With respect to the outside world she finds that though her relation with Japan has been strained, America has extended a friendly hand. The abrogation of unequal treaties is the centre of America's foreign policy in regard to China, and the action of the United States in granting a new tariff treaty made the first breach in the iron wall of unequal treaties. Whatever may come out of the present trouble in Manchuria, it seems reasonable to believe that the growing nationalism of China on the one side and the ambitions of Russia and Japan on the other could make Manchuria the danger spot of the Far East for some years yet to come.

The Lesson of Ireland

A REVIEW*

By CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD, B.A. (Oxon)

I should like to begin by thanking General Crozier for his book, *A Word to Gandhi*, though I wish the price was less, since there are many people in India who could read the book with profit, but will be prevented from doing so by the price.

The author's arguments may be summed up roughly as follows: in Ireland the British politicians made a mess of things by refusing to face the fact that there was no alternative between martial law, and conceding the demands of the Sinn Féin Party; martial law may be unpleasant, but at all events, it is better than the reprisals policy which the Black and Tans were allowed to pursue; the atrocities perpetrated by these men in Ireland took place in a small country, separated by only a few miles of sea from England, and in a vast country like India, situated at such a great distance from England, the atrocities would be greater if a similar policy were followed; finally, martial law is an impossibility in India, and therefore the only alternative is a policy of mutual agreement while there is yet time. Thus the choice in India is between a situation infinitely worse than the Irish, or practical concession of Gandhi's terms.

General Crozier is above all things a realist. He is a distinguished soldier and himself took part in the "blood-lust game" in Ireland. But he could not stay on there. As he himself says, "when the British Government ordered me, in my 'patriotic' position of 'loyal' police officer, to condone crimes of violence committed by its patriotic, loyal, armed and uniformed servants, against defenceless and 'loyal' women in Ireland, on account of 'loyalty' to England... I refused... I threw my letters of appointment into a dustbin." Yet he had seen enough of the happenings in Ireland before he left to become convinced of the utter futility of such a policy. With experience of force of every kind, both glorious and ignoble, General Crozier may be expected to know what it means, and he puts the case against coercion impressively: "Having seen a great deal of force in use, having applied that force for over thirty years, having experienced the utter failure of force, I must needs look for other weapons with which to achieve the object—the welfare of mankind."

This is the conviction which runs right through and lends force to his comparison between India and Ireland. *The Times Literary Supplement* critic, however, in discussing this book, writes:

This comparison lacks force and meaning. In Ireland a secessionist Government wrested partial independence from our war-weary and financially embarrassed nation. In India there has been no general demand for independence, no breakdown of the ruling power, no establishment of a rival Government which could demand surrender or even negotiate a treaty. In fact General Crozier's information about India is neither full nor accurate. Mr Gandhi wields a good deal of undefined and fluctuating influence over large numbers of Hindu Indians, but he is no Washington. There have been assassinations, mob-riots, and a poor attempt at a foreign invasion, but the British power in India has never been seriously challenged. As for "Budmash auxiliaries in the Punjab" no auxiliaries, good or bad, have been employed there or elsewhere. General Crozier's programme is to appoint an Indian Viceroy and Indian Governors, and to "negotiate by agreement" about the British Army, the Indian Army, finance, the European services, the police, and the British connexion. The first and most obvious comment is that it takes two to make an agreement.

Of the fatuous ineptitude of this criticism it is hardly necessary to say much: this critic evidently knows as much about India as is usual among the *Times* staff. For example, on October 15, *The Times* informed its readers that in the trial following the murder of Khan Bahadur Ashanullah of Chittagong, the jury had returned a verdict acquitting seven of the accused and committing two, Hariprasad and Bhattacharji, for trial before the Calcutta High Court! If *The Times*, which has an international reputation for accuracy, can solemnly print such news about Indian affairs, one need not wonder at their literary staff being equally uninformed!

General Crozier's book is really an indictment of two things: first, the false sense of "patriotism" and "loyalty" current at the present day, which is responsible for so much unnecessary suffering, and, secondly, the politicians who prefer falsehoods and self-deception to Truth.

"Patriotism" (cum "Loyalty") has become a world religion in which flags, statues, war trophies, unknown warriors, war memorials, shrines, tombs, cenotaphs, anniversaries of victories and "great days," graves, war gratuities, promotion, profiteering, and the two minutes' silence are worshipped and bowed down to as were the

* A WORD TO GANDHI: The Lesson of Ireland by Brig.-Gen. F. P. Crozier, C. B., C. M. G., D. S. O., London (Williams & Norgate Ltd.), 1931. Price 4s. 6d.

golden images by idolators of old.....India can be free, England can be free.all can be free to do as they *should* and not as they *would*, provided this world religion called "Patriotism" is destroyed and in its place is set up "loyalty" to the religion of humanity. (Pp. 14-15).

Carrying his analysis of the notion of patriotism and loyalty further he writes :

When a citizen crosses swords with the might and worldly machine (made up of men and materialism) called Government because of its "disloyalty"—in peace and war, but more particularly in war—two things inevitably happen. The citizen is dubbed traitor and "disloyal"—at any rate for the time being, because of refusal to comply with the formula, "my country, right or wrong"; and the "Government," by virtue of its strength, lies itself, for the time being, into immoral security behind the smoke screen of "Patriotism" and "loyalty." But the deluge always comes, as no man need shed his honour to cover criminals" and it is not possible to fool all the people for all the time....

Successive British Governments had owing to their "disloyalty" exasperated Irishmen to rebellion and dubbed them "disloyal" and "unpatriotic." Where was the "Patriotism" and "loyalty"? Whose was the soil of Ireland? *Whose is the soil of Ireland now?* Whose is the soil of India today? ... it is not possible for an Indian or an Irishman to be "patriotic" to England, though both may be loyal to the world of which the British Commonwealth is part!

So too with Mahatma Gandhi. Why is this meek, unassuming little Hindu lied about in the English Press and called a half-naked Fakir who desires to turn the Christian missionaries out of India? For the same reason that the same Press lied about the Irish in 1920-21 and accused them of murdering each other for their good! What humbug! Press "loyalty" ... Press "patriotism"! "Loyalty" to what? The Press? "Patriotic" to what—God knows! Does Lord Rothermere know?

General Crozier's book consists of twenty-two chapters containing a series of parallels between India and Ireland. The author points out the similarity between the cases of the two countries, both of which have profited by English development, both of which are geographically important to the strategic welfare of England, and in both of which there has been a denial of the opportunity for self-expression in a constitutional manner. It is impossible to go into all the details of General Crozier's argument in the course of a short article. While hoping this review will lead readers to the book itself, the utmost that I can attempt to do here is to give some idea of the central theme of the book—the futility of a policy of murders and reprisals.

In Ireland there was resort to the pistol, and in India there has been non-co-operation and non-violence and also revolutionary violence though on a very limited scale. In Ireland Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins matched themselves against the greatest machine the world has ever known, the British Government,

"and succeeded because although they stooped to undiluted murder, they admitted the offence as the only possible way out, while the British Government employing the same means as its adversary, not only denied its use, but endeavoured to saddle Sinn Fein with the atrocities committed by its agents.....Ireland denied none of the murders committed by her men, but she still objects strongly to being saddled with the murders of such well-known Irishmen as McCurtain (Lord Mayor of Cork), O'Callaghan (Mayor of Limerick), the ex-mayor of Limerick and Father Griffin, or minor mortals such as Bowen (the Welsh Secret Service agent of the British Government), Captain Prendergast, the Drumcondra victims, the Castle guardroom victims and others far too numerous to mention." (Pp. 20-21)

After the murder of Colonel Smyth, who had tried to incite the R. I. C. to murder indiscriminately, and had had his own plan put into practice against himself, the British Government organized a body popularly known as the Black and Tans, who should be recruited in England, and then sent across to Ireland to practice Colonel Smyth's suggestions. The horrible deeds which followed—all of which are given with undeniable detail by General Crozier—are far too well known to need description. For example, it was decided to disguise some policemen as Sinn Feiners, and to send them to raid the Kilkenny post office. This was done, but the authorities forgot that the supposed "Sinn Feiners" would talk with a cockney accent, instead of the Irish brogue! To continue giving a list of the atrocities would be pointless. Those who are interested in them can read the book for themselves. It is interesting to note what General Crozier says, and to compare it with what has been written in another book, *The Victory of Sinn Fein* by P. S. O'Hegarty, himself a Sinn Feiner, concerning the futility of the bomb and pi-tol policy :

After 1916 there should not have been a shot fired in Ireland, nor a gun bought. They were totally unnecessary. We had the Sinn Fein policy, the men who made it, the enthusiasm and support of the people. Without firing a shot we could have forced from England anything that we forced from her by the gun policy and more. We would, at the same time, have maintained our solidarity, escaped Partition and avoided the irreparable moral disaster which has overtaken us. But for the lack of a firm hand on the evil side of the movement there was no effort to control the gun, and it brought us to disaster. ... They [the gunmen] were frankly Frankenstein. We ourselves in our blindness and folly were responsible for that Frankenstein. We taught our young people to rely on the gun and to disregard everything else. ... Since 1916 we have been damned by successive layers of irresponsible gunmen without ideas, and political leaders without moral courage. ... The end was disaster. It was a disaster of our own making. Pride, and ignorance, and selfishness, and shallowness and gun worship—these made it. The visitation which we have gone through was the result of our own breaches of the Moral Law. ... We

must get away—we are getting away—from all that worship of physical force, application of force, contempt for life, for decency, for charity, and tolerance which have made our country a moral and physical slaughter house (Pp. 166, 169, 170, 173).

There is unfortunately in India at present, and especially in Bengal, a tendency to imitate the policy so strongly, and I believe rightly, condemned by Mr. O'Hegarty. That the young men of Bengal may at times feel driven to desperation by the action of some police officer may explain, but does not excuse the terrorist campaign, which is doing India's cause more harm than good. The Government at present seems bent on trying a repressive policy, but it is doubtful whether the repressive policy will do more than drive the terrorist movement underground, where it will be far worse than at present. Commenting on the murder of British officials, General Crozier writes:

Revolutionary extremists do not murder indiscriminately or without a cause—that was proved in Ireland. Indiscriminate murder is in all revolutionary circles considered futile. . . . During revolution once the ball starts rolling both sides set to work to a set plan which includes murder. . . . It is not without significance that both in Ireland in 1920-21 and in India British soldiers were seldom murdered in cold blood. The reason? They do their work above board. . . . When a senior police official is murdered in cold blood in India, there is *always* a definite reason. . . . Revolutionaries cannot afford to behave foolishly. Governments do so behave—the reason for revolutionary activity being government by fools. . . . There are thousands of honourable men alive to-day, possessed of experience, a knowledge of human nature, a flair for leadership and a clear conception of duty, who could and would shoulder the world's burden in the most humble places and consent to serve faithfully under Indians in India for a mere pittance. What member of the "old gang" would do that. . . . The moment the question of salary creeps into service truth and integrity suffer. India is full of officials who put salary before service. The Indians suffer accordingly. . . . When the right men get into power in India, and the right thoughts are diffused from the seat of supreme authority in India, there will be good will, and murdering of police officers and others in India will cease. (Pp. 88, 89, 92).

In other words the repressive policy will be more likely to make matters worse, rather than better. A weed is not destroyed by cutting off the top, but by destroying the roots, and if revolutionary activity has its roots in misgovernment, it can only be cured by good government. If India is to be saved from the fate of Ireland, two things are necessary: first, the Government must by a genuine change of heart convince people of its goodness and be prepared to face the truth and not to try to cover up outrages committed by its agents; secondly, the Indian leaders must have the courage to denounce the acts of the terrorists. I remember the words of a certain former revolutionary, who in the

course of conversation remarked, "Though we condemn these acts publicly, in our hearts we are not really sorry." There must be greater sincerity on both sides.

General Crozier believes that the way out of the Indian tangle lies through greater co-operation between Indians and Englishmen. I have quoted above the passage in which he says that there are thousands of honourable Englishmen with experience and capacity for leadership who would gladly and loyally serve with and under Indians to promote India's good for a mere pittance. In another place he says:

We—Indians and English alike—can have our triumph or our disaster in India. Let us hope, for the welfare of India, the Empire and the World, we shall choose wisely . . . and better than was the case in Ireland, where the delay was too long . . . Anything but an English-cum-Indian triumph in India will shake the world's foundations. (Pp. 140-141).

On pages 131 to 136 of his book General Crozier outlines the concrete programme of reforms he would ask Mahatma Gandhi to urge on the British Government. It is as follows:

(1) Appoint an Indian Viceroy.

(Of course, if, owing to circumstances, Indians could not choose a Viceroy of their own colour, it would be open to them at any time to choose and appoint a Viceroy from within the British Commonwealth of Nations, as the essential factor governing the choice of Viceroys of the future must be that the choice is unrestricted and has nothing whatsoever to do with the British Government. In this modern manner of International Co-operation (within the British Empire) lies our only hope. The unrestricted choice of a Viceroy would open the whole Imperial field to Irish, Dutchmen from South Africa, Australians, Canadians, New Zealanders, West Indians, Englishmen, Irishmen and Anglo-Indians, all being equal, should have an equal interest and a common ideal. Who knows but that some missionary or pioneer who has devoted his or her whole life to India for practically nothing save love (the best of all), may not one day rule at Simla? One often hears that "one thing that Indians admire is a *pukka sahib*"; yet the present mode of Viceregal choice gives no security for the appointment of any save a politician! The burden of choice shifted to Indian shoulders would, at least, set them free from some of the dangers which dominate England to-day and make her less happy than she should be. It is sometimes said that the Moslem problem in India is "India's Ulster." It is indeed, and just as difficult, but let the Round Table Conference not make the fatal mistake of the Irish Convention and bow down to a noisy, though important, minority. So, too, let not the Moslems enter the Conference with their minds made up in advance as did the Ulstermen in Dublin. Such conduct, in the Imperial sense, gets nowhere.)

(2) Appoint Indian Governors and Lieutenant-Governors.

(3) Uproot all extravagance, reduce budget charges on salaries to a minimum and abolish all

pop. (When Ireland gained her Freedom in 1922 the last English Viceroy, clad in gold lace, gave place to the First Governor-General of the Irish Free State—an Irishman, the late Tim Healy, K. C., fortified with sombre top hat and frock coat—a humble man. Today a retired Indian Civil Servant represents the King-Emperor in equal simplicity at the Viceregal Lodge, Dublin. Yet nothing has been lost, while much has been gained. The pompous and prosperous Lord Curzon, reigning in super-kingly style at Simla, might have been necessary to the needs of England long ago, but Indians to-day require simpler stuff. The appointment of an Australian by the Australians to be Governor-General of Australia has brought an initial saving of £5,000 a year to Australia.)

(4) Negotiate by agreement the position, pay and future of the British Army in India, taking into account the position of the British Army in Egypt.

(5) Ditto the Indian Army, having in view the position of the Egyptian and Iraq Armies.

(6) Arrange the control of finance and the safeguarding of credit with Great Britain.

(7) Make arrangements for the termination of appointments of as many Europeans as possible on a sliding scale, giving the option of immediate retirement to all, on the lines agreed by the British and Irish Free State Governments in the Irish Treaty of 1921; and safeguarding the future by arranging for European aid when required.

(8) Reorganize the Indian Police.

(9) Acquire safeguards from England.

"If this programme is accomplished satisfactorily," General Crozier says, "‘Black-and-Tannery’ in Ireland will not have been in vain." But can it be? He hopes great things from Mahatma Gandhi. Who is this Gandhi? he asks, and answers:

A naked fanatic? Is he a fanatic or a revolutionary? Is Mr. Cosgrave, the President of the Irish Free State, a rebel? He was at one time—entirely owing to English stupidity! But Mr. Gandhi is not even that! He is a patriot, practi-

sing and preaching the policy of non-violence. Mr. Gandhi and I stood on the same battlefield at Colenso in Natal over thirty years ago, wearing the uniform of the Queen Empress. He was then a bearer in an Indian Field Ambulance. We were both on the field of battle voluntarily, of our own free will and accord, fighting for England.

Mr. Gandhi has since done as much as any other man to weld the Empire together in South Africa—where there are thousands of Indians. Anti-Indian legislation in South Africa always reacts against Imperial relationship and makes a settlement of the Indian question more difficult. Mr. Gandhi, who helped to carry the stricken son of the late Lord Roberts from the Colenso battlefield to Chieveley, where the boy died just after receiving the Victoria Cross, and who ever after remained the firm friend of the Field-Marshal, is now accused of "disloyalty" by men who never fought in a battle or who deliberately avoided the firing line!

But the solution of the Indian question, as suggested by General Crozier, will depend as much upon Englishmen as upon Mahatma Gandhi or Indians. There are some Englishmen whose activities and pronouncements have certainly made the hopes of an English-Indian co-operation seem like a dream. But I would not be true to my English traditions if I did not still cherish that hope. I write this and all that has been said above as an Englishman, and as an Englishman I would conclude with the words of Mr. Nevinson:

The daily life of every lover and every child is haunted by fears that spring from overwhelming affection and a passionate desire for the loved one's highest good. And so for our country true Patriotism may fear lest she should sacrifice her noble traditions for avaricious gain, degrade her high reputation for courage by outbursts of cowardly ferocity, and bedim her splendid vision by stooping to the muckrake of comfortable satisfaction. (*The English*, p. 76.)



The Early History of the Bengali Theatre—III

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

I

THE BELGACHIA THEATRE

WE now come to one of the most brilliant and successful of the early theatres in Bengal—the Belgachia Theatre. It owed its birth to the enthusiasm and munificence of Raja Pratap Chunder Singh and Raja Issur Chunder Singh of Paikpara, who took an active part in the organization of the theatre and the staging of its plays. They were assisted in this venture by a large number of our English-educated young men. The sensation which this theatre created at the time may be guessed from the following account of its establishment and first performance given in the reminiscences of Gour Das Bysack about his friend Michael M. S. Datta. After referring to the earlier ventures, Gour Das Bysack goes on to say :

But it was not till our *Barra* and *Chota Raps* of Paikpara, as Pratap Chunder and Issur Chunder Singhs were lovingly called and known, ... appeared in the field, that the native theatre took deep root, and a native orchestra was organized. In the construction of this orchestra Khetter Mohun Gossain, a genius in music, and Babu Jadu Nath Paul had the principal hand.

The Gossain for the first time put into notation some of the native tunes and *ragas* and thus created a native Band known as the Belgachia Amateur Band, headed by Babu Jadu Nath Paul...

To say that the Belgachia Theatre scored a brilliant success, is to repeat a truism that has passed into a proverb. It achieved a success unparalleled in the annals of Amateur Theatricals in this country. The graceful stage, the superb sceneries, the stirring orchestra, the gorgeous dresses, the costly appurtenances, the splendid get up of the whole concern, were worthy of the brother Rajas, and the genius of their intimate friend Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore, an accomplished connoisseur. The performance of a single play, *Ratanjali*, which alone cost the Rajas ten thousand rupees, realized the idea, and established the character of the real Hindu Drama with the improvements, suited to the taste of an advanced age.

The Dramatic Corps was drawn from the flower of our educated youth. Among the actors, Babu Keshub Chunder Ganguli stood pre-eminent. Endowed by nature with histrionic talents of no mean order, he represented the *Yudhaka* (Jester) with such life-like reality, and so rich a fund of

humour, as to be styled the Garrick of our Bengali stage. Raja Issur Chunder Singh, who looked a prince every inch, encased in mail coat armour, with a jewelled sword hanging by his side, acted his part, with wonderful effect, befitting the character of a generalissimo... The manner in which the other actors, one and all, acquitted themselves, met with the warmest applause from the audience,—an audience composed of the *élite* of Calcutta, the cream of European and Native society. Eminent Government officials and high non-official gentlemen who witnessed the performances spoke of the "exquisite treat" they had enjoyed, as heightening their idea of our Indian music and of our Indian stage. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Frederick Halliday, who was present with his family, was so delighted with the acting of Babu Keshub Chunder that he complimented him on his extraordinary dramatic talents. He said that looking at his serious and sedate appearance one could hardly believe him capable of acting so capitably the part of the Jester.*

This theatre opened with the performance of the drama *Ratanjali* written in Bengali by Ramnarayan Tarkaratna, on Saturday July 31, 1858. It was housed in the garden residence of the Paikpara Rajahs at Belgachia which had formerly belonged to Dwarkanath Tagore. A few days later a long report of the performance appeared in *The Hindoo Patriot* for August 5, 1858. It runs as follows :

THE HINDOO THEATRE.—The Rajahs of Paikpara, who have established a name for themselves by their princely liberality in the cause of education and of the general welfare of the country, here, we are glad to observe, directed their attention to the promotion of the Drama. In their magnificent Belgachia villa they have set up a splendid private Theatre which opened on Saturday last with the performance of the *Ratanjali* or the *Neelace*. To many of our elder readers, both European and Native, who remember the days of the late Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore, Meredith Parker, Horace Wilton, Henry Torrens, and the Chowringhee and Sans Souci Theatres, this revival of the Indian drama and of the love for rational amusement will be exceedingly welcome. In the eyes of the younger generation the charm of novelty will be added to the other charms of an well arranged and well conducted theatre. The performance of the other day was beheld with approbation by connoisseurs. The

* Jotindra Nath Bha's "Life of M. S. Datta" (in Bengali), 3rd ed., pp. 618-19.

characters were so nicely balanced, the tone, the gesture and what is called dramatic action were so clever and consistent, and the counterfeits of passions so natural and life-like that we little expected so much excellence at the outset of a dramatic company. Indeed from first to last the stage was all action and animation and the audience was all attention.... Lastly we shall not omit to notice the stage decorations which were as splendid as they could be. The scenes were very graphic and well adapted to the incidents of the drama. The Band music which was quite novel in its way was excellent. It had so powerful and beneficial an effect upon the English gentlemen present that one of them to whom the Anglo Indian drama and music owe more than to any other English resident in India remarked that it has completely neutralized in his mind the prejudices which he had conceived against the Hindoo music. There was little monotony, and the airs complacently preserved the oriental character of the occasion. We were however not a little surprised with the nice dancing which we witnessed. At first we mistook the dancers who played so wonderfully for nautch girls until we were disabused of our impression by authentic evidence. Indeed they tripped over the stage ground so lightly and moved so briskly, that one not behind the scenes could scarcely forego the above conclusion.

In the course of the above account *The Hindoo Patriot* entered into a long discussion of the merits and defects of the acting and expressed a hope that the faults would be rectified in the second performance, which was to take place on August 5, 1858. These faults were apparently made good, for we find *The Hindoo Patriot* of August 19, 1858 (Thursday) writing about the third performance which had taken place on August 13, 1858 :

THE BELGACHIA THEATRE.—Last Friday evening we had the pleasure again to witness the representation of the *Ratnarali* which went off admirably and to our entire satisfaction. This time the few minor defects which we noticed, on the last occasion were successfully rectified and the effect throughout was the more complete....

The performance of the *Ratnarali* is memorable for another reason also. It led the great Bengali poet Michael M. S. Datta to compose his first work in Bengali—a drama. This work *Sarmishtha* was performed on September 3, 1859, as will be seen from the following extract which appeared in *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette* of September 6, 1859 (Tuesday) :

SERMISTA.—The Amateur theatrical performance of

'Sermista' came off on Saturday evening last, at half past eight o'clock, at the Belgachia Garden house of Rajah Protap Chunder Sing. The author of this drama is Mr. Michael M. S. Dutt.*

The last performance of *Sarmishtha* took place on September 22, 1859, and we find the following account of this performance in *The Bengal Hurkaru* of Tuesday, September 29, 1859 :

The *Sermista* was performed, for the last time as we understand before the holidays, on Tuesday evening last, at the little private theatre erected by the Rajahs Pertab and Isser Chunder Singh at their Belgachia Villa. A selected number of the European and Native friends were invited by the, Rajahs to witness the performance. Among the company were present the Hon'ble J. P. Grant, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Grant Junior, Dr. and Mrs. McPherson, Major Plowden, Private Secretary to the Lieutenant Governor, Mr. C. Piffard, and Mr. H. P. Hinde of the Supreme Court Bar, Mr. Sith Apear, Moonshee Amcer Ally of Patna notoriety. Baboo Rajendro Lal Mitter, a numerous and fashionable attendance from the depot at Dum-dum and many other native and European gentlemen.

No other drama was acted in the Belgachia theatre which came to an end with the untimely death of Rajah Isser Chunder Singh on March 29, 1861.

Michael M. S. Datta justly remarks in the preface to the English translation of his *Sarmishtha* : "Should the drama ever again flourish in India, posterity will not forget these noble gentlemen—the earliest friends of our rising national theatre."

II

While the theatres and performances described above comprise all the tangible result of the dramatic enthusiasm of the age, they by no means include all the theatrical efforts of the time. The contemporary papers are full of allusions to the theatrical activity of the Bengali community, and most of them welcome this activity as a sign of the progress which the people of Bengal were making in the field of culture and the arts. "Theatres, as you say," wrote Jatindra Mohan Tagore, in a letter to Michael M. S. Datta, "are really springing up like mushrooms, but unfortunately, they are as short-lived also; still

* *The Hindoo Patriot*, in its issue of September 10, 1859, published a lengthy account of the first performance of the *Sarmishtha*. Cited in the *Selections from the Writings of Girish Chunder Ghose* by Manmath Nath Ghosh, p. 229.

* We learn from the fragmentary autobiographical sketch of Harinayan Tarkaratna that *Ratnarali* was played more than half a dozen times at Belgachia.

they are a good sign of the times, for it is evident that a taste for the Drama is gradually spreading itself among us."* This sentiment was echoed on every occasion the papers had to announce some new theatrical enterprise. Thus we find a correspondent writing in *The Bengal Hurkaru* for May 21, 1857 :

A taste for the drama has inspired many Hindu youths to erect temporary theatres in native localities. Some time ago 'Sikontolah' was acted in the premises of the late Baboo Aushootosh Day; and 'Buneesunghar' another drama was acted in the house of the Singhee Baboos. We now hear that other dramas viz. 'Biddhobuthabo' and 'Prabodh Chandrodoy' will shortly be represented by some respectable Hindu youths. The former will be acted in the house of Baboo Mohindrololl Bose, Binian, at 'Cashurypurah' in the northern part of the Town. These are indeed healthy signs of the times, and the well-wishers would exult to find the natives cultivate a taste for dramatic literature.

The second of these pieces, the *Prabodh-chandrodaya*, was in all probability never put on the stage. The Bengali dramatic adaptation of *Prabodh-chandrodaya* was very likely the work of the well-known Bengali poet, Isvar Chandra Gupta. The Bengali poet and playwright Manomohan Basu says in his speech delivered in Bengali at the first anniversary of the National Theatre in 1873 :

Some wealthy men had a Bengali version of the play of *Prabodh-chandrodaya* made by the famous Bengali poet, Bibu Isvar Chandra Gupta. But the dialogues of the piece were not as pleasing as the songs. In spite of that, however, rehearsals of the piece went on for some months with great enthusiasm and a good deal of money was spent. But in the end nothing came of it.†

But the other play on widow remarriage gave promise of more exciting possibilities. At that time, it was one of the burning social questions of the hour, and its influence was felt in the field of dramatic literature also. In 1856 came out two dramas—*Vidharodvaha* by Umacharan Chatterji and *Vidhava-riraha* § by Woomesh Chandra Mittra—both of which dealt with this theme. Like the *Kulin*

Kulasarvasva these two dramas offered the pleasure of theatrical entertainment and the excitement of social revolt at the same time. The first, a performance of which is announced in the above-quoted extract, does not seem, however, to have actually been put on the stage. But the second, *Vidhava-riraha*, was performed in the end.

In spite of the exhortations of the reforming wing of the Bengali society of those days, the *Vidhava-riraha Natak* was not actually staged till it was taken up by Keshub Chunder Sen and his companions, who belonged to the newer and more advanced group of Brahmos. There are, however, indications that the play was taken in hand by at least one dramatic club. In the issue of *The Bengal Hurkaru* of March 26, 1858 we get the following news :

We learn that Biboo Biharrylall Sett with the aid of Woomesh Chunder Mittra and others, are going to perform that celebrated drama 'The Bidhava Baboo nautuck' on an early day. We wish Biboo Biharrylall Sett every success.

The attempt was perhaps given up at a later stage, and it was not till the Sen family took it up that the play was actually performed.

The *Bengal Hurkaru* of April 19, 1859 states that the rehearsal of the *Vidhava-riraha Natak* came off on April 16, 1859, and that it was very well attended. It took place in the splendid structure at Sinduriapati, Chitpur Road—known as Ram Gopal Mullick's house (now razed to the ground) and afterwards occupied by the Hindu Metropolitan College.

The first performance of the Metropolitan Theatre as it was called at the time, took place on April 23, 1859, as will be seen from the following account published in *The Bengal Hurkaru* of April 27, 1859 (Wednesday) :

PERFORMANCE OF THE BIDHAVA BIRAHU NATUCK.—The first performance of this drama took place on Saturday last at the late Hindu Metropolitan College. It commenced at 8 P. M. and lasted till 3 o'clock in the morning. The audience numbered about 500 individuals. The Nautuck depicts in vivid but true colours the dangerous and evil consequences resulting from a perpetual state of widowhood, to which the Hindu females are subjected, in consequence of a cruel custom, not founded upon religion. . . . Amongst the whole set the part performed by a *Tale Panthi, Turkolankar*, and by *Sookhomojee*

* *Madhu-smriti* by Nagendra Nath Sanyal, pp. 118-19.

† The *Madhyastha* for Feb., 1293 B. E., p. 618.
§ This drama was noticed in the *Calcutta Literary Gazette* for Aug. 2, 1856 under the caption "Bidobha Bibaho:—A Tragedy in Bengalee, Bhowanipore—1856."

In this play the late Mahendra Nath Mukherji played the rôle of the jester. He says in his reminiscences :

A stage was erected in the *natch-ghar* situated on the first floor of the old house of Gopi Mohan Tagore. Ramnarayan Pandit said to Maharaja Jatindra Mohan Tagore : 'I shall write a play like *Ratnavali* for you.' We first came on the stage with his *Madari-Lognimitra*. It was then and on that occasion only that the Chota Rajah Saurindra Mohan Tagore appeared on a stage. At the request of the Bara Rajah he took the part of *Kanchuki*. . . . I took the part of *Vidushaka*.

An Executive Committee was formed to supervise the Pathurighatta Theatre, of which the members were Vidyasagar, Michel Madhusudan, Keshav Ganguli and Dina Ghose. This Committee selected the actors and their parts.*

To come back now to the new stage erected by Jatindra Mohan Tagore at his own residence in 1865. *Vidyasundar* was performed there on December, 30 of that year. Kishori Chand writes in his article :

The next play that was performed at the Pathurighatta theatre was *Bidyasundar*. . . . It was dramatized by the Rajah Jatindra Mohan. He has revised it and eliminated all indecent allusions from it. . . . This performance took place in December 1865; and was supplemented by that of an amusing farce *Jennas Karma Tenini Phala*.

This account is corroborated by the description of the same performance given by Mahendra Nath Vidyavidhi in his *Sandarbh-saṅgraha*. He writes :

On December 30 (1865) the Maharaja Bahadur invited the Maharaja of Rewa to his residence and for his entertainment and honour the play of *Vidyasundar* was performed.

The piece was staged about a dozen times in the Pathurighatta Theatre. *The Bengalee* of January 13, 1866 (Saturday) writes on the second performance which took place on the 6th of that month :

THE BENGALÉE THEATRE.—The performance on Saturday night at the residence of Baboo Jotendra Mohan Tagore who has got up a nice little theatre for the entertainment of his personal friends and acquaintances was, to say the least, a highly successful and creditable one. We heartily congratulate the Baboo, who is an excellent gentleman and a scholar, on this happy turn of his mind to

smṛiti is printed a letter dated September 1, 1859, from Jatindra Mohan to M. S. Datta in which the former writes to the effect that he is sending the MSS. of the last two Acts of the *Madarika* to M. S. Datta for the benefit of his "masterly" suggestions. This shows that the drama was staged later than the date of the letter.

* *Puratan-prasanga* by Bipin Bihari Gupta, pt. I., (1926), pp. 155-56.

infuse into the wealthier and higher classes of his countrymen a taste for rational amusement by introducing them to dramatic performances like the one which it was our lot the other evening to enjoy. We indeed spent a most pleasant evening, but apart from the pleasure which most sight-seeing and music-loving people not given to any serious reflections of things and objects beyond the momentary gratification which they afford are taken up with, we were, by a careful study of the scenes brought to view, the plot and language of the drama, and the power for acting displayed by the amateurs, impressed strongly with a conviction that, by being fostered and encouraged, the taste for dramatic performances will result in benefits of a more permanent character than those with which they can at first sight be directly associated. It will create a demand for that higher order of dramatic literature which we have in our Sanscrit, but in which Bengalee, the language spoken by nearly twenty-five millions of people, perfectly adapted to the requirements of science, and already possessing some fine specimens of genuine poetry and classical prose, is at present deficient, not that it is not capable of dramatic adaptation, but that the taste for it had not yet been allowed sufficiently to warm itself into a desire for it as vital to rational pleasures. The taste once acquired, and we can vouch from the enthusiasm with which the *Bydya Soonder Natuk* was received that night, that that language will soon be enriched with a dramatic literature which might claim rank with our best Sanscrit plays. Authors are not made from any choice of their own—the taste and spirit of the age make them. The law of demand and supply applies as much to material objects as to intellectual wares. The demand once created never remains unsatisfied.

These theatrical meetings are also social gatherings calculated to bring educated natives together, and to unite even discordant natures by a common bond of sympathy. We, therefore, look forward with pleasure to the literary and social benefits which the inauguration of this class of dramatic entertainments, a new feature in our age, promises. . . . The impersonation of the characters was almost faultless. . . . The part of *Bydya* was capitally done. . . .

The character of *Soonder* was rather inelegant and rough. *Ganga Bhut* and the *Rajah's Ministry* acquitted themselves so well that we had nothing left to wish for. The *Rajah* was equally a successful character. But the two chambermaids of *Bydya* were altogether deficient. There was nothing feminine about them. Their dress was ill chosen which heightened the slovenliness of their appearance.

The whole play, however, was so well sustained that the minor deficiencies to which we have adverted, had scarcely any appreciably counteracting effect upon the audience.

The *Bydya Soonder Natuk* was followed by a very laughable farce which added much to the entertainment of the evening. The whole burthen of the satire fell upon the devoted head of a stupid old Moonisiff who already declined in the vale of years had the vanity to offer himself to a neighbour's wife as a lady's man.

The scenes both in the *Natuk* and in the farce were well painted, and some were admirably suited to the occasion. We noticed particularly the humble but elegant cottage of Heera which perhaps was taken from some existing model. The Orchestra

was excellent and shewed considerable improvement upon those we had heard before.

When we left we only wished that the female characters could be represented by women : for all the time we were painfully alive to the demoralizing tendency of boys and young men throwing themselves into the attitude, the gestures, motions and even the voluptuousness of women. But as under existing circumstances of native society it is not possible to have any but courtizans to join the *Corps Dramatique*, we must choose the lesser of the two evils.

After this a farce, called *Bujhle-ki-na*, was staged in the Pathuriaghata Theatre on Saturday 15, 1866. *The Bengaler* of December 22, 1866 (Saturday) writes about it :

PATOURIAGHATTA THEATRE.—The lovers of the Drama were treated to a musical entertainment on Saturday last by the Amateur Theatrical Company of Patouriahatta. About two months ago we had the pleasure of reviewing a Bengalee Farce entitled *Boogela Keena* composed expressly for the Company ; and we now have had the pleasure of witnessing its performance on the stage with the usual scenic attractions and accompanied by instrumental music of a superior order...The success of a dramatic performance is measured by the effects which it produces upon the audience. Judged by that standard, *Boogela Keena* was undoubtedly a great success as the frequent applause and loud roars of laughter testified. With the exception of two or three, the actors acquitted themselves creditably. The principal characters were admirably sustained and the effect of the whole was telling...Indeed some of the *Dollopitties* who were present at the acting, looked thunder as the plot developed. We hope the spirit has been completely cast out of them and that Bengalee society will now have peace.

Malati-madhar, translated by Ramnarayan Tarkaratna, was staged by the Pathuriaghata Theatre in 1869. Kishori Chand writes in his article :

Malati-madhar, translated by Pandit Ramnarayana, was performed there in 1869... accompanied by a concert of Hindu music. The present notation of Hindu music was for the first time introduced.

Mahendra Nath Vidyavidhi, the *Vivakosh* and some other authorities give the date of the first performance as September 31, 1867, which is, of course, incorrect. This piece was performed at the Pathuriaghata Theatre about a dozen times.

At the beginning of 1870 the Pathuriaghata Theatre staged two more farces—*Chakshudan* and *Ubhay-sankat*. The following is an English translation of what the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (then published every Thursday from Jessore both in English

and Bengali) for March 10, 1870 wrote on this performance :

THE PATHURIAGHATTA THEATRE.—We have derived great satisfaction from seeing the Pathuriaghata Theatre. It is nearly ten years since Saurindra Babu applied himself to the improvement of the theatre, and now the Pathuriaghata Theatre confidently invites prominent English officials and they, too, on seeing and hearing the plays express their satisfaction. It is one of the drawbacks of our theatre that only men have to act in women's rôles. But that can hardly be helped.

Both the farces performed this time were excellent. One of them is called *Chakshudan*, the other is *Ubhay-sankat*. The author of both is Jatindra Babu... Few men can resist a laugh on seeing and hearing them.

There were no other performances at this theatre in 1871. On January 13, 1872 *Rukmini-haran* and *Ubhay-sankat* were acted here. *The Hindoo Patriot* writes about this performance in its issue of January 15, 1872 (Monday) :

THE PATHURIAGHATTA THEATRE. This Theatre, though a private institution, thanks to the liberality of its patrons, the Raja Joteendro Mohun Tagore, and his brother, Babu Shourendra Mohun Tagore, has risen to the rank of a national institution, and its suspension last year was a great disappointment to the native public. This year it has been re-opened, and the first performance took place last Saturday night. A new drama, *Rukmini-harana*, which we had noticed a few issues back, was brought on the stage, and played with the usual success...The Drama was followed by a roaring Farce of "Uraizanskata" or "the two horns of a dilemma." We have already said that the acting was very successful, but we cannot conclude, without bearing our meed of praise to the orchestra, which shewed considerable improvement made within the last two years. For an example of the cultivation of rational amusement of the drama and music, among the educated natives of Bengal, we point with pride to the Pathuriaghata Theatre.

On the 10th February following there was a repetition of this performance. *The National Paper* of February 21, 1872 wrote :

PATOURIAGHATTA THEATRE. We had the pleasure of being present at the theatrical entertainments held at Raja Joteendro Mohun Tagore's on the night of Saturday the 10th instant. A serio-comic tale from Mahabharata cast into a dramatic form and a farce portraying the troubles of a man having two wives, were produced on the stage... The theatre has been closed for the present in condolence of the heavy calamity which has befallen India by the death of the Viceroy [Lord Mayo].

Ramnarayan Tarkaratna states that *Rukmini-haran* was performed about a dozen times at the residence of the Maharaja.

There was only one more performance at the Pathuriaghatta Theatre which needs a special mention. On February 25, 1873 Lord Northbrook, the Viceroy, visited the mansion of the Pathuriaghatta Raj. The occasion was celebrated by a performance of *Rukmini-haran* and *Ubhay-sankat*. The *Hindoo Patriot* of March 3, 1873 writes about this performance:

THE VICEROY AT THE PATHURIAGHATTA THEATRE.—On Tuesday last His Lordship (Lord Northbrook) honoured the Hon'ble Raja Joteendra Mohun Tagore Bahadur, with a visit to witness the private theatricals at his family residence. The Raja spared neither expense nor trouble to give a fitting reception to the Viceroy. The street leading to his house was lined with gas light by the erection of two rows of pipes and a crown burning over the gate-way erected on the top of the road. The house was beautifully and tastefully decorated, the passage to the theatre from the steps on the entrance below to the doors of the room being carpeted with red cloth, and the walls lined with red and green calico and adorned with flags and flowers. A miniature garden was improvised for the occasion on the quadrangle or the courtyard, the effect of which was not a little heightened by the stream of gas light, pouring from the small jets, which looked like so many shining stars in the firmament. The room in which the theatre was held was adorned with several exquisite pictures, some of which were masterpieces of art. The Company was select. There were His Excellency the Viceroy, the Hon'ble Miss Baring, the Marquis of Stafford, His Honour the Lieutenant Governor, several Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, Secretaries to Government, and other big wigs, together with a fair sprinkling of ladies and native notabilities. The Viceroy was received in right oriental fashion. His Excellency was on his arrival received at the gate by the noble host, when a band of *nahabut* welcomed him with its sweet strains. The whole passage both below and upstairs was lined with mace-bearers *à hoc genus omne*, who made salutations as His Excellency passed. As soon as His Excellency entered the hall of reception the native orchestra struck "God save the Queen!" with native instruments. The brother of the Raja had prepared an English translation of the airs played by the orchestra, which was put in the hands of the European guests to help them in understanding the music. The drama selected for performance was *Rukmini-haran* or the Capture of *Rukmini*, an episode from the Mahabharata. The amateurs acquitted themselves very creditably, the last two Acts were particularly interesting, and the actors were repeatedly cheered by the audience. The Viceroy was greatly pleased with the orchestra, and on the closing of the drama examined the different instruments, and expressed himself highly delighted with what he saw and heard. In fact he carried away a very good opinion of native music. A farce, called the Two Horus or a Dilemma, which depicted the evils of bigamy, was next played. During the interval the Party adjourned to supper, when they feasted their eyes with the beautiful scene of the quadrangle. A synopsis of the Drama and the Farce

in English being got up by the host, the distinguished visitors were enabled to follow the performance pretty intelligently. After the theatricals were over, His Excellency the Viceroy thanked the actors personally, and also the host for the excellent entertainment he had provided. He then took leave of the native gentlemen assembled, and bade good night to the host.

The authorship of the three farces—*Jehan Karma Temni Phala*, *Ubhay-sankat* and *Chakshudan*, each of which was performed at the Pathuriaghatta Theatre more than half a dozen times—is generally attributed to Maharaja Jatindra Mohan Tagore. But this can hardly be true, for Ramnarayan Tarkaratna has recorded in his autobiographical sketch that he received honoraria from the Maharaja for composing these farces.

IV

THE SHOBHA-BAZAR PRIVATE THEATRICAL SOCIETY

The Shobha-bazar Private Theatrical Society was the second amateur theatre of this epoch. The first play staged by it was Michael M. S. Datta's *Elai ki Bale Sabhyata* (Is this Civilization?). The date of this performance is given by many as 1864, while it should be July 29, 1865. The *Hindoo Patriot* of July 31, 1865 (Monday) writes about this performance:

THE HINDOO THEATRE. We are glad to notice the resuscitation of the Hindoo Theatre by the praiseworthy exertions of the junior members of the Shobha Bazaar Raj family. Possessed of means and leisure, which instead of wasting on idle and profligate objects, they are, it is a matter of satisfaction to state, employing them for the cultivation of a refined taste and the promotion of rational amusement among their countrymen. The time has not yet come for a National Theatre, but when such respectable and influential families, as the Pakpasha Rajas, the Shobha Bazaar Rajas, the Tagores, and the Jorawankos begin to get up private theatres at their own expense and under their own management, a taste for the drama is likely to spread rapidly among the community, and a generous emulation will be engendered for the revival of this ancient institution of the country. Considerable advance was made towards the much desired consummation by the successful efforts of the Belgachia, Jorawanko, and Pathuriaghatta Theatres, but the unfortunate premature death of the late Rajah Issur Chunder King cut off all hopes, and extinguished the life, which for a time played with such quick and healthy pulsation. Some of his collaborators are, however, thank God! still living, who are equally rich in resources and patriotic in ideas, and if they will only cherish an equal zeal and love for the drama they may yet

complete the work, which remains unfinished owing to the untimely demise of their lamented friend and leader. The Shobha Bazar Family Theatrical Society will doubtless serve as a fitting and useful auxiliary to them.

On last Saturday night the Shobha Bazar amateurs had their first performance. We are sorry to say that while they could command any one of the spacious halls, which adorn the Shobha Bazar premises, they preferred a small, low, dingy room for the location of the stage, where there was not only space for a decent gathering, but where the audience felt themselves literally cabined, cribbed, and confined. Nor can we commend the choice of the subject of the performance. It was the well known and popular farce of Mr. Michael M. S. Dutt, entitled "Is this Civilization?" This farce is undoubtedly one of the happiest productions of the fertile brain of the gifted poet. It is a life-like picture of Young Bengal, full of sallies of wit and humour, and written in graceful though familiar Bengalee. But sincerely as we admire the powers of the dramatist, we must candidly confess that this farce is not a fit subject for representation on the stage of a "Family Theatre." In faithfully portraying the peculiarities of Young Bengal, the poet has necessarily depicted habits and practices, which are equally shocking to good taste and morals, and which for the sake of propriety and decorum ought not to have been reproduced on a Family Theatre. Barring these defects, the performance was exceedingly creditable to the young amateurs. The scenes, which we believe were painted by a native artist, were appropriate and well done. The music, though not in keeping with the high merits of the acting, was not inferior. The dancing was varied and very spirited. Indeed it was one of the principal attractions of the performance. All the characters of the farce, we must do them the justice to say, sustained their parts equally well and admirably.

The chairman of the executive committee of this theatrical society was Kaliprasanna Singh. For some unknown reason he severed his connection with it before its staging of Michael M. S. Dutt's *Krishnakumari* and many other gentlemen followed his example. The remaining members of the society, however, carried it on and on February 8, 1867 (given wrongly by some writers as July 21, 1865) performed the *Krishnakumari*. On Monday, the 11th February 1867, *The Hindoo Patriot* wrote:

THE SHOBHA BAZAR THEATRE.—The native theatres of Calcutta are in full swing. We lately noticed in these columns the opening of the Pathooriaghatta and Jorasanko Theatres, and on last Friday night the amateurs of the Shobha Bazar Theatre entertained a respectable and select company with their first public performance of the well-known tragedy of *Krishnakumari* by Baboo Michael Modhoooodan Dutta. This is the best and indeed the only original drama in the Bengali language. Familiar with the richest treasures of the dramatic literature of Europe and India our author has enriched his mother-tongue with a production which would

bear comparison with the first class dramas of the ancient or modern classics. The scenes are laid in that region of Indian chivalry, which has been the theme of many a song and tale, we mean the Rajpootana States... it requires no mean histrionic talent to reproduce these thrilling events on the stage with immense effect. We must therefore make every allowance for the shortcomings of the amateurs of the Shobha Bazar Theatre, who without the advantage of an experienced director certainly did as much as could be fairly expected from them. The first three Acts lacked life and animation, but as the plot thickened, and the interest of the audience increased, the actors rose to the level of the crisis. The death scene was very affecting. It drew tears from many eyes. All the characters in the last Act were more or less equal to the occasion, and the general effect was one of decided success. There are some very promising amateurs in this corps, such as the young men who personated the parts of *Dhanadasa*, *Madanika*, *Bhin Sing*, *Balendra* and *Salpada*, and if they persevere, we have no doubt that they will in time prove very successful actors. The scenes were well painted and some of them were indeed exquisitely done. We particularly liked the garden scene. The rolling of the thunder was also well imitated. As for the Concert, great pains seemed to have been taken for it. The amateurs did not follow the beaten track of the Belgachia and Pathooriaghatta Theatres. Their tunes too, we must confess, improved as the plot thickened. We wish that they would lay less stress on the *Dholuk*, which to our ear gave too much of "akrai" character to the music.*

V.

THE JORASANKO THEATRE

In 1867 the Jorasanko Theatre was started. The leading part in organizing it was taken by Ganendranath and Gunendranath—sons of Girindranath Tagore (second son of Dwarkanath Tagore), by Dvijendranath—the son of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, and by Srinath Tagore, the grandson of Radhanath (elder brother of Dwarkanath). It was strictly speaking a family theatre, for none but the relations and intimate friends of the Jorasanko Tagore family took part in it. The first play produced by it was *Naba-Natak* by Ramnarayan Tarkaratna. It was Isvar Chandra Vidya-sagar and Rajkrishna Banerjee who selected this play of Ramnarayan's for performance at the request of the Committee of the Jorasanko Theatre, and Ramnarayan received an award of Rs. 200 for his work. The play was staged on January 5, 1867 in the large hall which served as the drawing-room of

*Cited in Mahendra Nath Vidyandhi's *Sandarbh-sangraha*.

Girindranath Tagore. *The National Paper* of February 6, 1867 wrote about this performance :

We are glad to notice the return of old days of friendship, love and union amongst Europeans and Natives. Of late there have been a good number of social gatherings where both the classes united very freely and cordially. The latest one was that held at the house of Baboo Gouendro Mohun Tagore on the occasion of a performance of the *Noba Natak*. Many respectable European and native gentlemen were present. Baboo Gouendro Mohun Tagore, Barrister at law, entertained the whole party with lively conversations.

"This piece was performed nine times within a short time. The famous actor Akshay Kumar Majumdar appeared in the rôle of *Gabesh Babu*, and the acting as a whole was of a very high order. Ardendu Shekhar Mustafi, afterwards famous as an actor, was charmed with the acting and used to say : "It was the performance of *Noba-Natak* that has taught me all that I had to learn, see and hear about acting."

VI

BOWBAZAR BANGA-NATALAYA

This was one of the famous theatres of the epoch, and was established through the efforts of Chunilal Basu and Baladeb Dhar. Both of them were talented actors and are said to have previously acted in the Pathuriaghata Theatre. The well-known playwright Manomohan Basu wrote dramas for this theatre, which was at first housed at the residence of Govinda Chandra Sarkar, the maternal uncle of the Basus, in Visvanath Matilal Lane. *Ramarishika Natak* by Manomohan Basu (published in 1867) was acted here for the first time, most probably at the beginning of 1868. A play-goer from Baranagore wrote in *The National Paper* of March 25, 1868 after witnessing the second performance of this play :

There being varieties of opinion as regards the performances lately made by the Bow Bazar Theatrical Association on the "*Ramarishika Natak*": as a spectator, I beg my observations thereon be made known to the public through the medium of your Journal, to do justice to the parties concerned....The stage was exceedingly beautiful, in as much as money can make it and the scenes are in accordance with its requirements: Secondly the visitors were well received and welcomed. Thirdly the actors were elegantly and suitably dressed and lastly the whole performance was

excellent. The part acted on, being very pathetic, was not agreeable to many, but the actors were not wanting in their skill, for almost every gentleman present were obliged to bring out their handkerchief to prevent tears spoiling their clothes.

By a critical observer some defects can be found, such as, Naut was not a good songster. Chitra was not of feminine complexion and the like, but some allowance must be given considering that my remark was on their second day's act, and very likely have by this time been rectified...

The same theatre gave a performance of Manomohan Basu's *Sati Natak* (published early in 1873) on their newly built stage at No. 25 Visvanath Matilal Lane in the winter of 1873. The *Madhyastha* for Magh 1280 B. E. (p. 693) wrote about this performance :

Of the theatres in Calcutta, regarded as belonging to the first rank, the Bowbazar theatre is one. It gave the first and the best performance of *Ramarishika*. We say best because, though the piece has been acted almost all over Bengal, nowhere else have we seen or heard of the acting being of the same degree of perfection. The same gentlemen are now giving a performance of *Sati Natak*, another mythological play. They commissioned the author of *Ramarishika* to write this drama, and had it printed at their own cost.... We went to see the second performance of *Sati Natak*. We were very much pleased with the new house of the Bowbazar Natyasamaj. The high hall is eminently suitable for a theatre of this class. The decorations, the scenes, and the arrangements for lighting etc. are charming.

The same theatre produced Manomohan Basu's *Harishchandra* towards the end of 1874. We find in the *Madhyastha* for Magh 1281 B. E. :

PERFORMANCE OF HARISHCHANDRA NATAK.—The famous Bowbazar Amateur theatre is giving performances of Manomohan Basu's *Harishchandra Natak*. We have witnessed the performance more than once and been highly pleased with it....

VII

The amateur theatres described above were the more important ones of that decade. But they by no means exhaust the list. This was an age of intense—but to a very great extent ephemeral—dramatic activity. Almost

the sole occupation of the idle rich of Calcutta. was to start amateur theatres. *Rahasya-Sandarbha*, a Bengali monthly, wrote in Sambat 1923 (1866-67) while reviewing a new play, called *Durvikshya-damana-natak* :

We have now a hallstorm of plays . . . to our discomfiture. Since every lane has a theatre of its own, the writing of plays is the rage among all idle people. . . . Everybody passes off as a drama whatever he likes to produce. And there are even such people who can waste paper by treating famine as a theme for a play. We suppose, after this, fever and cholera will come in their turn as the subject matter of dramas.

It will not be possible for me to give a complete list of all the plays and dramatic performances of these years because I have not yet been able to come across all the newspapers of the epoch. Two lists are, however, available in the reminiscences of Radhamadhav Kar as given in Part II of the *Puratan-Prasanga*, and the article on "Rangalaya (Bangiya)" in the *Visvakosha*.

But there remains one theatre which must be considered in some detail because in the end it developed into a public theatre and started a new epoch of dramatic activities in Bengal. It was the amateur theatrical society of Baghbazar. At the time when amateur theatres were springing up everywhere, some young men of Baghbazar also thought they would have a theatre of their own. They were Nagendra Nath Banerjee, Girish Chandra Ghosh, Radhamadhav Kar, Ardendu Shekhar Mustafi and some others, all of whom later became famous as actors. The lead was taken by Nagendra Nath Banerjee who had played a part in the *Padmarati* performed in 1866 at the house of Janardan Shaha of Suripara. The first piece staged by this theatre was *Sadhabar Ekadasi* by Dinabandhu Mitra, its first performance having been given on the Durga Puja day (Saptami) of 1868, on an improvised stage in the house of Prankrishna Haldar of Durgacharan Mukherji Parah, Baghbazar. The acting was not up to the mark. After more preparations another performance was given at the house of Nabin Chandra Sarkar of Shampukur on the fullmoon day following the Durga Pujas, and this satisfied everybody. The fourth performance came off early next year on the

Sripanchami day at the house of Rai Ramaprasad Mitra Bahadur.

The second play staged by it was the same author's *Lilavati*, which was performed on May 11, 1872 (30 Baisak 1279 B. E.) at the house of Rajendra Pal of Shambazar. Almost all writers—even Ardendu Shekhar Mustafi and Abinash Chandra Ganguli (biographer of Girish Chandra Ghosh) have committed the mistake of assigning this performance to the previous year. But there can be no doubt that the performance took place on the date given above, for we find in the *Madhyastha* (a Bengali weekly) of Jaistha 6, 1279 B. E. :

NEWS. . . . Last Saturday night the famous play of *Lilavati* was staged by the Shambazar Nityasamaj, and it is to be run for some weeks. . . . We learn that the stage was well decorated and the acting generally good.

Again on Ashar 16, 1279 (19 June 1872), a supplement to the *Madhyastha* contained the following letter :

To the Editor, *Madhyastha*.

THE PERFORMANCE OF *LILAVATI*. For some days some young men of Baghbazar have been performing *Lilavati* by Rai Dinabandhu Mitra Bahadur. In spite of some minor defects, their acting must be ranked with some of the best acting that has been seen till now.

Among the actors, Harabilas Babu, Khirodbashini, Lalitmohan, Lilavati, Srinath, Raghu, Naderchand, Saradasundari etc. deserve praise in their due order. It is no exaggeration to say that the acting of the parts of Harabilas Babu, Khirodbashini and Lalitmohan was of a standard that is very rare.

The part of *Lilavati* is a difficult one, but the actor did justice to it. His recitations were very good.

The lamentations of Khirodbashini were so natural and pathetic that they melted the hearts of many of the spectators. The speeches and witticisms of Hemechand, Naderchand and Srinath also gave great pleasure to the audience.

On all the three days of the performance, many of the actors came out of the stage in the costumes of their parts. This mars the realism of the acting. . . .

Calcutta,
6 Ashar, 1279 B. E.

A Spectator

This plainly shows that the three performances of *Lilavati* took place not in 1871 but in 1872 and on the dates given above. This is also borne out by the reminiscences of Radhamadhav Kar who says that *Lilavati* was staged at the house of Rajendra Pal in Baisakh of 1872.

The cast of the play was as follows :

Haravilas and maidservant	Ardendu Shekhar Mustafi
Khirodbashini	Radhamadhav Kar

Lalitmoan
Hemchand
Lilavati
Prinath
Raghua Oriya
Naderchand
Saradasundari

Girish Chandra Ghose
Nagendra Nath Benerjee
Suresh Chandra Mitra
Shib Chandra Chatterjee
Hingul Khan
Jogendra Nath Mitra
Amrita Lal Mukherji
(Bel Babu)
Mahendra Lal Basu
Matilal Sur
Kshetra Mohan Ganguli
Jadunath Bhattacharyya

Bholanath
Mejo Khuro
Rajlakshmi
Yogojivan

This theatre soon converted itself into a public theatre, though, as a result, it had to lose one of its most promising members, Girish Chandra Ghose. It was the desire of many members of this theatrical club that it should sell tickets for its performances. Girish Chandra was opposed to it, because he felt they could not ask for money before setting up a good stage in a good building, as otherwise there would be very little chance of inducing the public to buy tickets.

Ardhendu and others were however of opinion that, as they could not afford a stage on an ambitious scale, they had better begin more modestly, and in the end this was the opinion which prevailed. Girish Chandra accordingly left the club. But the rehearsals for a new performance went on without him in the hall on the first floor of Bhuban Neogy's house, situated on the ghat of Rasik Neogy. In November 1872, Amrita Lal Bose, the famous actor only recently deceased, came down from Patna and joined the theatre. The theatre rented the ground floor of the front portion of Madhusudan Sanyal's house at Jorasanko—known as Ghari-walla barhi, and on Saturday the 7th December, 1872 was inaugurated the first professional Bengali theatre in Bengal, which brought the first or amateur age of the Bengali theatre to a close.

Concluded

Sane Protection

By S. N. MAJUMDAR

IT is only natural that sentiment should bring about in any country an inclination towards the protection of its industries from foreign competition. Nowhere is this more apposite than in India where a population predominantly agricultural is desirous of building up that proportion of industry which is necessary for its well-being. It is, however, important that sentiment, however laudable in itself, should not be allowed to out-run discretion. What India needs is sentiment allied to common sense. Of no value is a tariff wall that will immeasurably increase prices for non-existent or non-deserving industries. Indeed, even in respect to those which are already in existence, it is of primary importance that the protection granted shall be just sufficient to enable them to stand on their own feet in face of foreign competition. If any other principle is conceded, the people lays itself

open to the charge of that very exploitation for the benefit of the few, which has been so prominently featured in regard to foreign firms trading in India.

An industry which pleads for and is granted protection assumes an obligation which should enjoy priority over personal profit—that of developing their industry, which exists only by the bounty of the people through Government, for the benefit of the country. Now, that obligation is purely a moral one and unfortunately moral obligations are often more observed in precept than in practice, and it is essential that, if protection is to be granted, such provisions shall be embodied in the Act as may be necessary to ensure that the object for which protection is given shall be carried out. It is, for example, of no permanent value if protection does not enable the respective industry to manufacture in India a larger quantity of the

protected goods which have previously been imported, for in that case the State is merely subsidizing at the expense of the public an industry which has no real ground for existence. In this connection it should be noted that international trade demands an exchange of goods for goods, and it follows that if India wishes to sell her produce—and no one will deny this feature so essential to India's prosperity—she must be prepared to buy from her own customers in similar value, so that a considered policy of protection should be so adapted as to leave as free from extra expense as possible such commodities as India is not specially qualified to produce economically. Whilst, as a secondary consideration, India's poverty demands that in such industries as are entitled to protection, the additional impost should be kept down to the minimum required to enable them to exist without an undue burden being placed on the consumer for the benefit of the few.

It therefore follows that the closest scrutiny should be made into any industry that asks for protection. In the case of goods imported from Europe, America or Japan it should be borne in mind that a considerable amount of protection is automatically afforded by the cost of packing, freight and middlemen's profits whilst the revenue tariff which at present stands at 25 per cent is also an added encouragement to indigenous manufactures. If therefore an industry pleads for a still further degree of protection it must be in a position to demonstrate very clearly that it possesses unusual advantages.

An example of ineffective protection may be found in the added duty on corrugated iron sheets. The recommendation of the Tariff Board was given the force of law, but so admitted must be its ineffectiveness in reducing imports to the benefit of local industry that the Finance Member actually included in his budgeted revenue a sum of no less than 50 lakhs as the *extra* amount that would be realized from Customs revenue under this heading.

In writing the above, we have in mind the fact that the so-called Indian paper

industry is at present receiving consideration at the hands of the Tariff Board in respect to the plea for an extension of the protection which was afforded in 1925 for seven years.

To the business community this application makes very sorry reading. Six years ago the existence of one mill and a wave of self-interested optimism on the part of the others induced the Tariff Board to recommend a considerable degree of protection. Today, whilst it is true that one mill has made a certain amount of progress, the public is informed that matters are still in the experimental stage and that a further period of ten years protection is necessary before the industry can stand on its own legs. The Legislative Assembly having very wisely limited protection to such industries as can, with reasonable assistance, become self-supporting, the onus is on the paper mills to prove that they can anticipate a time when they will no longer be in need of protection.

In the case of paper, especially, is the need of intense analysis most important as, in considering the requirements of the one, it is too easy to lose sight of the fact that although paper is a manufactured article, all the protected varieties are the raw material of another industry—that of printing—an industry in which far more persons are employed and far more capital is invested than in the paper industry. And moreover the Indian printing industry is already severely handicapped by the fact that it has to withstand competition from abroad in the shape of printed books, etc. on which, as it would tend to restrict the spread of education if a duty was imposed, not even the revenue tariff is levied but such publications are admitted duty free. Any extra duty on paper is therefore an additional blow to the printing industry.

It behoves us therefore carefully to analyse the paper industry before any extension of an impost on this commodity is granted. The two vital points are to ascertain what amount of paper at present imported could be made in India and what the cost of the protection necessary to attain that object will be to the country. One paper refers to the imports as being 1,60,000 tons, blithely imply-

ing that all this can be manufactured in India if protection is extended. We wish in our hearts that hard facts would support this hope. Cold truth, however, compels us to destroy this castle in Spain. We find that of this quantity 45,000 tons consisted of old newspapers which at an average price of about £6 (Rs. 81) per ton has no interest for the Indian paper industry. A further 24,500 tons are news print which also is far too cheap to be manufactured here. 18,900 tons are included under the heading of cardboard and strawboard of which only a negligible portion could be made in India. Wrapping papers account for another 21,481 tons this being an unprotected item which consists entirely of papers which cannot be made in India or which are too cheap for the Indian mills to manufacture even if they were protected. Then, British paper to the extent of 8,390 tons are included. This consists of papers which cannot be manufactured in India or which are purchased at a higher price despite protection and obviously are of better quality and cannot be made in India until the local mills equip themselves to manufacture the better quality that is in large demand for certain purposes. The same remarks apply to manufactures of paper which total 1,590 tons.

From this it will be seen that the attractive total of 1,60,000 tons dwindles into comparatively small quantities when due consideration is given to the different classes of papers involved. In fact, the mills themselves—and it is unlikely that they erred on the lower side—only claimed that they hoped to be able to make 20,000 tons of the paper at present imported. That in itself is quite an attractive figure but it requires, as an important hypothesis, that the quality of paper produced shall be equal to the imported and shall meet the requirements of the printer.

We are informed that a modern paper-making machine of reasonable dimensions will make not less than 4,000 tons per annum. Assuming therefore, for the sake of argument, that the mills can capture a further 20,000 tons from importers if sufficient encouragement is given for the construction of

additional mills, it will be seen that the maximum possible will only provide for a further five machines. Now, two of these are already in existence in the Punjab Paper Mills which unfortunately was compelled to close down shortly after it had started—a strange fact indeed if it is true that there is so much scope for development in the industry. So that the only prospect in sight is that one more mill may be put into operation if all promises are fulfilled and the claims of the mills are actually reliable.

We now turn to the need for protection. For this purpose the most important point to consider is that of efficiency and manufacturing costs as compared with other parts of the world. The manufacture of paper is the same the world over and the only variation is that of whether supplies of primary and auxiliary raw materials are available in the country of manufacture. In the case of India primary raw materials are available but some auxiliary materials have at present to be imported. In the case of European countries, some are entirely self-supporting whilst others may have to depend on outside sources for some portion of their requirements—coal, chemicals, etc. Britain has to import all its raw material but is independent in practically all other respects. We propose to take British figures, as the error, if any, would be in favour of India. The comparison is additionally applicable as Britain imports all its wood pulp and a very large proportion of Indian paper is made from the same material.

We find that in England the selling price at mill of a paper in the same class as that manufactured in India is in the neighbourhood of £20 per ton or Rs. 270. In India the mill price is about Rs. 465 per ton so that it is incumbent on the mills to explain why their paper should be Rs. 195 or 72 p. c. higher than paper made elsewhere under similar conditions. A small concession may be made for the fact that there would be a higher freight to India than to England but we must not overlook the fact that we are considering an industry which promises to become independent of foreign raw material.

It is difficult to grasp the fact that such

a wide difference should be possible or, if possible, to accept the fact that the Indian public should be compelled to pay so much more for a similar article made in India. And it must not be forgotten that, as we have taken British prices for comparison, the paper made in England commands a higher price in the Indian market than locally made or Continental paper so that it is not only so much cheaper but must be admitted to be of better quality.

The difference of Rs. 195 per ton may not appear to be an appreciable amount in itself but when it is applied to the 30,000 tons of protected papers made in India it will be seen that the Indian mills receive about Rs. 58 lakhs more than similar paper would cost abroad.

It will be agreed that this discrepancy requires considerable explanation and deserves special attention from the Tariff Board not only from the point of view that an adequate supply of inexpensive paper is an important feature in a country like this which has so little to spare for education but also from the standpoint of whether, if the vast difference in cost can be justified by the mills, the industry can ever fulfil the essential requirement that it will eventually be able to dispense with protection and, without State assistance, be able to withstand competition on its own resources. It is very clear that the public can have no interest in agreeing to the subsidy of an industry unless the country receives some corresponding benefit, and that the subsidy, if granted, shall be absolutely essential to the industry and shall not be based on so high a percentage that it will inflict undue hardship on the consumer.

For this reason it is necessary to explore what the last six years of protection for paper has meant to the consumer. Although the correct comparison, when considering efficiency, is that of the cost of manufacture in other countries operating under the nearest similar conditions, when deciding what measure of protection, if any, is necessary, the figures to be considered are what such papers will cost when brought to India. To this figure is added the normal revenue tariff and the difference between the resulting

price and what it will cost at the protective duty will give the measure of the cost of protection to the consumer. On British printing paper this figure is about five pice per pound or roughly Rs. 60 per ton. On Continental papers it will be somewhat more. The actual estimate of the amount realized by the protective duty during the past six years is Rs. 1,16,00,000. In addition, the Indian mills have been enabled by protection to charge the same amount extra over the rates they would have been able to charge had protection not been granted. Assuming about three-fourths of the annual output of the Indian mills to be of the protected classes of paper, this would amount to about 30,000 tons and thus would result in a tax on the consumer of Rs. 18,00,000 per annum. This means that the actual cost to the consumer of protection is about Rs. 38,00,000 per annum whilst he is already paying some Rs. 1,50,000 more per annum (in packing, freight and revenue duty) than similar paper would cost elsewhere.

We now have to consider what benefits have accrued as a result of this impost. We find that three mills between them contribute approximately seven-eighths of the total output. Of these mills one was producing bamboo pulp when protection was introduced but has effected no increase in production. On the contrary, having installed a new paper-making machine it is now importing 75 p. c. of its requirements in pulp. One mill produced 2,000 tons (or about 5 p. c. of the total Indian output) of bamboo pulp in 1930 and third has only recently installed some plant for the production of this pulp.

It is claimed that this material (bamboo) which is the only one that offers any prospect of real development in this country, is still in the experimental stage and that a further ten years' protection is necessary for it to become properly established. We are therefore asked to face further additional taxation of anything up to Rs. 38,00,000 per annum or Rs. 3,80,00,000 in all and this on the basis of promises which may or may not be fulfilled.

Extravagant promises which proved incapable of fulfilment were made in 1925 and there is no guarantee that those now made will be any less fragile.

for the Tory Party and its propaganda. The Socialist Government crumbled up—or at any its leaders did—before the situation that was created, and let the Tories get away with the victory. Without doubt the situation was a difficult one, but nothing that has happened or been revealed so far justifies MacDonald and Snowden in yielding to the demands of the Tory Party and their Press, or of the banks at that time.

To what extent there was understanding between these three factors, or whether there was any understanding at all, I have no knowledge, but it is striking that they were all working for the same end. For over twelve months the bulk of the Tory Press had been carrying on reckless propaganda against the Labour Government, and by virtue of the two forms of expenditure mentioned earlier in this article, declaring that the Government was bringing the country to bankruptcy. This propaganda began to be believed when it became known that our banks were in a difficult position owing to their commitments to Germany, where their loans were now locked up. It suited the Tory Party and its Press to mix up these two issues together, and thus to saddle the Government with the responsibility for the situation which had been caused solely by the banks. In order to get the banks out of a hole, the Government arranged a loan on terms, which involved a complete reversal of its domestic policy. It was on that issue that the Government fell and rightly fell. MacDonald and Snowden yielded to the proposals of Tory reactionaries and the banks. As the Liberal leaders also succumbed to this demand, and were thus prepared to go back on their election slogan of a huge development policy, the Labour Government had either to support the idea of a National Government and a policy of reaction as regards expenditure, or come out boldly in defence of its own policy, explain to the world in clear language the causes of the then existing financial situation, reveal the real strength of Britain's financial position, and mercilessly expose the shameful propaganda which the unpatriotic Tory Press had been carrying on for a year or more. This, together with

proposals, on Socialist lines, for meeting the deficit in the budget—a situation which is common to the countries who have been closely associated with us in the financial crisis referred to—would in my view have been the right course to take, notwithstanding that it might have meant the defeat and resignation of the Government. There would have been glory and honour in such a course whereas in bowing to the demands of reaction, MacDonald and Snowden struck a heavy blow at the Labour movement, in the building up of which they have played such an important part.

Having gained this signal victory, the Tories set out to exploit the position. This they did in a very ingenious way. In order to save their faces MacDonald and Snowden were compelled to lay stress on the necessity, in the crisis, for a "National" Government. This plea was necessary to the Liberals also, and it suited the Tories down to the ground. It gave the latter a golden opportunity of forcing an election which, by virtue of an appeal to patriotism and "National" interests, might enable them to sweep the country, and even to give the Tory Party a clear majority which would be used to enforce a system of tariffs on the country, as the Party would see to it that this issue was brought to the fore in the election contest.

And so it was. From the moment the emergency session of Parliament met, which occurred on September 8, the tariff hot-heads in the Tory Party gave the Government no peace, and indeed made its work impossible. So that in spite of numerous protests from many quarters, a General Election had to be declared; and once it was declared, tariffs was the sole theme of the Tory Party.

The situation thus created was extremely embarrassing to the Prime Minister and Mr. Snowden, as well as to the Liberals. For MacDonald and Snowden had to defend their action against that of their colleagues in the Labour Government. That meant, of course, that they had to make out a case for a "National" as against a "Party" Government. Thus as their personal honour and reputations were also at stake, they scarcely stopped at anything in order to secure a majority at the polls. At all costs they must

swamp Labour, in doing which they had at their disposal the entire Tory, and nearly the entire Liberal, Press at their service. The result was the use of misrepresentation on an unprecedented scale. The country was stampeded by panic as never before. Hence the result, which as I have already said, has startled and disturbed even those who were chiefly responsible for it. Without doubt the recent election and its results have done a permanent injury to the political life of this country. It is scarcely likely that the methods which proved so "successful" will not be tried again, especially as the defenders of the existing social and industrial system will become more and more desperate as the Labour Party comes nearer securing a majority.

And now that the "National" Government has met we find that it is precisely what many of us said it would be, viz., the most partisan Government this country ever had. In spite of MacDonald and Snowden, who did so much to swell the Tory majority within the Government ranks, and in spite of the Liberal, who played a feeble game from the first, the one issue around which everything is made to revolve is "tariffs." And so it will be to the end of the chapter. Thus there is every likelihood that the recent election will turn out to be the greatest hoax in our Parliamentary history. It may also reveal how a great appeal to patriotism and the reputations of two founders of the Labour Party were exploited for the narrowest and most selfish of party ends.

The First Conference of Indian Students in Germany

AT the initiative of Hindustan Students' Club of Munich, Germany (whose permanent address is *Studentenheim, Turken Strasse 58, Munich, Germany*), the first conference of Indian students in Germany was held on October 24-25, 1931. Miss Dr. Maitreyee Bose, M. A., one of the Deutsche Akademie scholars in medicine, in the University of Munich, was chosen unanimously Chairman of the Reception Committee and Dr. Taraknath Das, Hon. Member of the Deutsche Akademie, acted as the Chairman of the Conference.

The prime object of calling the Conference was to form a non-political central organization of Indian Students' Clubs in Germany. The Conference was attended by Indian students representing various German universities—Berlin, Cologne, Freiburg, Hanover, Hohenheim, Karlsruhe, Munich and Stuttgart. Letters were received from representative Indian students residing in Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Jena and Tübingen, expressing their full sympathy towards the object of the conference although they were unable to be present on the occasion.

The proceedings of the Conference opened with an Indian national song, which was followed by an address by Miss Dr. Maitreyee Bose, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates and explaining the object of the Conference. Dr. Taraknath Das, after his being elected unanimously as the Chairman of the Conference, delivered the following address:

THE PRESIDENT'S OPENING ADDRESS

Ladies and gentlemen,

I wish to thank you for the honour conferred upon me for your request to preside over

the deliberations of the first conference of Indian students in Germany.

Miss Dr. Maitreyee Bose, in her address as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, has already spoken of the object of the Conference. I wish to remind you of this object, as expressed by Dr. Girdharrath Mukhopadhyaya, the Secretary of Hindustan Students' Club of Munich, in his letter of invitation sent out to Indian students in all culture centres of Germany. I have agreed to act as Chairman of the Conference with the clear understanding that the Conference will be non-political.

In an article on "International Federation of Indian Students," published in the *Modern Review* of October, 1931, I have discussed the need of a world federation of Indian students to promote cultural co-operation between India and the rest of the civilized world, and also to break up cultural isolation of India which has a great bearing on the present condition of the country. The arguments and facts I have used in this article are very familiar to you and it is not necessary for me to repeat them. Indeed, I feel that every Indian student who has given any thought to the welfare of the people, knows that Indian conditions cannot be bettered unless Indian national efficiency is improved in every field of human activity—scientific, economic and political as well as national defence. The problem, therefore, that is facing an Indian student who wishes to serve India and her people, is to do all that is possible to increase his own efficiency in his own field of activity.

One of the most important theories regarding the philosophy of education is that one must acquire fullest possible development of manhood and womanhood, and this can be achieved through many-sided activities concentrated on the object of attaining perfection. Similarly, I feel that the goal, the ultimate

Government Managed Commercial Concerns in Mysore State and Labour

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

AT times men at the helm of Mysore State have possessed both vision and courage. Instead of blindly modelling their administration upon the British-Indian pattern, they have dared to fashion their own designs. That has been true particularly in regard to the development of the economic resources of the State. The policy of *laissez faire* pursued by the Government of India and the provincial administrations subordinate to it, has not commended itself to some of the Dewans in control of the State and they have not hesitated to depart from it.

It was perhaps inevitable that men of British birth and descent who found themselves set in authority over British India should follow the line of least resistance in regard to the industrial movement. Their own country prospered under such a policy, at any rate, until, comparatively recent years. His Britannic Majesty's Government left industrial activity to private enterprise and refused to impose any tariffs except for purely revenue purposes.

The Government of India, constituted as it was, was not, in reality, free to chalk out an independent financial and economic policy for itself. It was, to begin with, a subordinate administration, taking its orders from the Secretary of State for India, who was an important member of the British Cabinet and a servant of the British Parliament in which the financial and economic interests of Britain were strongly represented and capable of making themselves heard. Even if the inspiration for framing important economic measures for application to India did not come from the outside, those measures could be introduced only upon approval by the authorities in Downing Street. Instances in which the officials in our country appeared to have been over-ruled in such matters have not been unknown.

Even when policy was framed in India and left unaltered by Whitehall, it emanated from British officials who, despite all constitutional reforms, have managed to preserve their monopoly of power. These officials, however loyal to Indian interests, had been bred in an atmosphere of *laissez faire*. British India was therefore committed to that policy, until the British psychology underwent a change or Indians were permitted to come into their own.

Indian administrators in the Indian States were, however, somewhat differently situated. They were under no obligation to follow the line of least resistance in respect of industrial development. They were sons of the soil, who knew at first hand conditions in the country and the handicaps under which every unit comprised in India laboured.

Literacy was low. Facilities for technical education existed in only a few centres and they were, as a rule, not of the most efficient type. Organization of credit was poor. Capital was shy. Persons who had money were, with few exceptions, unenterprising or selfish. Indians did not control the making of transport rates or tariffs. Nor did they determine the currency policy of their country.

Few Indian rulers seem, however, to have taken cognizance of India's handicap to the point of adventuring upon a bold and comprehensive policy of fostering industry through active State intervention. The reason is not far to seek.

The education imparted to many of the Princes was not of a type calculated to make them independent thinkers. Like the system in vogue at the "finishing academies" that British girls attended during the Victorian age, it laid emphasis upon externals—polished manners, "smart" English, sport and the like.

Administration in the Indian States has, moreover, had to be conducted with an eye on the British Resident, who remains a power to

be reckoned with even during the era of non-intervention. The peculiar conditions existing in "Indian India" have developed a subtle type of mind, almost infinitely resourceful in finding indirect means to get things done.

It is not surprising therefore that most Indian rulers should have preferred to let industrial development take its own course. Inaction spelled comfort for themselves and their officials.

One or two of the Rajas who, in the first flush of manhood, actually departed from the doctrine of *laissez faire* were, moreover, unfortunate in the men they placed in charge of the factories they established. Heavy losses ensued in consequence. Soon the zeal evaporated and the State concerns were closed or sold for anything they would fetch. Such failures had the effect of discouraging other Indian rulers from making experiments of a like nature.

II

Mysore has not been fortunate in all its economic ventures: but it has shown great pertinacity in endeavouring to stimulate such development through Government agency.

Shortly after the "rendition" Sir Sheshadari Iyer took the plunge. He turned down the offer made by a concession-hunter to generate electricity from the falls at Sivasamudram. As a friend of mine who was close to him at that time put it, he argued that if some one born many thousands of miles away from Mysore could make money for himself after paying all expenses and, in addition, something in the way of royalty to the Government, why could not the Government itself, conducted as it was by indigenous agency, make a good thing out of the undertaking. He therefore refused to part with the concession and set to work to evolve a plan whereby all the profits would go automatically to the people of Mysore.

To do this Sheshadari needed courage of a very high order. The Maharaja was at the time a boy at school. The Dewan worked under dual control—that of the Maharani-Mother, who was acting as Regent and of the Resident, the power behind the Regency. He was therefore not a free agent. Yet he managed to send away

empty-handed, a concession-seeker—an influential Briton, I believe.

Sheshadari had circumspection as well as courage. He did not permit enthusiasm to over-ride his judgment. He called experts to his aid. With their help he evolved a sound scheme. He found the money for the capital works. He imported machinery from the United States of America and Switzerland. He insisted upon the manufacturers sending their own men out to Sivasamudram to install it. He made arrangements for working the plant that served a double purpose:

(i) they made it possible for the State to derive a handsome return on the capital investment; and

(ii) a number of Mysoreans and near-Mysoreans were trained to take control of the plant and other electric works, in due course.

All honour to Sir Sheshadari Iyer!

The Mysorean landlord who succeeded that great Madrasí Dewan chose to play for safety. So did his successor, V. P. Madhava Row, who followed, did not lack courage; but he took the view that under the system in vogue the men whose money he would be risking were (politically) mute and therefore he must be cautious in launching out on new projects.

Something must be said in favour of that view. It does credit to the conscience of the official who took it. No better argument for making the taxpayer's voice supreme in the spending of the public money could be advanced. To Madhava Row's credit be it said that, born of the people, he remained the people's man, even when serving as the Dewan of three of the most powerful Maharajas—the rulers of Mysore, Baroda and Travancore. Arrived at an age when it is customary for Indians to shirk responsibility, he did not hesitate to journey to London in 1919 and led the Indian National Congress deputation when it appeared before the Selborne Joint Committee on the Government of India Bill.

With the installation of Sir M. Visvesvaraya as Dewan, during the second decade of the present century, a new era in industrial development opened in the State. He

possessed certain advantages over his predecessors. He was, to begin with, a Mysorean by birth. Unlike many other Mysoreans of his time, he had elected to go out of his State and had made a brilliant engineering career for himself in the neighbouring Bombay Presidency. He returned to his "native province" as a man of mature years whose advice as a consulting engineer was in demand elsewhere. No Indian had held the Chief Engineer's post in Mysore until it was offered to him. His elevation from that position to the "Dewanate" came almost as a matter of course.

Wiry in physique, Visvesvaraya had taken great care of his body. His tastes were simple. He was abstemious in eating and a total abstainer from intoxicating drink. He believed in open air and plenty of exercise. His habits were regular. He was therefore full of vigour and vivacity. Men half his age could not bear a quarter of the strain to which he took delight in subjecting himself.

Official life in Bangalore—the headquarters of the Mysore Government—is regulated on the principle that all Indians are children of eternity and therefore haste is utterly unnecessary. Clerks arrive at the public offices at 11 A. M. "Officers" in some cases do not get there until noon—or even later. There are adjournments every two hours or so for "coffee"—very potent stuff indeed. By 4-30 P. M. many pairs of eyes are glued to the clock. By 5 o'clock the trek homeward—or clubward—has commenced. And fashionable clubs in Bangalore are not prohibitionist institutions any more than the Government is. Every excuse that can be used to keep the offices closed is taken advantage of. Working days appear merely to be interludes between holidays.

Mysore is not, I suppose, any worse than British India in this respect. It is no better, at any rate. Why should a State run by Indians be not in advance of one conducted by non-Indians?

I wonder how the easy-going officials felt when a human dynamo like Visvesvaraya was installed as the Dewan and how they fared under him! He certainly made things hum. Schemes came out of Visvesvaraya's brain

like *weinerwursts* out of a sausage-machine. They embraced all manner of subjects—all phases of human activity—administrative, constitutional, educational, public health, sanitation, social reform, finance and economics.

Visvesvaraya had no faith in the policy of *laissez faire*, at least for India. He took the earliest opportunity to assume the management of certain railway lines till then worked by a company with offices registered in London. He put through a project for supplementing the water-supply for generating electricity at Sivasamudram by damming Cauvery river and its tributaries near Mysore City.* His enthusiasm found special vent in the development of the natural resources of the State.

III

Before I deal with some of the Visvesvaraya schemes I must briefly refer to the living conditions at Sivasamudram, especially those of the wage-earners.

The settlement has a pretty setting. Through it runs the canal specially built to convey the Cauvery water from the highest point in the vicinity to the turbines through large pipes, thereby obtaining the maximum "head." If at the commencement of the operations the place was anything like the surrounding country it must have looked wild. But in 1921, when I first saw it, it presented a neat, trim appearance, as it did during more recent visits paid to it by me. Straight, fairly broad roads have been laid out. They are lined with trees that provide shade from the scorching rays of the sun, which seems particularly hot to anyone coming from Bangalore or Mysore City, and no wonder, for there is a considerable drop in altitude.

The buildings on either side of the canal that catch the visitor's eye are set in well-kept little gardens. The "Inspection Bungalow" (open to the public when not in use by officials) is deep-veranda-ed. It is separated by the road in front from a beautiful pool.

* For particulars of this project see the second article of this series in the November issue of this Review.

At one side stands the hospital, also a substantial bungalow, with a neat yard surrounding it. It is fairly well equipped and at the time of my last visit it was in charge of an Assistant Surgeon—a "fairly senior man in the Service," as he was described to me.

The "officers' quarters" are on the opposite side of the canal. They are commodious and airy. The one in which Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and I were given a tea party by the Superintendent (Mr. N. N. Iyengar, who received his electrical training in the United States of America and has lately obtained a more paying post in Bombay) was remarkably cool considering the temperature at Sivasamudram. When I said something complimentary about the bungalow, the secret came out. It was designed for an American—and not an Indian—to live in. So were some of the other houses near by.

The "cooly quarters" were neither commodious nor cool. The "old ones" reminded me of prison cells, set one against the other—and back to back. The "new ones" were of the "cottage type" but even they were cramped. It was evident at the first glance that not as much trouble had been taken to provide this part of the colony with shades as in the case of the part wherein the better paid staff lived.

I spoke of the congested conditions in which the workers were compelled to live. One of the electrical engineers calmly absolved his own department by shoving the responsibility on to the Public Works Department. The P. W. D. had built the original "lines," he said. He seemed to be proud of the "cottages" that had been recently constructed by his own department.

Another official with whom I discussed the subject was a man of humour. He told me of a worker—an "out-sider," (non-Mysorean), by the way—who was so tall that when he slept at night in one of the "cells" allotted to him, his feet stuck out of the door. Wage-workers in India should, I suppose, be grateful for small mercies.

The labourers live in cramped quarters here no doubt; but their prison-like cells are fairly substantial and are kept whitewashed. They have electric light (without charge, if I

remember aright). I have seen water flowing with force from taps near the "lines." There are schools for children and places of Christian, Muslim and, I believe, though I am not sure, Hindu worship. They have a co-operative store from which they can purchase the necessaries of life at prices just a little above cost.

I know that all these amenities were not specially created for the labourers at Sivasamudram. No American could have been persuaded to live there if some sort of arrangement for making water safe to drink had not been installed. Electric energy costs only a fraction of an anna per unit at the head-works. Schools must be provided for the children of officials and clerks.

The labourers at Sivasamudram nevertheless benefit from these amenities—or can benefit from them if they so desire. That cannot be said of all the public works under execution in the State, or managed by the Government.

Given a quickened social conscience, however, the condition of workers at the hydro-electric head-works could be immensely improved. The concern is highly remunerative. The Chief Electrical Engineer—a Coorg trained in Schenectady, New York at the expense of the State, which employed more than one relation of his—quoted to me, while I was at Sivasamudram, statistics from a report he had just made to the Government to show that his department was contributing to the general revenue some Rs. 25,00,000 a year as *net profit*. He was naturally proud of the result. "We work on a purely commercial basis," he told me.

Judged by the money appropriated for improving the condition of the labourers, the electrical department of Mysore's concept of a "commercial basis" is exceedingly narrow. That appears strange, especially when it is realized that:

(i) from the very beginning until recently the department was run by Americans;

(ii) since then the American mantle has fallen upon an America-trained Indian and nearly all of his principal assistants at Sivasamudram have spent years in the United States of America; and

(iii) the works at Sivasamudram have

served as a cog made any real control impossible. The Mysore Government, in short, had to pay through the nose. It did so with remarkably good grace. The author of the scheme (Sir M. Visvesvaraya) was at its head. He enjoyed, at the time, the unbounded confidence of the Maharaja. Money was therefore not stinted. Requisitions, though in excess of the estimates, were met.

I must say in fairness to Sir M. Visvesvaraya that he had to contend against disloyalty from within and opposition—often underhand and determined—from the outside. Even Time seemed to be leagued against him.

Delay, through one cause or another, made it impossible for him to capture the favourable market for selling the output, as he had anticipated. If he had managed to produce iron when prices were high, he might possibly have made profits that would have enabled him, in a short time, to recoup the capital expenditure.

As it turned out, however, the State purchased machinery when the prices and shipping charges were at the peak and the American exchange was unfavourable. By the time the pig iron was ready for sale, the slump had begun. The market worsened until iron manufacture ceased to be profitable even for concerns that had been built in the most favourable circumstances. The works have never paid their way. The cost to the tax-payer has been heavy.

No one outside the Finance Department at Bangalore and the inner ring at the works at Bhadravati has an exact knowledge of the total losses that have been incurred on this venture. The amount cannot but be large for a State like Mysore. There is, to begin with, loss on account of capital investment. The plant has never been able to pay anything towards interest and sinking fund charges. This item, in itself, cannot be small. The cost incurred upon the plant was nearly 50 per cent in excess of the original estimate. The capital cost has had to be drastically written down. There have been recurring losses on operation. The total amount on that charge, too, is large. Year after year the value of the stocks held had to be written down. The pig iron stacked up in piles in the

immense yards of the works awaiting a buyer cannot be appreciating in value or improving in quality. The same is true of the products of the distillation plant.

I doubt if two crores would cover the losses already incurred. And the end of losses is nowhere near in sight.

I have great sympathy with Sir M. Visvesvaraya—the father of the scheme. The Fates frowned upon him from the very moment he committed the State to it.

If his colleagues and subordinates had pulled their weight, instead of some of them exerting it against him, and if he could have remained in office for some years longer, his dream might have been realized. He was, however, hampered from beginning to end and had to leave his work half-finished.

I cannot, however, congratulate Visvesvaraya—and even less his successors in office—upon the arrangements made for working the plant. Their pathetic faith in the ability of the "Mysore Civilian" to turn their hand to anything betrayed them, I fear, into blunder after blunder.

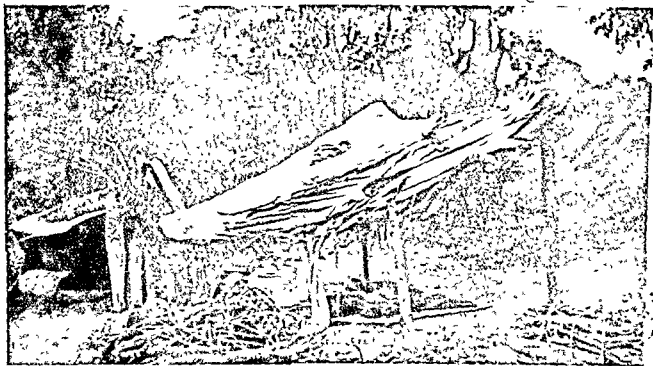
Men nimble at figures—men clever at dealing with office files—men capable of preserving law and order among a dumb population—are no doubt useful for the purposes for which they have been trained. When, however, they are installed in positions that would tax the capacity of technicians and business men of vast experience, they are bound to flounder.

This elementary fact has yet to be grasped at Bangalore.

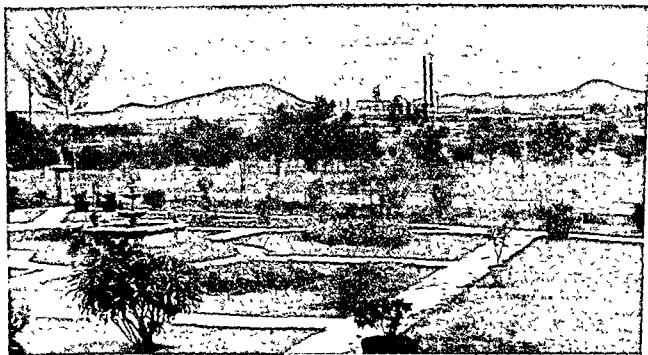
The scientific side—particularly the chemical and metallurgical side—at Bhadravati has never received the attention it deserved.

Nor has the sales side.

The men who have been set to run the works may be brilliant in their own way. They are certainly amiable (that much I can say from my own experience). But they have not received the specialized training nor have they the experience requisite for conducting a great industrial undertaking. The clique spirit has, moreover, been rife at Bhadravati. Non-Mysorean Brahmans with fine technical and scientific qualifications have not been able to "stick it out." Non-Brahmans have fared even worse.



Coolies' "Country Homes" at Bhadravati



The Mysore Iron Works at Bhadravati Viewed from the Veranda of the "Viceregal Lodge"

The real sufferer is the poor tax-payer in the State—entirely voiceless; for the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, as I shall show in another article are

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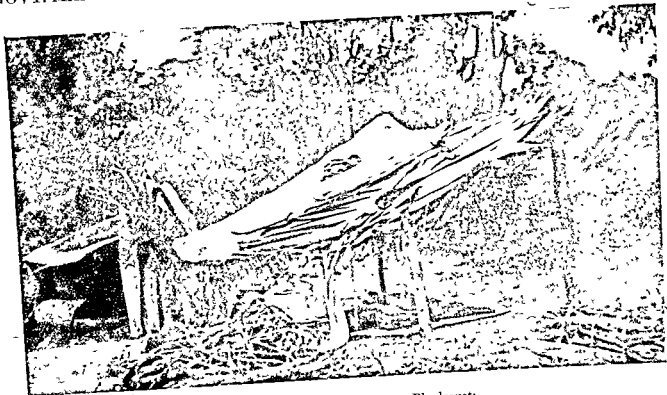
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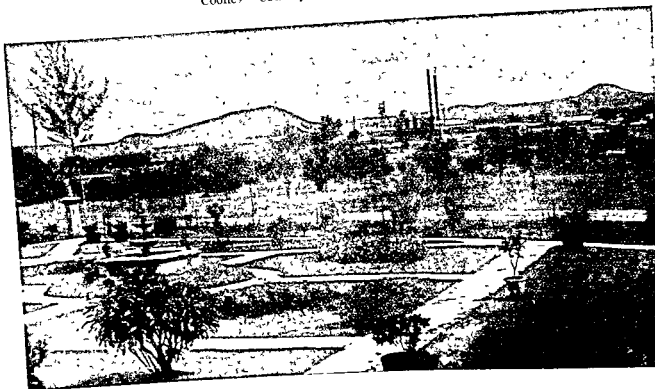
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Had affairs been better managed at Bhadravati, the Government could have set private

employers a splendid example in the matter of housing labourers. The plans, as detailed by the General Superintendent—a Russo-American—on the occasion of my first visit to the works in the early part of the last decade, made me very optimistic.

Upon recently revisiting the works, I found, however, that the Russo-American had gone away soon after my visit and the scheme of which he had talked had never been taken in hand. "Funds did not permit it," I was told.

Most of the labourers at Bhadravati therefore dwell in primitive thatched huts. Little has been attempted in the way of sanitation. One of the first cuts ordered from Bangalore was, in fact, the suspension of the drainage scheme—surely a necessity in a "modern" industrial colony.

The "hospital" provided is a shack near the gate of the works. At the time of my last visit the Assistant Surgeon in charge was trying to obtain sanction for supplementing it with two rooms wherein he could put a few "in" patients.

So meagre indeed is the medical provision made for works of this magnitude that when the Assistant Surgeon goes out on the "line," as he is expected to do, only a sub-assistant surgeon is left in charge. I must hasten to add that this is not due to narrow outlook upon the part of the Medical Department. The cost of the medical establishment is, I understand, debited to the Iron Works and the desire upon the part of the management to economize is responsible for this parsimony.

Why should economy always be practised in Mysore State at the expense of the poorest of the poor?

VI

The "Viceregal Lodge" at Bhadravati, where I spent many days as an honoured guest, left nothing to be desired. The rooms were tastefully furnished.

There were spring-beds with mosquito curtains, commodious admirals and hand-some dressing-tables in the bedrooms. Hot and

cold running water and English porcelain-lined bath tubs were provided in the bathrooms. Excellent food was served at a long, prettily decorated table in the dining-room by a butler who knew his job thoroughly. There was a carefully kept garden in front of the bungalow.

The houses in the vicinity were also commodious. Two or three of them, I was told, were used as "guest houses" and the others as officers' residences. The bungalows had been designed for Americans. The present occupants received only a fraction of the salaries that had been paid to the foreign experts and therefore pressed the Government (successfully, I believe) to reduce the rent.

If money had not been lavished upon housing the few at the iron works at Bhadravati, the many might not be living in wretched conditions. The dwellings of members of the subordinate staff look like the boxes in which machinery is transported.

If the Americans, during their tenure, introduced any form of welfare work, their Mysorean successors did not think it worth while to keep it up. During the many days that I spent there I did not see any signs of it.

Yet the General Manager, a "Civilian" is a most considerate man. He exerted himself in every way to make Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and me comfortable while we were at the Works. So did his Personal Assistant, a young Brahman of engaging manners who, I hear, is specializing in steel manufacture.

The only explanation I can offer is that the men placed in charge of Government works have yet to acquire the modern conception of taking good care of workers. Some day, I hope, the State will become progressive in this respect and set an example which the private employers may copy to advantage.*

* This is the third article in the series "Condition of Wage-Workers in Mysore State." The first and second articles appeared in the *Modern Review* for October and November respectively. The final article in the series will appear next month.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words—Editor. *The Modern Review*.]

Muhammadan Educational Endowments

I

To
The Editor, *The Modern Review*
Sir,

I crave the hospitality of your columns with a view to pointing out certain inaccuracies in the article entitled "The Muhammadans and the Education Policy of the Government" published in the November issue of *The Modern Review*.

In concluding his article the writer observes:

- (4) There is no scholarship, etc., given by a Moslem which is open to the Hindus
- (5) There is no scholarship, etc., endowed by Hindus which is not open to Moslems.

A perusal of the Calcutta University Calendar would show that the above generalizations are not correct. The information furnished below has been collected from the C. U. Calendar for 1930.

The following scholarships, etc., endowed by Muhammadans are open to the Hindus:

(1) Nawab Abdul Latif and Father Lafont Scholarship. Gift of Nawab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman to be awarded "to the successful candidate who stands first among the lady students of the year in any science subject other than Mathematics at the I. A. or I. Sc. examinations." (P. 232).

(2) Khujasta Akhtar Banu Suhrawardy Gold Medal. Gift of Dr. A. Suhrawardy to the author of the best thesis embodying the result as original research or investigation in a topic relating to the reciprocal influence of Hindu and Moslem cultures and civilization. (P. 232)

(3) Ibrahim Solaiman Salehjee Memorial Fund for the promotion and study and research in Muhammadan Law. (P. 246).

The following scholarships, etc., endowed by the Hindus are not open to the Muhammadans.

- (1) Nabin Chandra Kundu Prize (p. 271)
- (2) Harikankari Devi Medal (pp. 276-7)
- (3) Eshan Scholarship (p. 288)
- (4) Harishchandra Prize (p. 291)
- (5) Pratiba Devi Scholarship (p. 320)
- (6) Garuprasanna Ghose Scholarship. "Preference shall always be given to Hindus" (p. 387)
- (7) Radhika Mohan Scholarship (pp. 390-1)

Besides the above, a careful scrutiny of the list of scholarships, etc., of each institution affiliated to the Calcutta University if available, may likely show that the writer is not quite justified in his remarks. Nos. (4) and (5).

CALCUTTA

Yours etc,
PRABHAT SANYAL

II

Dear Sir,

With reference to my article headed "The Muhammadans and the Education Policy of the Government" in the November issue of *The Modern Review* the following additions and corrections have been found necessary after further enquiry. I shall be highly obliged by your publishing them in your much esteemed paper.

Yours truly,
CALCUTTA ROMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE

In section B (p. 545) on "Education exclusively Hindu and exclusively Moslem" after "1. Sanskrit College" read "(with the School Department)." After "No Government Scholarships and stipends" read "But there are 60 part-free studentships of the monthly value of Rs. 2 each in the College and 100 part-free studentships of the value of Re. 1 each in the School Department." And add—"2. Hindu School" under the heading "Govt. Institutions for Hindus." After "8. Calcutta Madrasah" read "with its School Department recognized by the University." After "18 Mohsin Scholarships" (line 5 from the bottom, p. 545) read "The exact number of free-student-ships and part-free studentships could not be obtained." The omission to mention the number of part-free studentships in the San-krit College does not, however, affect the total expenditure given in the article. More detail regarding the different Madrasahs and the Islamic Intermediate College, specially the scholarships, free-student-ships, etc., are reserved for future occasion. A few words about the I-lamia College are however necessary here. The Director of Public Instruction's Report (1929-30) gives "Rs. 31,191" as the amount paid "out of public fund" for the college. But there is a wide discrepancy here between the said Report and the Inspection Report by the

Inspectors of Colleges (for 1931). The Finance sheet of the latter shows:

RECEIPTS		
Fees	...	Rs. 31,233 1 0
Recurring Govt. Grant	...	9,312 2 0
Other Sources	...	1,203 0 0
Total Rs.		41,748 3 0
EXPENDITURE		
Teaching Staff	...	Rs. 1,00,094 7 0
Clerical	...	3,163 10 0
Menial	...	2,004 7 0
Furniture	...	{ 311 11 0
	...	{ 976 6 0
Library	...	{ 65 0 0
	...	{ 2,445 7 6
Apparatus	...	35 1 6
Scholarships	...	5,358 15 0
Miscellaneous	...	6,519 14 0

Total Rs. 1,21,935 9 0

Deducting the total income from the total expenditure—

Rs. 1,21,935 9 0
41,748 3 0

Rs. 80,187 6 0

we get a deficit of Rs. 80,187-6-0. Assuming that this deficit was paid "out of public funds," the total expenditure on the *Islamic College* for

one year (1929-30) would be, according to the University Inspection Report, Rs. 80,187-6-0 plus Rs. 9,312-2-0, that is, Rs. 89,499-8-0 and not Rs. 31,191 as given in the Director's Report. Who will explain this big difference? It should be noted that the number of students in the *Islamic College*, as given in the Inspection Report (1931), is 371 and Rs. 5,358-15-0 was spent on scholarships, etc., in 1929-30. I understand also that there are 1 full free-student-ship and 12 half-free student-hips in this college.

In Section F—"Government encouragement to Moslem separatism" read "It is learnt from a reliable source that there are at least 70 Madrasahs in Bengal that follow the syllabus of the Calcutta Madrasah alone"—at the end

In the summary, item No. (5), after "not open to Moslems" read "in non-sectarian institutions."

In section D—"Reservation of Free-student-hips for Moslems," add at the end—"There are 6 free-boarder-hips in the Muhammadan Hostel of the Hugli College (C. U. Calendar, 1931)."

Under the head "Government expenditure on Sanskrit (Hindu) education, no figures for the Hindu School are given, as such information is not easily procurable by laymen. I am reliably informed, however, that the Hindu School which was founded, financed and richly endowed by Hindus, is fully self-supporting hardly requiring any Government subsidy.



Kashmir under Muslim Rule

AS DESCRIBED BY MUHAMMADAN HISTORIANS

(Translated from the Persian)

By X. Y. Z.

[It should be borne in mind that the majority of the people of Kashmir are Muhammadans, and among the latter the Sunnis form a majority.]

FROM "TARIKH-I-KASHMIRI AZAM"

EARLY in the year 1089 Hijri (1678 A. D.) Ibrahim Khan was appointed for the second time as Governor of Kashmir. During this term of his office, strange occurrences happened in Kashmir. . . . A religious riot took place. The cause of it was as follows: Abdus Shakur, one of the people of Hasanabad, which is a *mahalla* of the Shias, with his sons troubled a Sunni named Sadiq, and their enmity was protracted into a long-standing quarrel. In the course of the dispute, the aforesaid Shias publicly did some acts opposed to Canon Law and spoke some scornful words with reference to the Prophet's Companions [*i. e.*, the first three Khalifs, who were usurpers according to the Shias]. In spite of the complaint that Sadiq had lodged with the officers of Canon Law [*i. e.*, the Qazi], they [*i. e.*, the Shia defendants] remained under the protection of Ibrahim Khan. The Qazi Muhammad Yusuf, on his part, was filled with pious zeal; the people of the city [Srinagar] too cursed him greatly; and the flames of tumult and mischief were kindled. As Ibrahim Khan was keeping the defendant in his own house, the common people set fire to Hasanabad. During this movement, Fidayi Khan [the son of the governor] noisily came out to protect the people of Hasanabad. From the other side, the men of the city and the Khans of Kabul [who had come to Kashmir by order of the Emperor to reinforce an expedition] with their troops . . . all of whom were Sunnis, in concert with some other *mansabdars* . . . confronted him, and on both sides many were slain and wounded. The crowd

made a great tumult; the control passed out of the Qazi's hand.

Ibrahim Khan, finding himself powerless, surrendered Abdus Shakur and others, against whom there was a charge of blasphemy. They were confined in the *chabutra* [of the Kotwal]. Ultimately the aforesaid Abdus Shakur with two sons and one son-in-law were put to death. . . . The mob plundered and demolished the house of the *mufti* Mullah Muhammad Tahir, whose judgment was the reverse of the Qazi's. The disturbance and fighting in the city by the mob were very great. Baba Qasim, the religious head of the Shias, was seized by the mob in the streets and slain with insult and torture. Fidayi Khan rode out to punish the mob. The encounter took place before the house of Mirza Salim [a Sunni leader in the riot], who was slain with a number of the mob.

In the meantime Shaikli Baqa Baba (a descendant of the saint Khwaja Habibullah Naushahari) collected a mob and set fire to Ibrahim Khan's house. The governor sent his troops and arrested Baqa Baba, the qazi, the news-reporter, the paymaster, and eminent men of the city like Khwaja Lala Kani, Khwaja Haji Bandi and Khwaja Qasim Langar. The men of the city were subjected to marvellous despair and terror from both sides.

When the affair was fully reported to the Emperor Alamgir, he . . . dismissed Ibrahim Khan, . . . the arrested persons were released. This event took place in the year 1096 (A. D. 1685).

During Saif Khan's governorship (1664-1667), Husain Malik Charu, a Shia, was put to death for an insulting remark about the first three Khalifs.

It was during the term of Fazil Khan (1697-1700) that the men of Kashmir can be said to have [first] commonly attained to *mansabdari*;* he recommended Kashmiris for *mansab*, and the Emperor approved them all.

FROM KHAFI KHAN'S MUNTAKHAB-UL-LUBAB
(Vol. II, Pages 867-871.)

Year 1132 Hijri, (1720 A. D.)

At this time it was learnt from the news-reports of Kashmir that Mahbub Khan *alias* Abdun Nabi Kashmiri, who for a long time had quarrel with the Hindus, had, in view of the change in the character of the times, associated with himself a party of Musalmans, fond of disturbance, gone to Mir Ahmad Khan, the deputy governor of the province, and the qazi, and on the ground of certain precepts of the sacred law urged them to forbid the Hindus to ride horses, to wear coats, to tie turbans on their heads, or carry arms, or visit green fields and gardens, or bathe on special [sacred] days; and in this matter employed much filthiness [of language]. The officers replied, "Whatever the Padishah of the times and the masters of Canon Law at Court order in connection with the *zimmi*s (i. e., legally protected infidels) of all the country, we too can enforce on the Hindus of this place." Mahbub Khan, becoming angry and displeased [at this reply], wherever he saw Hindus, with the help of some Muslims subjected them to all kinds of oppression and disgrace. No Hindu could pass by any bazar or lane whom they did not molest. One day, a high Hindu of Kashmir named Majlis Rai, having gone with a party to visit a garden and meadow, was feeding Brahmins. Mahbub Khan, who had gathered round himself 10 or 12 thousand Musalmans, fell upon them by surprise and began to beat, bind and slay them. Majlis Rai fled with a few and reached Mir Ahmad Khan. Mahbub Khan, with all that party,

came to the house of Majlis Rai and the Hindu quarter [of Srinagar] and engaged in plundering and burning the houses. Whoever, Hindu or Muslim, came out to forbid them was slain or wounded. Similarly, they surrounded the house of Mir Ahmad Khan, and began to strike at it and throw stones and brickbats and discharge arrows and muskets into it. Everyone whom they found they seized and dishonoured in various ways. Some they slew, and many they wounded and robbed.

Mir Ahmad Khan was unable all that day and night to issue from his house and put down their tumult; by a hundred stratagems he secured release from that crowd. Next day, having collected a body of men, he, with Mir Shahwar Khan, the paymaster, and other officers, took horse and went against Mahbub Khan. They too assembled in the same manner as on the previous day and came forth to encounter Ahmad Khan. Another party, coming in the rear of the Khan, burnt the bridge which Mir Ahmad had crossed; to both sides of the road of the bazar where Mir Ahmad Khan had arrived, they set fire, and engaged in discharging arrows, bullets, stones and brickbats from the front and the roofs of houses and the top of walls. Women and children from all sides hurled wood shavings and clods of earth, whatever they could lay their hands on. A great fight took place. In this riot, Sayyid Wali (the sister's son of Mir Ahmad) and Zulfiqar Beg (*naib* of the Police Prefect) with many others were slain and wounded. The situation became critical for Mir Ahmad Khan, who could not find a way either to advance or to retreat. He made submission and after undergoing a thousand insults and humiliation procured his release from that destruction.

Mahbub Khan went to the Hindu ward [of the city], plundered and burnt such houses as still remained, returned to the house of Mir Ahmad a second time, seized and dragged out with every kind of insult Majlis Rai and others who had taken shelter there, cut off their noses and ears, circumcised them—nay more, of some they cut off the... [*qita'-i-alat-i-tanasal*], and kept them in prison.

Next day, assembling with the same

* The reason for this Muhammadan people's wholesale exclusion from any office (*mansab*) under Muhammadan local governors and Muhammadan sovereigns at Delhi, is to be found in their character as summed up in a Persian couplet which is well known. As late as Nov. 12, 1816, the saintly Sir Henry Lawrence wrote in an official report,—"Chameroes are everywhere noted for their odiousness, vociferous volubility and begging propensities."

tumult in the Jama' mosque, they dismissed Mir Ahmad Khan from the *naib-subahdari*, gave the title of Dindar Khan (the Religious Lord) to the source of all this disturbance and trouble (*i. e.*, Mahbub Khan), appointed him as the governor of the Musalmans, and decided that pending the arrival of a new *naib-subahdar* from the Imperial Court he should carry out the execution of Canonical rules and the judge's decisions. For five months Mir Ahmad Khan remained retired in his house and deprived of power, while Dindar Khan became the all-powerful governor, sat in the mosque, and transacted all the business of the country and the administration.

When the news of it reached the Emperor, he sent out Mumin Khan Najm-i-sani as deputy governor for Inayetullah Khan, dismissed Kazim Khan (the son of Amanat Khan Khafi) the diwan of Kashmir, on account of this riot; many of the high officers of Kashmir also were punished...

As villainy is the leaven in the nature of the people of that country, by order of the True Avenger, he [*i. e.*, Mahub Khan, now Dindar Khan] too was destined to suffer, in retribution for his acts, what had been inflicted upon another Muhammadan sect [namely, the Shias of Kashmir] and on the Hindus... When Mahbub Khan went to the house of Shahwar Khan Bakhshi, ... he was seized, his two young sons, who used always to go in front of him reciting the *maulud*, had their bellies ripped open, and he himself was put to death with torture.

*Every man gets [in return] what he has done ;
He gets back the good or evil that he does.*

Next day, the Musalmans assembled demanding the blood of their chief (*muqtada*, priest, exemplary man, *i. e.*, Mahbub Khan), went to the *mahallas* of the Jadelis, who were reported to be Shias, and Hasanabad, and began to beat, bind, slay and burn. The battle raged for two days, finally the assailants gained the victory and put to the sword about two to three thousand persons there,—among whom a large number of Mughal (*i. e.*, Central Asian) travellers had alighted,—with many women and children. Lakhs of Rupees worth of goods were carried off in plunder. For two or three days the flames of disturbance blazed up, and it is better not to write about what was done to this multitude [of victims] in the form of bloodshed and destruction of property and of female-chastity,—which has been reported by reliable witnesses.

The rioters after finishing [this work] went to the house of the Bakhshi and the qazi. Mir Shahwar Khan, in utter helplessness, concealed himself in a place where he could not be followed. The qazi fled away in disguise. They demolished his house to its foundations, and carried off its bricks one by one by the hand. Mumin Khan, after entering the city, sent away Mir Ahmad Khan, providing him with equipment and escort to Yamanabad, ... and wilfully made a compromise with the people of Kashmir.



Indian Minorities and Reference to League of Nations

BY PROF. DR. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJEE

THERE seems to be a fundamental misconception in some quarters in relation to the suggestion made by the Hindu Mahasabha and some members of the round table conference that the Indian minorities problem should be referred to the League of Nations. For instance, the following appeared in *The Times* of London on October 31 last :

Maulvi Shafee Daoodi, secretary of the All-India Moslem Conference and a member of the Legislative Assembly, in a statement yesterday said :

"Under Articles 12 and 13 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the League is only competent to deal with disputes between its Member States and not disputes between classes or communities within any Member State. Further, these articles stand on the general principle that only disputes of a legal character, such as treaties, damages claimed under treaties and questions of law, are suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement. This obvious general principle also bars the alternative proposals."

The proposal to refer the Indian Minority Problems to the League of Nations does not mean that the arbitration of the League is being invoked to settle the domestic disputes of any state-member of the League. The proposal means

(1) That India should be permitted to solve her own Minority Problems by the same method and scheme by which she has herself helped so many Sovereign States and Nations of Europe to solve their difficult Minority and Racial Problems for the establishment of world-peace ;

(2) That this scheme is embodied in a standardized form in what is known as the Minorities Guarantee Treaty, which is intended for application to Minority Problems all over the world and has been already applied in nearly twenty different States of Europe, including the premier Moslem State of Turkey ;

(3) That this Scheme of Minority Protection was formulated by the collective wisdom and statesmanship of the Allied and Associated Powers (including England and India), who, as victors in the Great War, proposed its universal application as an important step towards world-peace ;

(4) That, therefore, to this Scheme and

to all its principles and provisions of Minority Protection both India and England are already parties, contributories, and signatories ;

(5) That both India and England have with other victorious Powers forming the High and Contracting Parties on one side bound the other States of Europe like Turkey by this Minorities Guarantee Treaty ;

(6) That the question as to how far the proposers of this Treaty like India are themselves bound by it like the Signatory States, such as Turkey, had been raised several times at the League of Nations by the Signatory States-Members of the League and has been decided by a Resolution adopted at the Sixth Assembly of the League of Nations to the effect that all States-Members of the League suffering from Minority Problems are expected to follow the same principles and standards of Minority Protection as they have applied to the Signatory States ;

(7) That, in pursuance of this Resolution, and the direct commitment and responsibility of both England and India in the matter of this international Scheme of Minority Protection, it is proposed that India should be allowed to apply the Scheme to herself which has been so effectively applied to other States ;

(8) That, even if the different minorities and communities of India agree to go into arbitration or to a judicial tribunal for the settlement of their differences, the settlement for which India is already responsible in Europe as an original member of the League ranks as International Law binding upon the arbitral body proposed ; and

(9) That, failing any agreement between the different minorities and communities of India, if the British Government has to intervene for a settlement of their differences, that intervention must necessarily be on the lines of the League's Scheme to which the British Government is committed in a very special manner in respect of its formulation and elaboration.

only unsuccessfully attempted by the famous Omar Khayyam, better known as a poet. Italy also produced Galileo, the creator of the science of Dynamics, which according to Spengler, is the distinctive contribution of West Europe to civilization. Our author traces the beginnings of dynamics to the Sophist school, particularly to Zeno the Eleatic who in his famous argument of Achilles and the tortoise, tried to disprove the reality of motion. But Greek thought, like all ancient thought, was essentially static. But after this temporary glow, the spirit of free enquiry was smothered in Italy by the fanatical clergy, and the light shifted to West Europe,—Germany, France, England, and the Scandinavian countries. The author traces and takes us through the discoveries of infinitesimals, transcendental, quaternions, transfinities, and antinomies etc. etc. concepts which even to the trained students of mathematics are abstruse enough. But his style and manner of presentation is such that the interest is always kept sustained. The book does not presuppose, as he tells us in the introduction, but mathematical education, on the part of the reader, but it presupposes something which is rarer: a capacity for absorbing and appraising ideas. At the present time there is a great need for a popular exposition of these abstruse ideas as these are being increasingly applied to problems of physics. The new quantum mechanics of Heisenberg, Dirac and Schrodinger makes use of the theory of groups, matrices, 9-numbers, and the indication is that results in pure mathematics, which are supposed by terribly practical-minded people to be the products of the disordered brains of some cranky geniuses, will find in the years to come increasing application in practical problems. No example is more striking than the way in which Riemann's four-dimensional non-Euclidian geometry, presented as a doctorate thesis in 1853, was found 63 years later by Einstein to provide the suitable symbols for working out his theories of Time and Space.

The reviewer is quite in agreement with the author's opinion that methods of teaching mathematics as practised in schools and colleges is very faulty, and instead of creating interest creates a distaste, as it neglects the cultural side altogether. He recommends the book for serious study to all students of the history of human culture. It will also form an excellent supplement to the usual text-books prescribed for students taking the honours course in mathematics in Indian Universities.

Meghnad Saha

THE PLATONIC TRADITION IN ANGLO-SAXON PHILOSOPHY

By John H. Mairhead, LL.D., Professor Emeritus of Philosophy in the University of Birmingham.
(George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.)

This volume, along with the *Philosophy of Coleridge* by the same author, is an able challenge to the current view that the chief and characteristic contribution of British philosophy to the speculative thought of Europe lies in the development of thought to the time of Mill, Spencer and Empiricism, the seed of which was sown in the thought of Bacon, Hobbes and Locke—that this trend was broken into by the wave of Kantian and post-Kantian Idealism for a time, to return finally to its own fold along lines of its own genius.

These two studies reveal to us streams of thought flowing concurrently yet undiscovered till the present time. Long before the time of Bacon the seeds of Platonism had been planted in England by John Scotus Erigena. In the early part of the century of Hobbes and Locke the revival of Platonic philosophy in Italy worked its way through schools in Oxford and Cambridge, more so through the latter. On the Continent, it is true, the current of Idealistic thought awaited Kant for its liberation from Cartesian Materialism and Lockian Empiricism, whereas on the British soil, thinkers like Coleridge were toiling to nurture the seed of Idealism that had already been planted. This continuity of Platonic tradition is then traced in this work through Ferrier, T. H. Green, Benjamin Jowett down to the present time. Though the author makes no pretence of furnishing us with a history of English and American Idealism, yet linking up a few main periods with no apparent continuity in a common trend of thought, he succeeds in convincing us of the Platonic tradition in Anglo-Saxon philosophy.

Dewanchand Sarma

KALIDASA

Sri Aurobindo. (*Arya Sahitya Bhawan, Calcutta.*) 1929.

Written from the aesthetic point of view, this brilliant and remarkable little book provides the reader with a stimulating survey of the ancient thoughts in the department of classical literature. It is interesting to see in this neat volume (covering only fifty-one pages), issued at a low price, the revival of a form of literature badly needed at the present moment. It is really a bracing monograph on the characteristic build of Kalidasa's aesthetic genius and at once reveals his remarkable position in the evolution of India's cultural life. The book points out, and that very ably and successfully, the temperaments predominant in Valmiki, Vyasa and Kalidasa. The author's comparison of Kalidasa with Shakespeare, his times with those of the Philosophers and Pauranikas deserves notice. The similes have always, as is universally known, the sharp and clear Kalidasa ring. The book contains the substance of Kalidasa's seasons which, in his opinion, "is the first poem in any literature written with the express object of describing nature." Kalidasa in his description, he holds, is always more intellectual and emotional than spiritual. The more one reads of Kalidasa from the pen of Sri Aurobindo, the thinker, philosopher, critic, and artist, the more avid becomes the appetite. We must pay tribute to the highest standard of thought and expression it contains. As the most penetrating character study and superb literary criticism, the book remains unequalled in its kind. The book is small but very very weighty. We reckon it as a worthy contribution to literature.

Amulya Charan Vidyabhusan

A STUDY OF CONVERSION

An Enquiry into the development of Christian personality by the Rev. L. Wyatt Lang, Vicar of St. Mark's Church, Plumstead Common Foreword by William Brown, M.D., D.Sc., (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.) Price 10s. 6d. nett. Pages. 262.

The reader will find in this volume much that is absorbing and intensely suggestive and helpful in his

own individual life. One would like to see more light in the description of how individual minds develop ideals of conduct and specially of the manner in which power is obtained to strive for the ideal. The author is conscious of the difficulties. In exactly the same surroundings, one mind develops one ideal and another mind reacts in a different fashion. It is suggested that the ultimate explanation is to be found in the law of assimilation which governs "the whole development of personality." And the author would leave the problem at that, though he admits that the subject requires further research. We do not feel that the author has contributed much to the solution of this great problem. We are still in the realm of mystery. Further, we doubt if modern psychology has thrown any light at all on the mystery of conversion. Augustine centuries ago wrote: "Why this person and not the other are drawn to Him, no one should attempt to judge without running the risk of falling into error."

As a descriptive account, however, of the whole process of conversion, Mr. Lang's book is lucid, systematic and convincing. The accounts of conversions quoted at length are well-chosen and illustrative of the points at issue. We should be particularly thankful to the author for his insistence on the fact that conversion is a process of mental and spiritual growth, from childhood to death. "The duration of the conversion-process is almost co-terminous with life" (p. 253). Conversion is not ordinarily a sudden and catastrophic event in a man's life. "The three phases of the conversion process—recognition, decision and activity—normally pass smoothly into one another" (page 46).

Points of supreme interest are raised throughout the book; one having special relation to us in India is the greater frequency of conversions in Christianity than in any other religion. "The conversion experience is infrequent in pagan religions, owing probably to differences in the ideas of God and to depreciation in the value of personality.....Conversion is indigenous in Christianity because of the great value it attaches to Christ's plan for human regeneration" (p. 16). The author describes the conversions of Ramkrishna and Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore. We are not competent to decide the extent to which pagan religions depreciate human personality, but we have no hesitation in saying that the most powerful urge to return to God is the belief that "He careth for us." If "God careth" we cannot be so worthless. The value of human soul, even the most degraded, is such that even God is intensely interested in it. He loves us with everlasting love. This faith, this conviction of God's everlasting care has broken the most obdurate hearts.

The analysis of the conversion-crisis, of the final decision to accept a new standard of life, leads the author to make some important observations as to the nature and influence of religious education. Mr. Lang is obviously not an intellectualist.—"An explanation of Christian character does not alone induce recognition or acceptance: before these are possible a person must give attention and be willing to be interested. But when the end is unappreciated, both attention and interest are withheld. In this way a large part of the influence of both secular and religious education is lost" (p. 201). "The devotional or emotional aspect of religious education seems to be much more important than simple instruction" (p. 33).

The careful reading of this book has left in us the striking impression that the Sin most grievous of

which we can be guilty is indecision and insincerity. "Sin can be defined as an unrestrained enjoyment of instinctive emotions." The self requires guidance and fixation of aim and this is supplied by the choice of an ideal. Drifting along kills personality. "Without decision religion becomes inept. The attitude of recognition without acceptance is delusive" (p. 257). The expression brings to our minds the following question: What are we to think of those who admire and recognize in Jesus Christ an ideal of life and yet do not accept Him? An aesthetic satisfaction will never supply the creative energy that will produce a new creature.

P. G. Bridge

REPORT OF THE LINDSAY COMMISSION

(Oxford University Press.) Pp. xiii+388. Price 3s. 6d.

"C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la gare" (railway station), was the remark of a Frenchman on seeing the Albert Memorial Hall in London, and it often happens that the admired monuments of one age become objects of scorn in the next. The Lindsay Report has unfortunately all the marks of a monumental work, both in its contents, and also in its get-up, which latter is, however, below the usual standards of the Oxford Press, no fewer than eight pages being left blank (pp. 66, 67, 70, 71, 74, 75, 78, 79). The tone of the whole report is given by two significant sentences which occur at the beginning. "We knew that if we should advocate a radical revision of policy we had no power whatever to bind those who appointed us to accept our findings and no certainty that when they considered our report they would be convinced by it. We were aware that if the danger we should suggest should be realized, if we recommended a radical reconsideration of policy which those who appointed us could not accept, we should only have done something to discredit a policy which we could not change" (pp. 7-8). Now, the whole idea of appointing a commission is that it should first investigate, and then report the defects it has discovered, and offer suggestions whereby the defects may be remedied. So far as the defects reported by the Commission go, they were surely sufficiently obvious long before it was appointed; then as regards the remedies suggested, these are naturally governed by the two sentences quoted above. The chief idea of the Lindsay Commission is that the colleges should try to obtain greater prestige, and therefore greater influence in the universities, by instituting research departments, and the financial difficulty of supporting such departments is slurred over in some sentences of optimistic verbiage. That the appointment of the Commission led to a great increase in the clerical work of the colleges is obvious from the statistics given in the appendix, which however need not be considered too seriously as they have not been worked out on a common basis; that the Report will lead to the appointment of some new Committee which will demand further statistics is probable; that any good will come from this increase in the work of the already overworked college staffs, is doubtful. Until the colleges, or college authorities are willing to undertake the risks and responsibilities of leadership by striking out in fresh directions, the Christian colleges in India will remain as they are at present, in

some cases better, in some cases worse, than the Government colleges.

Christopher Ackroyd

STUDIES IN INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE, 1931.

By H. L. Chhabani, M. A. Price Rs. 6. Pp. 260.

This book is largely based upon lectures delivered by the author to the University students on Indian currency problems during 1921-27. It is in a way an advanced treatment of the subject of Indian currency and exchange which the author dealt with in his previous publication on "Indian Currency, Banking and Exchange."

The author advocates currency reform through the maintenance of (a) convertibility of rupees and notes into gold bullion, and (b) the demonetization of the British sovereign, amalgamation of the paper currency and gold standard reserves, creation of a central bank to assume control of currency and credit and stabilizing the gold value of the rupee.

In the line of argument the author has taken up for all these topics, he has our full sympathy if not entire support. We are sure after the recent happenings the author will himself modify some of his views and cease to be so insistent on the maintenance of an impartial attitude for which he appears to be very anxious in this publication. As a guide to the students and to those desiring an elementary introduction to the complicated subject of Indian currency and exchange this book should prove valuable. The author does not unequivocally support the claims of Indian Chambers of Commerce for a revision of the Ratio and yet his suggestion for the stabilization of the gold value of the rupee can have no other meaning and necessary consequence than an alteration in the Ratio. In this respect the author seems to have neglected the true implications of his suggestions. Any way, Professor Chhabani deserves to be congratulated for his timely studies.

INDIAN CURRENCY, FINANCE AND EXCHANGE, 1929.

By H. L. Chhabani, M. A. Price Rs. 3. Pp. 165.

This is a small compendium of studies by Mr. Chhabani into the field of Indian currency, finance and exchange. After the publication of his latest book noted above, it is hardly necessary to ask the public to go through the previous publication by the same author. There is only one thing attractive about this little book, viz., that it gives in a nutshell the theory of money and short account of the Indian monetary and banking system.

THEORIES OF POPULATION FROM RALEIGH TO ARTHUR YOUNG.

By John Boner, M. A., LL.D., P. B. A. Price 10s Pp. 253. (George Allen and Unwin Ltd.)

The problems of population have offered insuperable difficulties to students of Economics in all ages. The latest studies in this connection have given a definitely new outlook. Dr. Boner has presented a very learned study tracing the development of thoughts on population from Raleigh to Arthur Young.

This book consists mainly of lectures, given at University College, London, during February and March 1929, dealing with the thought and theories of

leading men of the 17th and 18th centuries in England on the subjects of population and vital statistics.

This is a very useful work on Demography. Dr. Boner begins with Raleigh in an atmosphere of plantations, plagues and wars. From Raleigh we learn to regard the race but to forget the individual. Bacon taught us to rely on a strong Yeomanry. Then came Hobbes who by inspiring everyone else, to write against him caused a large addition to the stock of our knowledge. Harrington saw the sucking power of the cities. John Graunt in his memorable "Observations" expounded the true power of population, within and without walls of cities to fight the plague. Graunt made a distinctive contribution towards the study of large numbers. Petty was of considerable help in bringing into use the figures of countries. Then came Halley who presented better figures and the doctrine of chances received better handling. Johan Peter Süssmilch, the father of German Demography, made the most of every figure that he got whether on the Continent or in England. To him Hume is a better guide than Montesquieu. This is his link with Hume, who is more economist than demographer. Richard Price may be called somewhat reactionary in his attitude to the question of England's population. But he stimulates other men to think on the subject. Arthur Young, the last in the chain, is the most practical and convincing. He took over the whole theory of population and studied it in its relation to general economic theory.

Nalinaksha Sanyal

PANORAMIC INDIA

Sixty-four Panoramic photographs by W. R. Waller. Introduction and notes by Kanaaya Lal H. Vakil, B.A., LL.B. (D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay).

The author (or should we say photo-artist) and the publisher are to be felicitated on this beautiful production. This is probably the first production of its kind sponsored by an Indian publishing concern. Although the printing—evidently by the Rotogravure process—has been in Germany, that does not detract from the value of the publisher's enterprise.

Mr. Vakil's notes add to the value of this book to the artist and the art-lover.

Some of the photographs, as for example No. 17—Benares, No. 32—Ajanta, and No. 46—Udaipur carry new revelations of beauty by their novel presentation of familiar scenes.

K. N. Chatterjee

THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF WOMAN'S EDUCATION

By the late Prof. G. M. Chiplunkar, B. A., S. T. C. D. (Bom), M. A. (U. S. A.), Fellow of the Indian Women's University, Poona.

The late Prof. Chiplunkar was a student of sociology and a close associate of Dr. Karve in the work of woman's education. This book, published after his death, is the result of these two prominent interests in his life; for it attempts to study the problem of women's education in India on a scientific basis.

Professor Chiplunkar belonged to the generation of social reformers who, after their first period of

says 'almost', because we can never forget that Shahu and Hiji Rao I were both of them makers of Maratha history, at a very critical epoch in the destiny of that nation, and a correct knowledge of their character and policy—which the present volume gives in such detail—is indispensable to a true interpretation of the facts of Maratha history. To put it briefly, Shahu appears at the end of the volume, not the "sleeping partner" and semi-imbecile puppet on the throne that popular tradition has so long represented him to have been, but a very active, wide awake and dutiful sovereign. The varied importance of this volume cannot be over-estimated.

The Bombay Government deserve the thanks of all parts of India for this liberal contribution to our historical knowledge.

Jadunath Sarkar

SITA

A Novel by Mr. Ramrao S. Manepatil, M.A., LL. B. Shiapura, Baroda. Price Rs. 2.

Sita, a delightful novel from the pen of Sjt. R. S. Manepatil is a very welcome addition to the current Marathi literature. The plot or theme of the novel is well conceived and very intelligently executed. Interest is sustained without interruption from start to finish and sentiments expressed through some of the characters in the book are as admirable as is the manner of their portrayal. The author's official life in a premier State affords him a splendid opportunity of studying the rural conditions and the problems that confront the rural populace. Consequently the author has been successful in presenting a vivid picture and thereby emphasizing with force the necessity for individual as well as concerted effort in the social, economic and political uplift of the rural population. which is the real backbone of the country.

The author's style may lack something of the admirable simplicity of language but there is much to commend in the brevity and lucidity of his expressions which amply compensate for the former drawback. On the whole the book affords very pleasant reading inasmuch as it keeps up an unlagging interest throughout its perusal. That the author, over preoccupied as he must be in his official life, should have found time for such literary pursuits is highly commendable. The Marathi reading world will expect more such efforts from the author. We wish the book had been more cheaply priced to be within the reach of the common folk.

R. M. K.

GUJARATI

SWARAJYA NE SANSKRATE

By Prof. J. B. Durlak, M.A., of the M. T. D. Arts College, Surat. Printed at the Shankar Printing Press, Surat. Cloth bound. Pp 324 Price Rs. 2 (1931)

Prof. Durlak's activities are many-sided, but a couple of common features always colour them, they are observation and thoughtfulness. The rapidly changing political problems of our country have inspired him to write this book, which consists of a number of short and long essays, on subjects bearing on the present political ferment. He, like most of us, is not only for Swarajya but also for

surajya, good government, i.e., a Rajya (rule) under which the different creeds and cultures, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Jain, Parsi, Christian, should take their proper place side by side and flourish. The paucity that he finds for ending the present chaotic conditions in India and her future uplift is education, not education imparted on present (Western) lines, but an entire overhaul of this system. The author believes in old Indian culture and therefore naturally hurls back to the "old strong principles," which should be "proclaimed by beat of drum." He has, for the benefit of those who do not know Gujarati, contributed a brief "Review in English of the present political problems," which is full of thought. People may not agree with all his views but all the same the compilation is a valuable contribution to the political literature of the day.

SAUBHAGYA RATRI, PART I.

By Thakur Narayan Visanji and Bhimashankar Bhuralal Sharma. Printed at the Argya Sudharal Press, Baroda. Cardboard cover, pp. 222. Price Rs. 2. (1931)

Saubhagya ratni, is the first night of the honeymoon of a newly wedded couple, and Pandit Krishnakant Malaviya has hung on that peg, a number of pieces of advice to the bride as to how she should conduct herself or behave on the threshold of her married life. In a series of letters in Hindi and addressed by her friend to the bride, a number of subjects have been handled, the combined aim and effect of which is to make the bride an ideal housekeeper and wife; no aspect of the household or domestic life of a Hindu is left untouched; illustrations from the literatures of the East and the West have been used to reinforce the truths told by the writer. Panditji's own foreword is a very clear exposition of the matter, and the capable translators have been fortunately able to preserve this force and effectiveness of the original Hindi: this is what makes this book valuable.

K. M. J.

YANAR SENA NI VATO

Mr. Keshavprasad C. Desai, B. A., LL. B. (Jirantal Amarsi, Ahmedabad.) Re. 1.

Yanar Sena Ni Vato is the catching title of a collection of interesting short stories for children by Sjt. Keshavprasad Desai. *Yanar Sena* was a very fitting epitaph given to the army of the juveniles during the civil disobedience campaign in 1930-31 and the *Sena* formed a very peculiar phase of the great national struggle. Mr. Desai has, therefore, very happily chosen the title of his new book.

Mr. Desai has made a creditable contribution to the attempt in this particular direction and seems to have developed a special faculty for juvenile literature. His delightful stories presented here in a well got-up book make very pleasant reading to children. The book is an opportune publication and places within the reach of every parent a suitable gift for their children at a ridiculously cheap price, as the book is cloth-bound and printed in thick, antique paper in bold types. The author deserves congratulations from and gratitude of the little world.

R. M. K.

Rabindranath Tagore

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

RABINDRANATH Tagore is our greatest poet and prose-writer. Son of a *Maharshi* (a "great seer"), and himself a seer and sage, he belongs to a family the most gifted in Bengal in the realms of religion, philosophy, literature, music, painting, and the histrionic art. There is no department of Bengali literature that he has touched which he has not adorned, elevated, and filled with inspiration and lighted up by the lustre of his genius. Difficult as it undoubtedly would be to give an exhaustive list of his multifarious achievements from early youth upwards—for his is a many-sided and towering personality, even the departments of literature and knowledge which he has touched and adorned would make a pretty long list. The late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, M. A., D. Litt., C. I. E., said of the Poet in the course of his presidential address at the preparatory meeting for the Tagore Septuagenary Celebrations :

"He has tried all phases of literature—couplets, stanzas, short poems, longer pieces, short stories, longer stories, fables, novels and prose romances, dramas, farces, comedies and tragedies, songs, operas, *kirtans*, *palas*, and, last but not least, lyric poems. He has succeeded in every phase of literature he has touched, but he has succeeded in the last phase of literature beyond measure. His essays are illuminating, his sarcasms biting, his satires piercing. His estimate of old poets is deeply appreciative, and his grammatical and lexicographical speculations go further inward than those of most of us."

Tennyson, in his poem addressed to Victor Hugo, called that great French author "Victor in Drama, Victor in Romance, Cloud-weaver of phantasmal hopes and fears," "Lord of human tears," "Child-lover," and "Weird Titan by thy winter weight of years as yet unbroken. . . ." All these epithets and many more can be rightly applied to Rabindranath Tagore.

Many works and some kinds of works of Rabindranath in Bengali have not yet been translated into English or thence into other Western and Eastern languages. In

the translations, moreover, much, if not all, of the music, the suggestiveness, the undefinable associations clustering round Bengali words and phrases, and the aroma, racy of Bengal and India, of the original has been lost. No doubt, the translations of the poems and dramas—particularly when done by the poet himself, have often gained in directness, in the beauty and sublimity of simplicity, and in the music and strength belonging to the English or other language of the translations. But admitting all this, one is still constrained to observe that, for a correct estimate and full appreciation of Rabindranath's intellectual and literary powers, his gifts and genius, it is necessary to study both his original works in Bengali and their English translations as well as his original works in English like *Personality*, *Sadhana*, and *The Religion of Man*. What high estimates of Tagore as an author many competent judges have formed without the advantage of reading his Bengali works, will appear when the *Golden Book of Tagore* is published. By way of giving a foretaste of such estimates, I may quote the following from Sir C. V. Raman's speech at the preparatory meeting for the Tagore Septuagenary Celebrations :

"The award of the Nobel Prize for Literature generally causes dissatisfaction; for many question the justice of the award. It is a difficult task to make satisfactory awards every year for poets; for poets are rarer than scientists, and good poets are rarer still. If awards for literature were made every twenty years, preferably once in a century, Rabindranath was certain to be chosen."

The music of his verse, and often of his prose as well, which fills the outer ear is but an echo of the inner harmony of humanity and the universe—"the music of the spheres"—which exists at the heart of things and which he has caught and made manifest by his writings. How wonderfully full of real life and colour and motion and variety they are ! His hymns and sermons and some

of his other writings let us unconsciously into the secret of his access to the court of the King of kings, nay to His very presence, and of his communion with Him. Thence he has brought us the message: "Be lovingly one with humanity, one with all things that live, one with the universe, one with ME." His hymns and other writings in a spiritual vein have, therefore, brought healing to many a troubled soul.

Insight and imagination are his magic wands, by whose power he roams where he will and leads his readers thither, too. In his works Bengali literature has outgrown its provincial character and has become fit to fraternize with world literature. Universal currents of thought and spirituality have flowed into Bengal through his writings.

In philosophy he is not a system-builder. He is of the line of our ancient religious-philosophical teachers whose religion and philosophy are fused components of one whole. Both his poetry and prose embody his philosophy—the latest prose-work in English being *The Religion of Man*.

But he is not simply a literary man, though his eminence as an author is such that for a foreigner the Bengali language would be worth learning for his writings alone.

It does not in the least detract from his work as a musician to admit that he is not an *ustad* or "expert" in music, as that term is understood in common parlance. He has such a sensitive ear that he appears to live in two worlds—one, the world of visible forms and colours, and another, the world of sound-forms and sound-colours. His musical genius and instinct are such that his achievement in that art has extorted the admiration of many "experts." This is said not with reference only to his numerous hymns and patriotic and other songs and to his thrilling, sweet, soulful and rapt singing in different periods of his life, but also in connection with what he has done for absolute music. He is not only the author of the words of his songs, possessed of rare depth of meaning and suggestiveness and power of inspiration, but is also the creator of what may be called new airs and tunes.

I had the good fortune to be present at some of the meetings in Germany and

Czechoslovakia where he recited some of his poems. His recitations were such that even when the poems recited were in Bengali and hence not understood by the audience, he had to repeat them several times at the earnest request of the hearers. Those who have heard him read his addresses and deliver his extempore speeches and sermons in Bengali know how eloquent he could be as a speaker, though his delivery in years past was often so rapid and his sentences branched out in such bewildering luxuriance as to make him the despair of reporters.

He is a master and a consummate teacher of the histrionic art. Those who have seen him appear in leading rôles in many of his plays have experienced how natural and elevating acting can be. From the prime of his manhood upwards he has been in the habit of reading out his new poems, discourses, short stories, plays and novels to select circles. On such occasions, too, his elocution and histrionic talents come into full play.

If, as observed by Mr. V. N. Mehta, I.C.S., as president of the last Allahabad University Music Conference, it is true that "the credit of reviving music in public for respectable women goes to Bengal and the Brahma Samaj," part of that credit belongs to Rabindranath Tagore and his family. The Tagore family and Rabindranath have also made it possible for girls and women of respectable classes to act. The poet has also rehabilitated in Bengal dancing by respectable girls and women as a means of self-expression and innocent amusement and play. Like some kinds of songs, acting and dancing of some sorts can be of a degrading character. But all singing, acting and dancing are not necessarily bad, and should not, therefore, be indiscriminately condemned.

Tagore's patriotic songs are characteristic. They are refined and restrained, and free from bluff, bravado, bluster and boasting. Some of them twine their tendrils round the tenderest chords of our hearts, some enthrone the Motherland as the Adored in the shrine of our souls, some sound as a clarion call to our drooping spirits filling us with hope and the will to do and dare and

suffer, some call on us to have the lofty courage to be in the minority of one ; but in none are heard the clashing of interests, the warring passions of races, or the echoes of old, unhappy, far-off historic strifes and conflicts. In many of those written during the stirring times of the Swadeshi agitation in Bengal a couple of decades ago, the poet spoke out with a directness which is missed in many of his writings, though not in the "Katha-O-Kahini" ballads which make the heart beat thick and fast and the blood tingle and leap and course swiftly in our veins.

To Andrews Fletcher of Salton, a famous Scottish patriot, is attributed the authorship of the observation that "if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." He is generally quoted, however, as having said so with respect to songs. Both ballads and songs have much to do with the making of nations. Rabindranath's songs and ballads—the former to a greater extent than the latter, have been making Bengal to no small extent and will continue to mould the character of Bengalis, literate and illiterate, town-dwellers and village folk, and their culture and civilization. But it is not merely as a maker of songs that he has taken part in the Swadeshi movement. His socio-political addresses, the annual fairs suggested or organized by him, are part of the same national service. He has worked earnestly for the revival of weaving and other arts and crafts of the country—particularly village arts and crafts, and contributed his full share to making education in India Indian as well as human and humane in the broadest sense, and to the sanitation, reconstruction, reorganization and rejuvenation of villages. Even official reports have praised him as a model landlord for his activities in these directions in his estate.

His scheme of constructive non-co-operation, as outlined in his "Swadeshi Samaj," etc., was part of his Swadeshi movement politics. The "no-tax" campaign adumbrated in his play *Paritrana* ("Deliverance") and the joyful acceptance of suffering and chains by his Dhananjay Bairagi were his idea of what political leaders should do.

As he has denounced Nationalism in his book of that name, taking the word to mean that organized form of a people which is meant for its selfish aggrandizement, even at the expense of other peoples' by foul, cruel and unrighteous means, and as he is among the chief protagonists of Internationalism, his profound and all-sided love of the Motherland has sometimes not been evident perhaps to superficial observers. But those who know him and his work and the literature he has created, know that he loves his land

"with love far-brought

From out the storied Past, and used
Within the Present, but transfused
Thro' future time by power of thought."

His penetrating study of and insight into the history of India and Greater India have strengthened this love.

In his patriotism there is no narrowness, no chauvinism, no hatred or contempt for the foreigner. He believes that India has a message and a mission, a special work entrusted to her by Providence. But he has never denied that other countries, too, may have their own special messages and missions. He does not dismiss the West with a supercilious sneer, but wishes the East to take what it should and can from the West, not like a beggar without patrimony or as an adopted child, but as a strong and healthy man may take wholesome food from all quarters and assimilate it. This taking on the part of the East from the West, moreover, is the reception of stimulus and impetus, more than or rather than learning, borrowing or imitation. The West, too, can derive advantage from contact with the East, different from the material gain of the plunderer and the exploiter. The study of his writings and utterances leaves us with the impression that the West can cease to dominate in the East only when the latter, fully awake, self-knowing, self-possessed and self-respecting, no longer requires any blister or whip and leaves no department of life and thought largely unoccupied by its own citizens.

His hands reach out to the West and the East, to all humanity, not as those of a suppliant, but for friendly grasp and salute. He is among the foremost reconcilers of

ances and continents. He has renewed India's ancient connection with Japan, China and Islands-India by his visits to those lands.

In spite of the cruel wrongs inflicted on India by the British *nation*, and whilst condemning such wrong-doing unsparingly, he has never refrained from being just and even generous in his estimate of the British *people*.

His politics are concerned more with character-building than with the more vocal manifestations of that crowded department of national activity. Freedom he prizes as highly and ardently as the most radical politician, but his conception of freedom is full and fundamental. To him the chains of inertness, cowardice and ignorance, of selfishness and pleasure-seeking, of superstition and lifeless custom, of the authority of priestcraft and letter of scripture, constitute our bondage no less than the yoke of the stranger, which is largely a consequence and a symptom. He prizes and insists upon the absence of external restraints. But this does not constitute the whole of his idea of freedom. There should be inner freedom also, born of self-sacrifice, enlightenment, self-purification and self-control. This point of view has largely moulded his conception of the Indian political problem and the best method of tackling it. He wishes to set the spirit free, to give it wings to soar, so that it may have largeness of vision and a boundless sphere of activity. He desires that fear should be cast out. Hence his politics and his spiritual ministrations merge in each other.

Age and bodily infirmities have not made him a reactionary and obscurantist. His spirit is ever open to new light. He continues to be a progressive social reformer. His intellectual powers are still at their height. His latest poetic creations of the month—perhaps one may safely say, of the week or the day—do not betray any dimness of vision, any lack of inspiration or fertility; nor are there in them any signs of repetition. He continues to be among our most active writers. This is for the joy of creation and self-expression and fraternal giving, as he loves his kind, and human intercourse is dear to his soul.

His ceaseless and extensive reading in very many diverse subjects, including some out-of-the-way sciences and crafts, and his travels in many continents enable him to establish ever new intellectual and spiritual contacts, to be abreast of contemporary thought, to keep pace with its advance and with the efforts of man to plant the flag of the conscious master in the realms of the unknown—himself being one of the most sanguine and dauntless of intellectual and spiritual prospectors and explorers.

When Curzon partitioned Bengal against the protests of her people, he threw himself heart and soul into the movement for the self-realization and self-expression of the people in all possible ways. But when popular resentment and despair led to the outbreak of terrorism, he was the first to utter the clearest note of warning, to assert that Indian nationalism should not stultify and frustrate itself by recourse to violence. He has been equally unsparing in his condemnation of the predatory instincts and activities of nations, whether of the military or of the economic variety. He has never believed that war can ever be ended by the pacts of robber nations so long as they do not repent and give up their wicked ways and the spoils thereof. The remedy lies in the giving up of greed and the promotion of neighbourly feelings between nation and nation as between individual men. Hence the poet-seer has repeatedly given in various discourses and contexts his exposition of the ancient text of the *Ishopanishad* :

ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किञ्च जगत्तां जगत् ।

तेन त्यक्तेन मुञ्चिथा मा गृधः कस्यस्त्विद्वान्म् ॥

"Everything that exists in this universe is pervaded by God. Discarding evil thought and earthly greed, enjoy the bliss of God; do not covet anybody's wealth."

In pursuance of this line of thought, while the poet has expressed himself in unambiguous language against the use of violence by the party in power in Russia, and while he still holds that private property has its legitimate uses for the maintenance and promotion of individual freedom and individual self-creation and self-expression and for social welfare, he sees and states clearly

the advantages of Russian collectivism, as will be evident from his following cabled reply to Professor Petrov, of V. O. K. S., Moscow: "Your success is due to turning the tide of wealth from the individual to collective humanity."

As an educationist, he has preserved in his ideal of Visvabharati, the international university, the spirit of the ancient ideal of the *taporanas* or forest retreats of the Teachers of India—its simplicity, its avoidance of softness and luxury, its insistence on purity and chastity, its spirituality, its practical touch with nature, and the free play that it gave to all normal activities of body and soul. While the ancient spirit has been thus sought to be kept up, there is in this open-air institution at Santiniketan no cringing to mere forms, however hoary with antiquity. The Poet's mental outlook is universal. He claims for his people all knowledge and culture, whatever its origin, as their province. Hence, while he wants the youth of India of both sexes to be rooted in India's past and to draw sustenance therefrom, while he has been practically promoting the culture of the principal religious communities of India as far as the resources of the institution permits, he has also extended a friendly invitation and welcome to the exponents of foreign cultures as well. This has made it possible, for any who may so desire, to pursue the study of comparative religion at Santiniketan. He wants that there should be no racialism, no sectarian and caste and colour prejudice in his institution.

Visvabharati stands for neither merely literary, nor for merely vocational education, but for both and more. Tagore wants both man the knower and man the maker. He wants an intellectual as well as an artistic and aesthetic education. He wants the growth of a personality equal to meeting the demands of society and solitude alike. Santiniketan now comprises a primary and a high school, a college, a school of graduate research, a school of painting and modelling and of some crafts, a music school, a school of agriculture and village welfare work, a co-operative bank with branches and a public health institute. The poet's idea of a village is that it should combine all its beautiful and healthy rural

characteristics with the amenities of town life necessary for fulness of life and efficiency. Some such amenities have already been provided in his schools. For want of adequate resources, it has not yet been possible to teach the sciences here up to any higher stage than the elementary. For lack of resources in men and money, and other reasons the founder's ideal, too, has not yet been fully realized. There is co-education in all stages. It is one of the cherished desires of the poet to give girl students complete education in a Woman's University based on scientific methods, some of which are the fruits of his own insight and mature experience. But financial stringency stands in his way.

When he is spoken of as the founder of Visvabharati, it is not to be understood that he has merely given it a local habitation and a name and buildings and funds and ideals. That he has, no doubt, done. To provide funds, he had, in the earlier years of the school, sometimes to sell the copyright of some of his books and even to part with his wife's jewellery. In the earlier years of the institution, he took classes in many subjects, lived with the boys in their rooms, entertained them in the evenings by story-telling, recitations of his poems, games of his own invention, methods of sense-training of his own devising, etc. Even recently he has been known to take some classes. And he continues to keep himself in touch with the institution in various ways.

Rabindranath has been a journalist from his teens. He has often written with terrible truthfulness—I can bear witness to the fact from personal knowledge. It is a damaging proof of the deterioration of British rule in India that what could be lawfully and safely published in periodicals half a century ago cannot now be published without the risk of being pounced upon. An article contributed by Rabindranath to *Bharati* fifty years ago under the sarcastic caption '*डुनार व्यवस्था*' ('prescription of shoe-strokes') comes to my mind in this connection. But let that pass. The poet has successfully edited several monthlies and contributed to numerous more. He has written for many weeklies, too. He is the

only man in Bengal I know who was and still is capable of filling a magazine from the first page to the last with excellent reading in prose and verse of every description required. Still, it is lucky that he has not stuck long to journalism. Men of genius having a journalistic bent would certainly be an acquisition to any periodical or newspaper as editor. But as plodding and a third-rate intellect may do for the profession, according to the usual requirements of the public, it is best that geniuses should do other work.

I have been privileged to publish perhaps a larger number of poems, stories, novels, articles, etc., from Rabindranath's pen, in Bengali and English, than any other editor. It has been a privilege without any penalty attached to it, as he is regular, punctual and methodical, and as it is easy and pleasant to read his beautiful handwriting. It may be of some interest to mention the fact that up-to-date more than 180 pieces of Tagore's literary work has appeared in *The Modern Review*, either in the original English or in translation, counting long serial novels or series of letters and other works, as single items. As an editor, he was the making of many authors, who subsequently became well known, by the thorough revision to which he subjected their work.

His beautiful handwriting has been copied by so many persons in Bengal that even I who have had occasion to see it so often cannot always distinguish the genuine thing from the imitation.

There is an impression abroad that no English translation of any Bengali poem by Rabindranath was published anywhere before the *Gitanjali* poems. This is a mistake. As far as I can now trace, the first English translations of his poems appeared in the March, April, May, August and September numbers of this Review in 1911. The first translation of a short story of his appeared in it in December, 1909.

I have referred to his beautiful hand. All calligraphists cannot and do not become painters; though, as Rabindranath burst into fame as painter when almost seventy, the passage from calligraphy to painting might seem natural. I do not intend, nor am I competent, to discourse on his paintings. They are

neither what is known as Indian art, nor are they any mere imitation of any ancient or modern European paintings. One thing which may perhaps stand in the way of the commonality understanding and appreciating them is that they tell no story. They express in line and colour what even the rich vocabulary and consummate literary art and craftsmanship of Rabindranath could not or did not say. He never went to any school of art or took lessons from any artist at home. Nor did he want to imitate anybody. So, he is literally an original artist. If there be any resemblance in his style to that of any other schools or painters, it is entirely accidental and unintentional. Over seventy now, he was telling his daughter-in-law the other day that he wished to practise the plastic arts; only he was afraid of making her house untidy. He may have begun already. In this connection I call to mind one interesting fact. In the Bengali *Santiniketan Patra* ("Santiniketan Magazine") of Jyāistha, 1333 B. E., published more than five years ago, Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, the famous artist, describes (pp. 100-101) how his uncle Rabindranath was instrumental in leading him to evolve his own style of indigenous art. Summing up, Abanindra Nath writes:

“বাংলার কবি আঁটের সুখস্বাস কছেন, বাংলার আর্টিস্ট সেই সুখ ঘরে একলা একলা কাজ করে বহু কত দিন—”

"Bengal's poet suggested the lines of [Bengal's modern indigenous] art, Bengal's artist (i. e., Abanindra Nath himself) continued to work alone along those lines for many a day—"

It is time now to close this rapid and hurried sketch.

It has been my happy privilege to live at Santiniketan as the poet-seer's neighbour for long periods at a stretch. During one such period, my working room and sleeping room combined commanded an uninterrupted view of the small two-storied cottage in which he then lived—only a field intervened between. During that period I could never catch the poet going to sleep earlier than myself. And when early in the morning I used to go out for a stroll, if by chance it was very early I found him engaged in his daily devotions in the open upper storey verandah facing the East, but usually I found that his devotions were already

over and he was busy with some of his usual work. At midday, far from enjoying a nap, he did not even recline. During the whole day and night, he spent only a few hours in sleep and bath and meals, and devoted all the remaining hours to work. During that period, I never found that he used a hand-fan or allowed anybody to fan him in summer. And the sultry days of Santiniketan are unforgettable.

The infirmities of age may have now necessitated some change in his habits—I do not exactly know. But even now he works harder than many a young worker.

He is, of course, not a perfect man, as some others have been claimed to be; but I have all along looked upon him as an earnest *Sadhak*. He is not, however, an ascetic, as his ideal of life is different.

“वैराग्यसाधने मुक्ति से आमार नय,”

“Liberation by detachment from the world is not mine,” he has said in one of his poems.

One object of the *sadhana* of all believers in God is to be godlike. As God's universe, which is both His garment and self-expression, is not a dreary desert, the life and externals of godlike men need not always be imitations of a desert. As bare desert-are, however, a phase of God's creation, asceticism may be a stage, a phase, of God-seeking and self-realization, but not the whole of it. Genuine asceticism for finding one's own soul and the Oversoul and for the good of man is worthy of reverence. Equally worthy of reverence, if not more, is the treading of the fuller and more difficult path of *sadhana* of those who are in the world without being of it.

THE OLD ANIMAL TRAINER SEEMS TO BE SLIPPING



From "Chicago Daily Tribune"

(equatorial climate) in greater part unsuitable to its development. A second Zone (sub-tropical climate), much cooler, where with appropriate hygiene one can easily adapt one's self, and a third (temperate climate) where acclimatizing is unnecessary as the best and healthiest conditions prevail.

DEVELOPMENT PLAN

"The population of the country, 40,000,000 occupies tenth place among the countries of the world and is about half that of the whole South American Continent. Two of the national problems of the highest importance for the development of Brazil are emigration and capital. As with all new countries, we need foreign co-operation to move our enormous resources. The present position is like that of North America a century ago when opening her ports, she extended her arms to all these who desired to help her wonderful work of progress and to help her wonderful work of progress and welcomes all who wish to co-operate with her. As a man who possesses a treasury but cannot open it because he does not possess the keys, Brazil, possessing one of the richest and most fertile soils, needs labour to cultivate the land and develop her mines and industries.

"We need the co-operation of the foreign capitalists and the complement of labour and there are good chances for both. The country is rich and repays generously all efforts and enterprise. In 1928 the amount of foreign capital invested was approximately 2,592,000 American dollars. Agriculture holds first place. The industries are closely related to it and, in a lesser way, to are the greatest agricultural product. We grow and export about four-fifths of the coffee crop of the world which means that Brazil controls the coffee market as India the jute, England coal, and the United States, the oil markets. Cocoa is produced upon a scale which makes Brazil the second largest grower in the world.

"Brazilian cotton is generally similar to the American. The best qualities grow in the States of Pernambuco, Parahyba, Rio Grande do Norte, Ceara and Marangao.

Tobacco Cultivation

"There are about 126,000 hectares under tobacco cultivation, the principal States concerned being Bahia, Rio Grande do Sul, Minas-Geraes, Goyaz and Sao Paulo. The State of Bahia produces about 85 per cent of the whole.

"Before the development of rubber plantations in the East, Brazil was the chief source, and the trees taken from Brazil to the rubber-producing countries still afford the main supply. The general depression which hampered the rubber industry in the Amazon district during recent years was occasioned by the fall in values as compared with the pre-war period, but the industry is now about to enter into a new period

of prosperity, according to Mr. Henry Ford's economic plan, lately revealed."

Mr. de Ayoleno then went on to deal with rice, sugar and matte. Since 1925 the average annual production of sugar has been computed at 700,000 to 800,000 tons, while matte or Herva-matte, made into a beverage had valuable therapeutic properties. Matte tea was nearly 100 per cent cheaper than Indian or China Teas.

Regarding oil-bearing seeds, their collection had not yet been systematized scientifically, but the Amazon valley constituted in the extent and variety of its oil-bearing plants probably the largest source of vegetable oils in the world.

Turning to timber, he went on to say that the forest area, computed at 1,000,000,000 acres, furnishes timber of unexcelled variety, ranging from the hardest to the lightest kinds. The woods of the Amazon Valley are little exploited; jacaranda, found especially in the State of Espirito Santo, ranks as the most valuable form of timber. The pine forest in Para and Santa Catharina may be regarded as commercially the most exploitable. Brazil is the biggest coffee producer, takes second place for cocoa, third for tobacco, fourth for cotton, eighth for rice and tenth for and potatoes."

(Statesman August 8, 1929)

If the Indian Government had any imagination they would have grasped the wonderful opportunity of Indian emigration to Brazil. The Japanese Government have been doing this and with considerable success. When Mr. Singh was in Brazil he saw Europeans as well as Japanese landing there by boat loads, hundreds every week. The Japanese are so well organized that immediately on landing they are diverted to the trains which take them to San Paulo, where they then pass the customs and are sent to their respective colonies. The Japanese have their Consuls and guides in many of the out of the way towns. Under the influence and guidance of these representatives the Japanese immigrants adapt themselves to their new environments.

The System of Colonizing in Brazil

Mr. Singh gave me the following information about the system of colonization in Brazil:

"Ordinarily in colonizing a centre which has already been opened by the Government, an individual is sold sixty acres of land and a family one hundred and twenty (120) acres. The purchaser is requested to make a small advance payment and pay the remainder by instalments. The colonizers are also given some aid such as temporary housing, some farm implements, and some plants for cultivation on instalment basis.

"In the case of a country establishing a colony, it is undertaken in a somewhat different manner. The Government or more often the

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri

By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

HARAPRASAD Sastri—the grand old scholar of Bengal, one of the most important pioneers of research work in Indology in this part of the country, the world-renowned Sanskritist, passed peacefully away in his Calcutta residence on the night of the 17th November last. He was almost an octogenarian at the time of his death, having been born in 1853 (December 6). He came of a well-known Brahmin-Pandit family which could claim a long line of veteran scholars who occupied a very important place in the cultural history of Bengal. "Nearly half the real Sanskrit celebrities of the land are disciples of this family," wrote Mr. Ramaprasad Roy, the first judge-elect of the Calcutta High Court and the son of Raja Rammohun Roy.

He was entirely a self-made man. Reduced to extremely straitened circumstances he found himself in great difficulty in finding money for prosecuting his studies. But that fabulously generous "friend of the poor" Pandit Isvar Chandra Vidyasagara offered him board and lodging which enabled him to go on with his studies. Though subsequently there was a temporary misunderstanding between the two, the Mahamahopadhyaya ever gratefully remembered and eloquently described the valuable and timely help he received from Vidyasagara.

His was a life dedicated to Indology for more than half a century; for it was as early as the year 1878 that, at the request of Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra, he translated the *Gopallapani Upanishad* into English and assisted him in the preparation of his monumental work on Nepalese Buddhist literature. He began life as a mere school-master and had to work under heavy odds as he himself had occasion to describe in detail in the course of conversations. He was all along an untiring worker, and even during his last years when his health was

fast failing he could always be found in his study busy with his books—sometimes dictating papers to some of his eager disciples or reclining by the side of one of his book-shelves and wistfully hunting for some information from this book or that.

He was in his manners a typical Brahmin Pandit—full of humour, outspoken, sympathetic though outwardly appearing to be just the reverse of these—a type which unfortunately is fast disappearing. He was not familiar in the game of hide and seek in his dealings. He called a spade a spade not knowing how to be insincere and say what he did not believe to be true. He would thus often appear to be very rough and this aspect of his character had made him unpopular among a certain section of the people. But those who had the privilege of coming into intimate contact with him know that his roughness was only superficial and he was all affection and tenderness within.

He was a deep-read man. His information was based not only on printed works, but also on manuscripts, a very large number of which he had to go through. Few scholars have had to deal with as many manuscripts as he and for so long a time.

He began his search of Sanskrit manuscripts on behalf of the Government of India as early as 1891 on the death of Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra who was in charge of the work for a long time. In this connection he examined important collections of manuscripts in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, etc. not examined by the late Dr. Mitra and described them in his *Notes of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (Vols. I—IV). He also acquired several thousands of MSS. for the Government of India on the publication of the descriptive catalogue on which he was engaged. He was deputed by the Government on several occasions to examine the very important manuscript collections located in the Nepal Durbar Library. In two

big volumes he described the important MSS. he examined there. Here he found a good many manuscripts of outstanding importance, the find of which have been very useful in the determination of the chronology of Sanskrit literature. In 1908 he accompanied Prof. MacDonnell in his tour in Northern India and collected rare Vedic manuscripts for the Max Müller Memorial at Oxford. Sometime after he "played an important part in arranging for the purchase, the cataloguing and despatch to England of the wonderful collection of Sanskrit manuscripts (numbering about 7000) which Maharaja Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung of Nepal so generously presented to the Bodleian Library," Oxford—as occurs in an autograph letter dated 5th January 1910 of Lord Curzon. He also edited and published from the Asiatic Society of Bengal as also from the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat some of the more important works discovered by him. The *Ramacarita* and the *Buddha gan o doha* are the most important among these from the standpoint respectively of the political and literary history of Eastern India.

Scholars have already had the benefit of his vast knowledge in the field of Sanskrit literature resulting from his acquaintance with this extensive of manuscript material from his descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts (six volumes of which have already come out) and also from prefaces appended to them. Prefaces of particular volumes gave in detail the history of the literature of the volume and were found to be highly useful. At the request of the present writer, he was prevailed upon to make arrangements for the issue of separate copies of these prefaces apart from the catalogues and the preface of the grammar volume was thus separately issued. These prefaces contain much valuable material gathered from MSS. In these he was found to have betrayed his inclination towards claiming greater antiquity for many a branch of literature than is usually assigned to them. It is a misfortune to students of Sanskrit literature that Pandit Haraprasad Sastri could not finish the catalogues and prefaces and thereby present to scholars a detailed and valuable history of Sanskrit literature.

In these days of extreme specialization most of the scholars in India confine themselves within the narrow limits of the subjects of their adoption, and it is growing very difficult to get hold of scholars who can speak with any amount of authority on topics not within the limits of their 'watertight' compartments. Mahamahopadhyaya



Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Sastri

Haraprasad Sastri was however, happily, an exception to this rule. He was one of the very few scholars who had immense familiarity with almost every branch of Indology.

It is difficult to give even a brief account of the literary activities of Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, for they were manifold inasmuch as there does not seem to exist any branch of Indology to which he has

literature. "The work of imagination of this young writer is like the strides of a proud and haughty lion," wrote Bankim Chandra. A translation of the work so pleased the great Shakesperean critic Prof. Dowden that he remarked, "It will extend the horizons of Western Imagination." Dr. Brajendranath Seal gives to this work the first place in Bengali literature. The work has been translated in many European and Indian languages.

In the field of old Bengali literature he was one of the pioneer workers. He was one of the first to draw the attention of scholars to the wealth lying buried in it. In fact even scholars who could not persuade themselves to agree with him could not but recognize the importance of his work in this direction. No apology appears to be necessary in quoting what *Dhavalgiri* wrote in the *Calcutta Review* (August 1923, p. 310) in this connection as it represents the appreciation of his work by what may be called his literary opponents. "I should be the last man," said he, "to be blind to the invaluable services he has rendered to Bengali literature."

It cannot be said that the lifelong labours of this unassuming scholar had received the recognition that they so richly deserved. He was however made a C.I.E. and a Mahamahopadhyaya by the Government. The Dacca University only recently conferred on him the honorary degree of D.Litt. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain only did the right thing in counting him in its list of thirty honorary members selected from the world of Orientalists belonging to different countries. The Asiatic Society of Bengal which was his field of work all through not only made him a fellow in 1910 when the system

was created—but also elected him its President for 1919 and 1920 and thus conferred upon him the highest honour at its disposal.

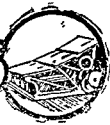
The Asiatic Society of Bengal as also the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat—of which he was the President and earnest promoter for a number of years, undertook to present volumes of essays to him in recognition of his valuable work. The commemorative volume of the Parishat was to be presented to him on the occasion of his attainment of the seventy-fifth year. It was the first part of the Parishat volume alone that could be informally presented to him in August last.

A charge was often found to have been levelled against the great savant that his researches were all embodied in papers—which were invariably short in size—and he had no large original work to his credit. The Mahamahopadhyaya heartily laughed at this charge. But his admirers owe him a duty and they should acquit him of this charge by arranging to publish an edition of his collected papers as is being done by the Bhandarkar Research Institute in respect of the writings of the scholar associated with the name of the Institute. Could not the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat and the Asiatic Society of Bengal undertake the task of publishing respectively his Bengali and English papers? This would enable the future generation to form an idea of the valuable work done by the scholar all through his life in the pages of journals—little known, forgotten or inaccessible. In fact, this would be doing real honour to the memory of one who may be said to have laid down his life at the altar of the goddess of learning.





INDIAN PERIODICALS



Personality

Mr. Peter Freeman gives a discourse on the cultivation of personality in his "Personality in Everyday Life" published in *The Indian Review*. He says:

One should have an ideal for one's body as well as for one's mind. The latter cannot be truly efficient, nimble-witted or quick-thinking, retentive and forceful without its working in harmonious co-operation with a body healthy in every way.

Bear in mind that *personality* is the outward expression of oneself; in many ways it is the mirror of one's inner life... a lined face is often the reflection of a tortured spirit.

It is the physical that has to be the medium of the hidden life of one's mind and spirit. The importance, therefore, of making the best of one's body and outward expression is obvious.

In this connection careful attention must be given to the cultivation of a well modulated and expressive voice, graceful and natural movement, and to physical appearance generally.

Even the care of such things as finger nails, teeth and hair, are important factors.

Whilst it is only too true that the mind is the measure of the man, it is the vital that mind should have, a firm bodily instrument through which to express its wisdom and learning.

Together these two create a personality which, if rightly cultivated and developed, stands at the ever-open door of illimitable human possibilities.

Let no one be mistaken with the erroneous idea that one must possess wealth or fame to become a personality of note. This idea is false in every respect.

There is only one aristocracy—the aristocracy of character. Under this supreme test we find as many characterists in any mining village as we should in Mayfair. Wealth is man's servant, and under no circumstances should it be allowed to enslave him or his kin.

The quality of the soul has much to do with the creating of a personality. It is possible to appreciate the deep beauties of a lingering sunset, yet be penniless... "He who reads a poem well—is a poet. He who sees a mountain well—is an artist."

The soul, reflected by the emotions and feelings, can be developed by an instant response to the call of beauty wherever it is to be found and in whatever form.

It is not possible to remain soul-less, inhuman, uncouth, brutal, and also become a personality, and an abiding inspiration to one's fellow-beings.

Then, there is the cultivation of the spirit. This task does not demand a belief in any set religion, or the holding of a theological creed; the only belief that is necessary is a belief in oneself as part of a great and growing spiritual universe.

A hard task, some may urge, but really a very easy one if we stop to meditate on the oneness of Life. Whatever separates one individual from another—

money, mind or manners—the two fundamental laws of birth and death are common to all.

Egypt in the Cycle of Civilization

Writing in *The Aryan Path* Mr. William H. Steer describes the cycle of Egyptian civilization:

During its long history there have been many marked fluctuation in the intellectual as well as the national life of Egypt. Most of its dynasties experienced this wax and wane within its own period, and the whole of its history, from Menes till it finished as a power, proved the certainty of cyclic truth.

Before Egypt became united it had least 600 years of history. United Egypt has been known from 4400 B. C. (some chronologists say 5800 B. C.) and there were thirty Dynasties up to the time of Alexander the Great. The Middle Kingdom, roughly 2500 B. C. was eminent in literature and language, and during its course many private libraries existed. The weaker reign of the Shepherd Kings, the Hyksos, followed; then came, circa 1700 B. C., the First Empire, with Thebes as the capital and notable for the endeavour of King Ikhnaton (Amenhotep IV) to set up the worship of one God, the source of light and life. It failed, and with it the First Empire, to be succeeded by the XIXth Dynasty, 1400 B. C., with Ramesses II as its greatest ruler, and with signs of decay evident all through the reign of his son Menepthah. There was a rally in the reign of Ramesses III, and fluctuations for eight succeeding centuries under Priest-kings and Persian intruders till Alexander the Great smashed the power of the XXX and last purely Egyptian dynasty in B. C. 332. Rome and Byzantium then had a hand in its destinies and in modern times France and England, but as an Empire, Egypt died.

In literature Egypt showed vitality and variety as early as 3000 B. C.; poetry, ethics, medicine, theology, astronomy, fiction. But her monuments are her great legacy, and in them Egypt displays an admirable self-contained example of the cyclic principle, as, too, of course, does her national history.

More than India, or Assyria, or Babylon, Egypt is the land of art and stories in stones, and in the sculptures, the hieroglyphs and pictographs are seen the fluctuations of skill and execution, while in papyri similar phases are traceable. The earliest pottery decoration was to depict basket-work, and it was faithful; but extant specimens show that by the close of the 1st Dynasty a deterioration to careless copying and inferior colouring was manifest. Then came the pictographs and hieroglyphs, well formed by the Vth Dynasty, descending to crudity till the Xth Dynasty. Statuary and incised work and bas-relief show the same wax and wane over varying dynasties, till the general revival of

the XVIIIth Dynasty, as seen in temple work, statuary and funerary appointment such as those recently discovered, the Tutankhamen relics. But after that, vitality dropped to the end of the Empire, to be revived later under the Roman occupation.

The New Benares

Old order changeth, giving place to New. Benares, hitherto a place of pilgrimage for the devotees of one religion, and consequently circumscribed, has found in the Hindu University of Benares, a home for men of all creeds who will meet there to imbibe one another's thoughts and culture, giving birth to a new India and a better world. This at least is the dream and ambition of Mr. N. B. Parulekar, who is contributing a series of thought-provoking articles in *The Arya Path* on "Renascent India." He says:

The answer of old Benares is clear and unmistakable. One may forget all about reincarnation, all about Brahma, sadhus, pilgrims, philosophers and shrines. One may take or leave as many of these as he pleases. But that on which the Holy City is insisting all these millenniums of her existence and which is really the beginning and breath of spiritual wisdom is meditation. *The divorce between meditative and active life is the root error in the building of modern civilization.* By a curious process of self-deception we consider a man as a scientist who sits in a laboratory to study physics, chemistry, biology and so on, but instead if another sits quiet in order to study the inner being of man we call him a dreamer. Afraid of its own self, human intelligence has studied matter, machines, mathematics, just much more scrupulously than its own nature, just as a pullman porter who may be all courtesy to a stranger but is studiously rude to his own relations. As soon as the scientist will sit down to think of his own Self and the Self of others he becomes a philosopher and a better judge of how to use power.

Changing Civilization

Mr. Gurdial Mallik writes in *The Theosophist* on the changing aspect of modern civilization.

To-day science has become one of the transforming ideas of European civilization, which, consequently, its character and content, has become largely industrial. It is an age of faith in empirical verification, and the deities which the Westerner worships are the machine, capitalism, standardization, the city, mass-education, the historical attitude, democracy and Nationalism. In short, man is being made in the image of his experience. But there are impulses and ideals which rational experience cannot interpret or adapt to modern conditions; hence, the pains of transition. There are some who hold that the past must be rejected wholesale; there are others who believe that all wisdom is embodied in tradition. The former are in favour of a fullness and freedom of life, even though their use of experience as a touchstone is "like the playing of a child with a knife" while the latter are trying to revive the old philosophies of escape, and, in this connection, look up to Oriental civilizations for insight and instruction.

Professor Randall is of opinion that the "ideals of the East [of resignation, submission, charity, etc.] will know but rare adherents in the future." He says, in effect, that we cannot set back the hands of the clock and have to make wealth serve life. We need not throw overboard all that has come down to us in the form of moral ideals, but take them and make them better. The Greek ideals can still teach us something. The scientific spirit of enquiry and experimentation is commendable, but as, in the ultimate, "all human living rests on some faith—the faith that certain things are of transcendent importance," what we need is "an experimental moral faith"—faith in intelligence and intelligent faith in the future—faith in the potentialities of industry and science. Thus will it come to pass that the demands of the age: "respect for human personality, freedom for its development, fruitful and harmonious human intercourse, the passion for beauty and the thirst for truth," will be fulfilled. And this consummation will be achieved when the industrial machine is under social control and the gospel that is preached to the people is the gospel of social justice.

Religious Truth

Professor D. G. Moses writes in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* on the nature of religious truth. He says:

Religious truth is the outcome of faith, a venture of the whole personality, often in the face of the most contradictory facts. In this respect it shares the common characteristic of all knowledge. That Reality is knowable and knowable by our minds is the all-embracing assumption of thought. It is never proved in the scientific sense of the term; but it is growingly verified by the fact that more and more knowledge has been gained on this assumption and found to be true. James Ward has a fine passage in his book on "The Realm of Ends," illustrating the idea of an unscientific trustfulness as a necessary preliminary to all development. He says, "There was little, for example, in all that the wisest fish could know, to justify the belief that there was more scope for existence on the earth than in the water, or to show that persistent endeavours to live on land would issue in the transformation of his swim-bladder into lungs. And before a bird had cleaved the air there was surely little, in all that the most daring of saurian speculators could see or surmise concerning that untrodden element, to warrant him in risking his neck in order to satisfy his longing to soar; although when he did try, his forelimbs were transformed to wings at length, and his dim prevision of a bird became incarnate in himself." But while all discovery demands initial faith, the discovery or apprehension of religious truth very often implies a more daring faith, a trust not only in the absence of clear proof but also in the presence of facts that appear to be contradictory to its assumption. Of course, this is only the first stage in the process of the attainment of religious truth. What begins as an experiment is followed by an experience which justifies the experiment and which in its turn certifies itself as true by its ability to function in life and to illuminate more and more of Reality. It is this characteristic of religious truth that finds expression in Anselm's saying, "Crede ut intelligam."

Modern Marathi Poetry

The growing vernacular literatures of India are one of the most promising signs of the artistic and intellectual awakening of the people of the different parts of India. Professor Madhava Rao T. Patwardhan writes in *Triveni* on Marathi poetry :

Modern Marathi poetry is essentially lyrical. It is influenced by English lyrical poetry of the Romantic period. It began some fifty years ago with the loose but graceful rendering of some English lyrics into Marathi verse by Vishnu Moreshwar Mahajani of Akola in Berar. Modern Marathi poetry written on the Sanskrit classical models is of even earlier origin. It has not yet gone out of vogue and its great representative today is Sadhudas (b. 1834) of Sangli who in his *Ranavihar*, '*Vanavihar*' and '*Girihavihar*' has attempted to narrate on a grand scale the ancient story of the Ramayana. Tilak, Keshavasut, Madhavanuj, Chandrasekhar, Vinayak, Bee, Tambe and Dutta are all representatives of the new lyrical school. They were born between the years 1865-1875. Of these only three, Chandrasekhar (b. 1871), Bee (b. 1872) and Tambe (b. 1874) are still living. . . .

Sumant (b. 1881), Sadhudas (b. 1884), Govindagraj (b. 1885), Tekade (b. 1887), Tiwari (b. 1887) and Balakavi Thombare (b. 1891) were the poets who now began to attract the small poetry-reading public. From amongst these Govindagraj, Rendalkar and Balakavi were the leading poets of the present century. They were more gifted, more assertive and more combative than their predecessors; and they were greatly instrumental in making modern Marathi poetry popular with the rising generation of the student world. Govindagraj soon gave up writing poetry and took to writing plays in which field his brilliance was crowned with unparalleled success. Again, it was the youngest, Balakavi, who was the first to pass away. He was accidentally run over by a train in 1918. In 1919 passed away the great Govindagraj and also Tilak, and in 1920 the vigorous and prolific Rendalkar was gathered to the majority. . . .

Shridhar Ranade, Girish and Adnyatavasi were among its moving spirits. The last named published in 1923, under the auspices of the Mandal, 'Maharashtra Sharada'—an anthology of modern Marathi poetry, and Girisha published in the same year similarly his 'Unfortunate Kamala' a popular long poem describing the sufferings of a Hindu child-widow. . . .

In 1927 was published the second volume of Tambe's poetry—a veritable mine of gold. Most of these lyrics are simply matchless. They are of enduring interest. The poet had been confined to bed with a serious illness, and these utterances inspired by the gleam that was dimly visible through the shadow of death, are as sublime as they are pathetic. They are richer in colour, imagery and intensity than the songs of Sumant's '*Bhavaninada*,' which were published in the pages of '*Kavya-Ratnavali*,' a little earlier. As the recitations have turned people away from active reading to passive listening, these two books unfortunately, in the absence of a champion reciter, have not yet received their due; while Tiwari's spirited but prosaic '*War-songs*' have run through three or four editions !

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The old Javanese language is denoted by two Sanskrit words, *Basa*, *Kawi*, i.e., "the language of poetry." We also find that the term *Kawi* is often used as synonym for *Ved*. Whatever literature was treasured in that *Kawi* language it was, we may assert, largely derived from or inspired by Indian originals. We meet with Sanskrit names particularly among the *birudas* and designations of the nobility and the high functionaries of Java.

Rulers and other chiefs of Central Java are known by the titles, *raja*, *prabu*, *adipati*, and *aria*. The Indian or Sanskrit equivalents of these are *raja*, *prabhu*, *adhipati* and *arya*. Hereditary rulers and chiefs are known as *bupati* (Skt. *Bhupati*). The designations most common among officials are *montri*, *pati*, *dyaksa* (Skt. *adhyaksha*), and *ucelono* (Skt. *radana*).

In the case of personal names, we find that there are not only names of Arabic origin but also names of Sanskrit origin. The Javanese nobility always appear to have had a distinct preference for such names as *Suryavinata*, *Suryaputra*, etc. It may be asked how these names, although they are of Sanskrit elements, appealed to the Javanese nobility, especially when we find that such names are not nowadays used in India. The answer to this question is:—The inclusion Dr. Vogel give to this question is:—The use of such names is, no doubt, primarily due to Hindu influence, but in their present form they must be the outcome of a prolonged independent development."

The architectural term, *mandapa*, which means "a pillared hall" is of special interest to the student of Javanese architecture. Its Javanese equivalent is *pendapa*, a name which is applied to a big pillared hall attached to the house, in front of it, in which the Javanese chiefs are wont to receive their guests.

A telling evidence of the influence of Hindu culture on that of Java is furnished by the Javanese mythology. Sri Rama, the hero of the Hindu epic *Ramayana* and the five Pandava brothers, Yudhishtira, Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva "enjoy among the population of Java as great a popularity as in the land of their origin." Indeed the legends narrated in the two epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, have become so popular in Java and the stories have been so completely assimilated by the Javanese that their foreign origin has been forgotten, and "for the great mass of the population the Pandava and Rama are truly national heroes, born and bred in the isle of Java."

Congress and the Masses

Professor C. N. Vakil writes in *The New World* on the Congress and the working classes. In course of this article he says:

Two alternatives could be imagined; the masses may be crushed out of existence by sheer want in course of time; or they may grow desperate and

become the powerful instrument of a revolution, the like of which the world has not yet witnessed. One who desires steady and substantial progress must necessarily be conscious of such possibilities, irrespective of the fact whether he is a leader of the people or a representative of the British Government. History repeats itself: it is not wise to presume that the huge population of India will not struggle for a better and freer existence even by means which may be condemned by social and moral thinkers, provided the existing consciousness for such progress is not directed in time in the right channel.

From this point of view, the resolution of the Congress on Fundamental Rights and Duties and the economic programme may be considered to be the most important effort on the part of the Congress to direct the attention of the masses on certain benefits for the realization of which the Congress undertakes to work. Whatever form the political constitution of the country may take in the near future, we are justified in assuming that fundamental changes in the life of people are likely to be made in the next decade by the future Government of India. In the gigantic effort to lay down new foundations on which to build the structure of the Indian society of the future, the best minds in the country must work in the closest harmony, with the greatest foresight, and with a proper grasp of the complex problems that must be solved. If we further assume that the economic ideas contained in the Congress resolution are bound to be pressed for adoption in connection with this effort, we are provided with a basis for reflection....

So far as the fundamental basis of economic life is concerned, we have on the one hand forms of extreme capitalistic organization, and on the other, forms of extreme socialistic organization. Most countries have felt the evils of the former; but they have also found it difficult to adopt in practice the socialistic doctrine. By force of circumstances, they have been inevitably led to steer a middle course, which may be described either as enlightened capitalism or modified socialism in which society continues to be organized on the existing basis, with the acceptance of the right to private property and its natural corollaries, but in which adequate steps are taken to see that the evils of such a system are minimized by various forms of State action. This experience of other countries is a valuable guide to us at this critical juncture in our history. Whatever our individual predilection, we can not get away from the fact that the future will have to be built on the present. In other words, the problem will have to be faced whether we are likely to progress with a silent, and therefore, non-violent revolution in our economic life by adopting a middle course referred to above, or whether we are likely to progress by adopting a more radical policy....

The Congress outlook approximate to the middle course referred to above and does not contemplate a violent revolution. With non-violence as the basic creed of the Congress, it was obviously impossible for the Congress to think of sudden changes of a violent character in the economic life of the country.

Unemployment, and How to Prevent It.

"Retrenchment can not be an immediate remedy to trade depression.... It is the uneven distribution that is the primary and the most outstanding cause of trade depression." Mr.

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In 1920 was published the first volume of Tambe's poetry. He is Vinayaka's junior by two years and was born a year before Dutta. He hails from Central India and belongs to what is known as the Greater Maharashtra. For years he had been composing lyrics. They were known to his few friends and admirers; but he was not at all anxious to see them published. At last, in 1920, Prof. V. G. Mydev of the Indian Women's University collected the stray lyrics, published them in book form and commenced to give them publicity by reciting them before the students of the Poona Colleges. What with the exquisite lyricism in Tambe's poetry and what with the reciter's sweet voice and expressive, almost theatrical gestures—the recitations were a grand success. Tambe's haunting song 'O fix not on me those forceful eyes of thine' was soon on the lips of all lovers of poetry.

Just about that time was formed at Poona the 'Maharashtra Sharada Mandir'—an association primarily of poets; but people like Prof. Vamana Malhara Joshi and Prof. Datta Vamuna Potdar who do not write verse and are yet interested in Marathi poetry, could and did join it. Its members used to meet on Sundays to read, to hear, to discuss and to enjoy modern poetry. Ananta-tanay,

Shridhar Ranade, Girish and Adnyatavasi were among its moving spirits. The last named published in 1923, under the auspices of the Mandal, Maharashtra Sharada—an anthology of modern Marathi poetry, and Girish published in the same year similarly his 'Unfortunate Kamala' a popular long poem describing the sufferings of a Hindu child-widow....

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The Indo-Javanese Civilization

To the same paper, Mr. T. N. Ramchandran contributes a very interesting article on the "Golden Age of Hindu-Javanese Art." Mr. Ramchandran writes:

Many of the present geographical names in Java cannot but instil in our minds a feeling of appreciation derived from the conviction that they should have been largely derived from or inspired by Indian originals. The highest peak of the isle is called *Semeru* or *Smeru*. It is needless for me to point out that one is at once reminded of the Mount *Sumeru* of Indian mythology.

Java is divided into many districts, one of which the eastern-most one, is called *Besidi*. Surely this is the Javanese form of the Sanskrit *Vasuki*, the King of the serpents. The attribution of this name to that part of the isle is explained by Dr. Vogel as probably due to the existence of "some sanctuary dedicated to the serpent deity" (*Vasuki*).

The central river in Java, and for the matter of that the principal river of Java, which takes its origin from the southern slopes of a mountain called *Prabu*, bears the illustrious name *Sragu*, a name evidently derived from the Sanskrit *Sravya*, the glorious river now known as the *Gogra*, on the banks of which was situated Ayodhya, the seat of Sri Rama.

The Javanese and the Malay languages are "as full of words of Sanskrit origin as the English is of

Latin words." As is the case with Sanskrit words, in Malay words the accent falls on the last syllable but one. The name *Aryana*, for example, will be pronounced by the Javanese as *Arjuna*. Other features worth mentioning are that the pronunciation of most the Javanese words has undergone change, that the original meanings of the words have too often been modified and that the aspiration of aspirate consonants is not found.

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In the case of personal names, we find that there are not only names of Arabic origin but also names of Sanskrit origin. The Javanese nobility always appear to have had a distinct preference for such names as *Suryadinata*, *Suryaputra*, etc. It may be asked how these names, although they are of Sanskrit elements, appealed to the Javanese nobility, especially when we find that such names are not nowadays used in India. The answer to this question is:—"The use of such names is, no doubt, primarily due to Hindu influence, but in their present form they must be the outcome of a prolonged independent development."

The architectural term, *mandapa*, which means "a pillared hall" is of special interest to the student of Javanese architecture. Its Javanese equivalent is *pendapa*, a name which is applied to a big pillared hall attached to the house, in front of it, in which the Javanese chiefs are wont to receive their guests.

A telling evidence of the influence of Hindu culture on that of Java is furnished by the Javanese mythology. Sri Rama, the hero of the Hindu epic *Ramayana* and the five Pandava brothers, Yudhishtira, Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva are popular among the population of Java as great "enjoy among the land of their origin." Indeed the legends narrated in the two epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, have become so popular in Java and the stories have been so completely assimilated by the Javanese that their foreign origin has been forgotten, and "for the great mass of the population the Pandava and Rama are truly national heroes, born and bred in the isle of Java."

Congress and the Masses

Professor C. N. Vakil writes in *The New World* on the Congress and the working classes. In course of this article he says:

Two alternatives could be imagined: the masses may be crushed out of existence by sheer want in course of time; or they may grow desperate and

become the powerful instrument of a revolution, the like of which the world has not yet witnessed. One who desires steady and substantial progress must necessarily be conscious of such possibilities, irrespective of the fact whether he is a leader of the people or a representative of the British Government. History repeats itself: it is not wise to presume that the huge population of India will not struggle for a better and freer existence even by means which may be condemned by social and moral thinkers, provided the existing consciousness for such progress is not directed in time in the right channel.

From this point of view, the resolution of the Congress on Fundamental Rights and Duties and the economic programme may be considered to be the most important effort on the part of the Congress to direct the attention of the masses on certain benefits for the realization of which the Congress undertakes to work. Whatever form the political constitution of the country may take in the near future, we are justified in assuming that fundamental changes in the life of people are likely to be made in the next decade by the future Government of India. In the gigantic effort to lay down new foundations on which to build the structure of the Indian society of the future, the best minds in the country must work in the closest harmony, with the greatest foresight, and with a proper grasp of the complex problems that must be solved. If we further assume that the economic ideas contained in the Congress resolution are bound to be pressed for adoption in connection with this effort, we are provided with a basis for reflection....

So far as the fundamental basis of economic life is concerned, we have on the one hand forms of extreme capitalistic organization, and on the other, extreme of extreme socialistic organization. Most countries have felt the evils of the former; but they have also found it difficult to adopt in practice the socialistic doctrine. By force of circumstances, they have been inevitably led to steer a middle course, which may be described either as enlightened capitalism or modified socialism in which society continues to be organized on the existing basis, with the acceptance of the right to private property and its natural corollaries, but in which adequate steps are taken to see that the evils of such a system are minimized by various forms of State action. This experience of other countries is a valuable guide to us at this critical juncture in our history. Whatever our individual predilection, we can not get away from the fact that in the future will have to be built on the present. In other words, the problem will have to be faced whether we are likely to progress with a silent, and therefore, non-violent revolution in our economic life by adopting a middle course referred to above, or whether we are likely to progress by adopting a more radical policy....

The Congress outlook approximate to the middle course referred to above and does not contemplate a violent revolution. With non-violence as the basic creed of the Congress, it was obviously impossible for the Congress to think of sudden changes of a violent character in the economic life of the country.

Unemployment, and How to Prevent It.

"Retrenchment can not be an immediate remedy to trade depression.... It is the uneven distribution that is the primary and the most outstanding cause of trade depression." Mr.

Jamnadas M. Metha, in his article "The Tragedy of Unemployment" published in *The Indian Labour Journal*,¹ proposing the subject matter in the above vein, proves to the hilt the bane of capitalism:

If a factory employing 200,000 men produces Rs. 5 crores worth of goods and if the wealth is evenly distributed between the workers and the 10,000 shareholders interested in the concern, all the goods produced will ultimately find buyers. But if on the other hand, the share-holders take away the larger slice of the 5 crores and the smaller portion is paid as wages to the 200,000 workers, goods will not be completely consumed. The ten thousand share-holders have no need to consume more than a certain quantity and the workers numbering 200,000 have the need to purchase but cannot afford to do so owing to lower purchasing power available to them. The ten thousand share-holders in spite of their extravagant life, find a surplus left, as their income is much more than what is necessary for their needs and they invest the surplus amount in some enterprise. The results in the new investment are nearly the same *vis-à-vis*, a disproportionate distribution fetching surplus to the few and leaving the many in want. Year after year, this process repeats and reaches a point when the world's market is glutted with commodities which cannot be sold away for some time. Thus comes trade depression followed by unemployment.

This state of affairs continues 'until the goods dumped in the market are cleared at uncompetitive prices and the trade again revives. It is therefore a vicious circle and the cycle of boom and slump in trade repeats almost at regular intervals. So much so that in European countries which are supposed to be free from superstition it is believed that the slump in trade is due to spots in the Sun which come once in 7 years or so. Even the educated are inclined to believe in this superstition rather than inclined to believe in the economic system. Then recognize the defects of the economic system. Then prices decline, factories either close down or the employers resort to retrenchment of hands or introduction of short time. This gives relief after a few years; trade again revives only to be caught in another glut after a few years; the unemployment problem can never be solved. The perennial tragedy continues.

He then proceeds to seek a remedy:

It is high time that India seriously took to the question of re-organization of society. Re-organization is not advocated with a view to rationalize through the best machinery and regulate prices according to demand but to eliminate private profiteering and to place at the disposal of the nation all means of production; in plain language, all staple industries nationalized and special services rendered.

The fight for Swaraj and nationalization of industries should go side by side. Swaraj without industrialisation and without a socialist programme will not carry us any farther than we are at present. The malady of unemployment can only be cured by socialism actually accomplished.

Laughter

The nature of laughter has baffled analysis. But there is no doubt about its utility, says a writer in *The Indian Ladies Magazine*:

The world will be in misery without laughter, a graveyard, with men in it as ghosts. Laughter is the supreme sign of contentment and happiness, the ever full re-servoir of all earthly felicity and rejoicing. God in His mercy created this world, so that His children might not brood over their troubles, but live and yet laugh. The choleric man, who frets and fumes and wastes his lungs in mad ravings, can find peace in its tender caress. The weary soul, the aching head and the careworn spirit can gain fresh vigour from its bubbling fountain. The crying child, whose obstinacy can wear out all human patience, can be soothed by its honied drops. The weary official finds life freshened by its welcome sounds from the lips of a loved one. The man at the counter, maddened by the monotony of the day, awaits its luring call at every step. Laughter indeed is an asset to eternal happiness. To live with it, nay to live in it, should be the aim of all. Yet, it must be remembered that with laughter go other things; true laughter really being the outcome of a rare combination of happy qualities.

Of all poetic creations, none have ever been so endeared to us as the immortal Falstaff, the "King of Clowns", invoked by that "immortal bard of Avon," Shakespeare. How enchanting, and how lively his wit is! How simple and how crisp! Falstaff seems to be the embodiment of all humour and laughter. Falstaff is a type for all times, a rare specimen of human felicity, rid of all the complicated fabric of intellectual monstrosities and ethical incongruities. With his wonderful gift of ready and harmless humour, his power of expression as harmless and appealing too, his manner curiously winning and endearing, he is indeed a most pleasing creation of the immortal poet's imagination. A friend like Falstaff, free from Philistine sentiments and bovine stupidity, may prove a friend indeed!

But unfortunately enough, Shakespeare has cast a gloom upon the lively career of Falstaff by the sad aspect he has given to the end of the big "horse-back-breaker." Quite contrary to the optimistic expectations of the reader, Falstaff dies of a broken heart, indeed a most sad end for such a merry soul. It is indeed most painful that a whole career spent in Wassal-revelry, in drinking and bottle-emptying, in lively wit and vociferous laughter, should end in this manner.

When his dear chum, his loved Prince Hal, assumed sovereignty, and put on feigned appearance to be rid of his old play-fellow and his boon companion, Falstaff should have laughed first and then given up the ghost. Indeed, he ought to have laughed and laughed and laughed, till the vapour of life passed out of his huge carcass!

Origin of Urdu Literature

Mr. S. Khuda Bakhsh describes the origin of Urdu Literature in *The Muslim University Journal*. He says that while Urdu poetry originated in South India, Urdu prose was born in the Fort William College, Calcutta.

The first impulse to literary composition in Urdu is given not by Delhi, but by the Muslim Courts of Golkonda and Bijapur. The newly-risen literature, it is to be noted however, is neither the literature of the people nor a revealer of their ideas, for the people at Golkonda spoke Telugu, and at Bijapur

Kanarese—both Dravidian languages, poles apart from the Aryan tongues of the North. From its very inception this literature was modelled upon Persian. Indeed, it borrowed wholesale from it; it borrowed forms and conventions of poetic diction; the *Qasida* or laudatory ode; *Ghazal* or love-sonnet; the *Marsiya* or dirge; the *Masnawi* or narrative-poem with coupled rhymes; the *Hija* or satire; the *Ruba'i* or epigram.

Golkonda became a literary focus. Quli Qutb Shah and his successor Abdulah Qu.b were both poets of distinction. During the reign of Qutb Shah, Ibn Nishati composed two works, still regarded as models in Dakhui dialect; the *Tutinamah* and *Phul-ban*. The Court of Bijapur was a brilliant literary centre too. Ibrahim Adil Shah (1599-1626) wrote the *Nau-ras* or 'nine savours.' The court poet of his successor, Ali Adil Shah, was a Brahman, poetically known as Nusrati, author of *Gulshan-i-Ishq*, a *Masnawi* of rare note and distinction. These, were the heralds and pioneers. It was, however, reserved for Wali of Aurangabad (circa 1680-1720) and his contemporary and townsman Siraj to fix the poetical standard which received the homage of their countrymen for nearly a couple of centuries. Indeed, competent judges are unanimous in their verdict that the development of Urdu poetry in Northern India in the XVIIIth century was pre-eminently due to Wali's initiative and influence.

Urdu Prose was taken in hand and forged at the school of the Fort William College in Calcutta. There eminent scholars were summoned to prepare vernacular text-books for officials. Momentous was this step, for it not only developed the vernaculars, but, with the introduction of lithography about 1837, brought books within the reach of the reading public. But the light that illumined and brightened the British capital was the light that came from Delhi, the deserted abode of Moghul Imperialism.

Mir Asman, Afsos (d. 1809), Jawan, all natives of Delhi, blessed the cradle of our language, moulded its style, carved its destiny. They gave to it simplicity and suppleness; stripped it of its Persian plume, florid ornamentation; made it clear, effective, crisp. And thus a literary style was evolved capable of the highest development. Up to the first half of the XIXth century this style retained its supremacy unbroken.

The Inhabitants of New Guinea

The people of New Guinea have no native culture, no written symbols, no legends of a historical nature, only a few fairy tales, says Miss Isabel Robertson in her "New Guinea," published in *The Scholar*. In Arithmetic they count on their fingers, one, two, three, two up to two (4), one hand fini-hed (5), and so on up to 20, which, being the full number of fingers and toes, has the cheerful designation "one man dead." Though they are a primitive people, the author proceeds:

Yet primitive as they are, they have a polity of their own, and quite a good one it is, a form of village communism. The land is mostly very mountainous, but along the beach and at the river mouths is a narrow strip of rich garden land. This belongs to the village. About one-sixth of it is enough to supply their needs in any one year, so after a season's tillage the ground lies fallow for four or five years, while other land is used in turn. The village itself is placed near some spring, close beside the beach, the thatched houses nestling beneath the shade of beautiful tropical trees, each house surrounded by the owner's cocoanut palms. The houses are not close together as in Indian villages, but are about ten yards apart. Primitive life like this is never monotonous; the varying seasons of the year bring their varying occupations. In the wet season, Christmas to Easter, every one has influenza and malaria, and the fishing nets are mended, weak places being taken out and replaced by new string. The old string is used for playing cat's cradles, which they weave on fingers and toes in a bewildering variety of fascinating patterns. When the rains are over, garden work begins for the new season, and in over, garden work begins for the new season, and in the sea whitebait throng the mouths of the streams for a week or two. During those weeks all the coastal Papuans (so called for their frizzy hair) are busy netting them and tying them up in leaves ready for cooking. The mountain Papuans then descend to the beaches and barter their goods for a share of the fish. At all times during the year, a certain amount of hunting and fishing goes on. Sometimes all the women go fishing for a day, and with the catch they next day prepare a feast of fish for the men. Another day the men will go hunting for the women's hospitality. As and next day return the women's hospitality. As the dry season is drawing to a close, towards the end of September, the long, coarse grass of the lower hills is fired, the lizards, snakes, birds and bandicoots flee in terror before the flames, round the edge of which the villagers stand waiting to spear them. Now, too, the river has sunk to a narrow trickle in its wide stony bed, so one day the whole village turns out and builds a low stone dam across the shallow river turning it to the other side of its bed. Below the dam the fish are left flopping in the dry river bed but are not left flopping long. Lastly, the dry monsoon dies down and a magical stillness descends on sea and land. This is the season when the flying fish lays her eggs fastening them to drifting twigs and sea-weed. All the men and boys, taking branches to support them, swim out to sea collecting the eggs (gelaruru). So calm is the sea that they do not hesitate to venture a couple of miles from the shore, and they come back with good store of gelaruru for the evening meal. Then the fire is lighted before the doorway beneath the dark mystery of the night-hidden trees, the cooking pot is filled with daintily prepared food, and while it cooks, the family gather round enjoying the cool, soft air of evening and the near approach of the evening meal. Then is the time to descend to the village, join a group of one's friends round their fire, add one's fool to the common stock and when the meal is over, listen to fairy stories, or, and when the meal is over, listen to fairy stories, or, the stories of the cannibal days of their youth, while the moonlight silvers the cocoanut fronds and the phosphorescent wavelets lap the creamy coral sands.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Mahatma Gandhi's Visit to the United States

Mahatma Gandhi, it is finally settled of course, is not going to America. But it is interesting to learn what the effect of his visit would have been had he actually gone there. *The New Republic* has an interesting editorial note on this subject:

Mahatma Gandhi has announced that he is willing to visit the United States, at the conclusion of the London Round-Table conferences on Indian independence. Pressing invitations have come to him from prominent Americans such as Adolph S. Ochs, John Dewey, Jane Addams and many others. He hesitates to come here, however, on account of warnings that he may be turned into a laughing stock. The Reverend John Haynes Holmes, a trusted friend of Mr. Gandhi, has assured him that he would be exploited, ridiculed and misinterpreted. Like Einstein, the leader of India will, it is claimed, find his privacy violated by the mobs of blockheads who will gather to gape and laugh at him. And Mr. Gandhi states that though he feels great affection for the American people, he will not come "unless they are willing to listen to my message rather than regard me as a curiosity." To this, one can only answer that many thousands of Americans who are neither exploiters nor curiosity seekers, Americans of whom foreigners know too little, are deeply in favour of his visit to this country.

To be sure, barbarous scenes will follow his arrival in New York. He will be given an official welcome by Jimmie Walker; tickertape will be showered upon him from the sky-scrapers of lower Broadway; a regiment of camera men will hound his steps; reporters for the tabloid press will besiege him for his opinions on everything under the sun, from the phallic turret of the Empire State Building to the fox-hunting hats of our stenographers. In short, all the idiotic, profane and mercenary aspects of American life will be the first to be thrust upon him. But should Mr. Gandhi shrink from visiting us because of inevitable vexations? In the service of an idea, which has broken British power in the Orient, he has faced much worse things than ridicule: hunger and pain and sickness and death. For all thoughtful Americans, Mr. Gandhi is the man who has summoned up prodigious forces in the Orient, stronger than all arms of war; forces which must deeply affect the future course of humanity. Facing the nation which epitomizes the Western industrialism that he opposes, the leader of insurgent India might help immensely to dissipate ignorance with regard to his own country. The value of such human exchanges may be incalculable. Mr. Gandhi himself might suffer while in the United States, but his visit would do Americans enormous good.

Maxim Gorky on Primary Education in Russia

The third or the decisive year of the Five-Year Plan in Russia is marked by a series of achievements in different spheres of national activity. One of the most important of these is what has been termed in the picturesque phraseology employed by the Soviet workers, liquidation of illiteracy. *The Soviet Culture Bulletin* publishes the summary of an article published by Maxim Gorky on the anniversary of the introduction of universal education in Russia:

On the anniversary of the introduction of universal elementary education in the Soviet Union, Maxim Gorky published an article on universal education. Widening the limits of social analysis Gorky gives practically an estimate of the fate of culture and of the situation of intellectuals in capitalist countries, turning after this to the problems of cultural revolution in the USSR. Gorky shows on fact that the actual situation of capitalism induces it to fear an accumulation of intellectual power not only among the workers, but among the intelligentsia as well. This is the fear of an over-production of intellectuals.

Capitalism is afraid that intellectual power, which it is no more in a position to absorb and exploit for its own interests, may take sides with its enemy, the working class, and will then serve the great goal of the latter as conscientiously, as it has served the construction of the capitalist State's iron cage.

Capitalism no more needs the intellectual creator, the inventor, unless he invents new models of guns and machine-guns, new war-gases and all other commodities of the future war against the proletariat, because every new blood-bath, whatever capitalist country will start it, will inevitably result in a mass destruction of proletarians.

And the future war of the capitalist against the Soviet Union in particular will be nothing else but an attempt to strengthen, even though for a short period, their power over the workers.

Capitalism needs the intellectual only in the quality of an obedient servant, executing without murmur the orders of the ruling class, which gives him a more or less satisfactory living. A proletarian intellectual is dangerous for capitalism, and this danger is the greater, the more talented he is.

After this M. Gorky turns to the question of cultural constructive work in the USSR in connection with the anniversary of the introduction of universal elementary education.

The working class and peasantry of the USSR stand in extreme need of intellectual power. They need an immense amount of this power for the execution of their great historic task. A year ago, just at the moment when the German press was trying to persuade German youths not to yearn for university education, the XVth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party and its Central Committee

The most important question of labour legislation, however, is administration, which differs for different industries in India. The enactment of plantation legislation lies within the power of provincial Governments, subject to the approval of the Central Government. When the indenture system existed, plantation legislation made specific provision for the forwarding of the recruits from the place of residence to the place of work, and also for health and sanitation of the plantations themselves. With the abolition of the indenture system, administration has been greatly simplified. The enforcement of the law is left mostly to the *ex-officio* inspectors, consisting of deputy commissioners, assistant commissioners, civil servants and other agents. Mining legislation is within the competence of the Central Government and inspection is carried on under the supervision of the Chief Inspector of Mines all over British India, which, for convenience, is divided into two circuits. The staff consists of a Chief Inspector, three inspectors and four junior inspectors. The administration of factory legislation is different from both kinds of legislation mentioned above. While the enactment of the legislation is the concern of the Central Government, its administration is left to provincial Governments, which make special rules, subject to the approval of the Central Government, to give effect to the law. The inspecting staff differs in different provinces, the largest being eleven in Bombay, one of whom is a woman.

Some idea of the efficiency of the inspection may be had from the proportion of industrial establishment, annually inspected as compared with their total number. As far as the inspection of the Assam tea gardens is concerned, it must be mentioned that under the Act of 1882 as modified in 1904-1905 and 1915, the Act of 1882 as modified in 1904-1905 and 1915, tea gardens employing 50 persons or more are liable to inspection only every two years. A few gardens are also specially selected for inspection in a particular year because of their health conditions in previous years. According to these rules, out of 868 Assam tea gardens, employing 50 persons or more, in 1929-1930 only 434 were liable to inspection, in the preceding year 411 which were not inspected in the preceding year and 23 which were specially selected for annual inspection. Out of this number, 421 were inspected. In other words, over 52 per cent. of the larger tea gardens were left uninspected during the year. Similarly, out of 1,732 mines in 1929, only 1,016, or 59 per cent, were inspected, although some of them were inspected more than once. The system of factory inspection, however, is much more satisfactory. Out of 7,863 factories in 1928, 7,093 or 90 per cent., were inspected during the year. As a rule, permanent factories are inspected once a year and even more. It is only some of the seasonal factories and out-of-the-way factories that escape annual inspection.

Another important question in connection with the administration of the law is enforcement. This involves prosecution and conviction for contraventions of the law, and the infliction of penalties. The number of persons convicted increased from 72 in 1924 to 99 in 1929 in the mines, and from 223 in 1923 to 419 in 1928 in the factories. This increase in the number of convictions is mostly due to the strict enforcement of the law.

The Cancer Discovery

Few discoveries in the field of medicine have aroused more public interest in recent years than

the new method of diagnosing cancer evolved by Dr. Bendien, a Dutch scientist. A contributor of *Discovery* discusses the investigations of Dr. Bendien:

Dr. Bendien has discovered a method of diagnosing cancer in the laboratory by the use of a specimen of blood drawn from the patient. These specimens are submitted in the first instance to the action of certain chemical re-agents, for example, acetic acid and sodium vanadate. This causes a precipitation. The precipitate is next dissolved in a two per cent solution of bicarbonate of sodium. It is then submitted to spectro-photometric examination; a series of spectrograms are made and a curve is plotted from which the diagnosis is made. Underlying this highly technical procedure is the view that cancer is a local disease which, however, cannot develop unless a specific abnormality of the serum is present. His test is directed towards the detection of the specific abnormality, not of the actual cancer.

It was subjected recently to a test at the instance of the British Empire Cancer Campaign, which body invited Dr. Alfred Pacey, Secretary of the Investigation Committee of the Campaign, to visit Holland on its behalf. Dr. Pacey took with him thirty-eight tubes of blood serum which had been collected by an independent physician from patients in normal health, and from patients suffering from various diseases, among them cancer. The question was: Could Dr. Bendien, by means of his test, pick out the cases of cancer from the other cases? Accompanying the tubes was a sealed envelope in which was a list of the diagnoses already arrived at.

Dr. Bendien was able to examine only twenty-one of the specimens. He arrived at the conclusion that in five instances cancer was present. These findings were subsequently, by reference to the sealed list, proved to be correct. In one instance a tentative diagnosis of cancer was made. This patient had undergone an operation for the removal of the prostate gland, but it was not found possible to obtain absolute confirmation or disproof of Dr. Bendien's view.

Here, as elsewhere in the field of cancer research, a curious exception has been met with. Dr. Bendien's test is directed to the discovery of the form of cancer known as carcinoma; it will not pick out the other form of cancer known as sarcoma. There would seem to be no very clear reason for this difference, but the very fact of the difference suggests a merit rather than a demerit. It is entirely in the tradition of cancer research.

Naturally further tests of Dr. Bendien's work are about to be undertaken. For if it is established that cancer represents merely a local expression of a general state a new view of the disease will have been arrived at and a new hope of treatment obtained. Dr. Bendien himself cherishes such a hope, and looks forward to the possession of a therapeutic method capable of causing the abnormal serum to become normal again and so, as it were, cutting off the necessary supplies, or rather perhaps abolishing the essential environment of the cancer. Recent criticisms of Dr. Bendien's work suggest that the test may not be specific for carcinoma as is claimed; time must elapse before final conclusions can be reached.

It will be seen that Bendien's hope is different from that cherished by Dr. Lumden, but is, in some sort, analogous to it. Dr. Lumden aims at increasing a natural power and producing a solid immunity. (He has found that in the cases in which cancers in mice

journal of information. In the former we find doctrinal articles, political studies, complete reports of parliamentary debates, and miscellanies. To-day none of these things remain. What good are doctrinal articles when there are no doctrines any more? What good are complete reports of parliamentary debates when only the results are important and when only gamblers on the stock exchange are interested? What good are miscellanies which nobody reads?

Here we touch on the explanation of the phenomenon. Modern newspapers are made for people who do not read. The so-called readers are kept in their present state of debility by being provided with news that they can easily grasp at once, with crimes, gossip and descriptions of sporting events. Anything that has to do with real information, anything that is of importance to the life of the country is closely censored, either by the government or by the industrial groups that hand out publicity. Such are our free newspapers, read by a public that is free—free to buy or not to buy.

Are n't we face to face here with a psychological law that might be formulated as follows? As soon as material progress of any kind favours the expansion of thought, the powers that be must assure themselves of its control. Mr. Hakey gives two more examples in support of this thesis, the cinema and the radio. He says that the film manufacturers themselves were the ones who demanded censorship for their new industry. They had a confused premonition of the danger of spreading ideas through pictures and believed that they could work more peacefully if the State would set its seal of approval on their product. As for radio, if it were not closely supervised how easily and quickly it could become the unconscious instrument of a thousand different kinds of propaganda.

Thus by a malicious element in his own nature man loses on the one hand the freedom that he gains on the other. By creating new methods of communicating with his fellows he believes that he has won his independence. But as soon as these conquests are made they are compromised. There is only one kind of free thought, the kind that is expressed as a call for the sole benefit of a small group. Depend on the wireless waves or the rotary presses of a big newspaper and your ideas will be slashed and diluted. One must submit to many restrictions in order to gain the right to reach the masses. I don't claim that this is always a mis-

fortune, but let us admit it as a fact that may remove some of our illusions about the progress we are making.

Basic English

The Living Age quotes the following extract from the *Manchester Guardian* on Basic English:

In a day when any two people of the two thousand million inhabitants of the earth can get in touch with each other in less than a second, argues a British scientific writer in the *Manchester Guardian*, somewhat speciously, there is surely a pressing need for a common language. The particular tongue that he backs for the job is not a synthetic article, but Mr. C. K. Ogden's 'Basic English'—on the theory that since some 500,000,000 people already have at least a bowing acquaintance with the English language, English has a tremendous head start over other living languages and over artificial languages as well. He goes on to say

Mr. Ogden has made the discovery that 650 words are enough for normal purposes if his system of rules and word order is used. For example, Leonhard Frank's much-talked-of story, 'Carl and Anna', was put into Basic English with a little over seven hundred of these words. It is surprising to see how little has been changed, and how natural it seems to the reader. For special fields a greater number of words is needed, but this increase takes place only among the names. An exchange of ideas would be possible for an international group on any science with an addition of about fifty names to the Basic List of 550 words.

By turning his attention to the behaviour of the things that words are used to give an account of, and taking little interest in the forms of language as such, Mr. Ogden makes one see what a number of complex and delicate questions may be talked of by putting simple words together. The effect is sometimes a bit long-winded and not very pleasing to the ear, but the reader has no trouble over the sense. In Mr. Ogden's view, Jeremy Bentham's strange way of writing was caused by his use of a sort of Basic English and not by the fact that he was a bad writer.

For the details of the system the reader must turn to Mr. Ogden's books on the subject, but some idea of the general effect may be obtained from the above quotation, which is itself written in Basic English.



INDIAN Womanhood



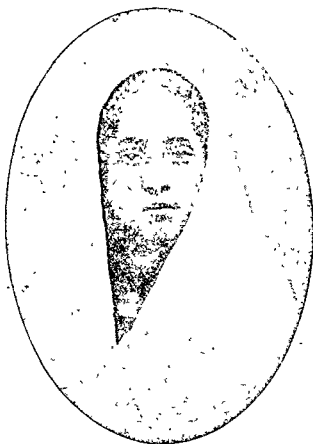
B.

Miss SWARNALATA GHOSH who was awarded a scholarship by the Bihar and Orissa Government for studying education has recently come back from the United Kingdom after taking her degree.

Mrs. NANDARANI SARKAR, who during the Civil Disobedience Movement organized a no-tax campaign in Bunkura, Bengal and led five hundred women volunteers.



Miss Swarnalata Ghosh



Mrs. Nandarani Sarkar



Miss Ahsee Majid B.A.

MISS AHSEE MAJID B.A. is the eldest daughter of Mr. A. Majid, who now lives in Akyah, Burma. She belongs to Chittagong and is one of the very few Mu-lim girls of Bengal who have received a liberal education. She has passed her B.A. examination from the Calcutta University with Economics and Mathematics.



NOTES

Mahatma Gandhi in England

Many of us had never expected that the so-called Round Table Conference would result in freedom for India, though hope, born perhaps of original and sub-conscious faith in human nature and based on 'accidental' combination of circumstances, would often peep in. But even to those who were more sanguine, it has long been evident that failure was writ large over the deliberations of its sub-committees, the informal talks, and the more or less secret wire-pulling and intrigues connected with it.

Throughout all these happenings Mahatma Gandhi has held high the flag of Indian freedom. We have not been able in all cases to support his views and methods. But we have never had any doubts as to his motive. Even when he has gone against the principles of democracy, he has done so in order to free India from foreign control and subjection.

His ceaseless labours have been phenomenal. That his frail frame could bear so much strain is due to the strength of his nerves born of *brahmacharya* and the calmness of his spirit born of faith and *sadhana*.

He has been very patient and accommodating in negotiations. Even the most absurd and irritating pretensions of some minorities and of some small men on whom prominence has been thrust by designing British patrons acting upon the welcome suggestions of an evil genius of two successive Viceroys, have not made him 'walk out' of the Conference. Firm and uncompromising in his enunciation of the essentials of Indian independence, his language has been as little irritating as could be expected under the circumstances.

It has been announced that the plenary session of the Conference will probably come to a close on December 1, the day of publication of this issue of the *Review*, and that the Prime Minister will announce the intentions of the Government at that sitting. Our readers and ourselves will read the report of the proceedings of that day in the dailies of succeeding days.

Whatever the results of the R. T. C., Mr. Gandhi's visit has served the purpose of acquainting the people of Great Britain and, indirectly, of other countries, with the political demands of India and some of her spiritual and social ideals. His bodily presence and his activities, along with those of some other Indians, have shown the British people the kind of men India produces. It has also to be admitted, not with pride, that Britain has seen also the kind of selfish slaves and sneaks and intriguers on whom imperialists may depend for help.

Mr. Gandhi and Europe

As it would be of some advantage to India and the world if Mr. Gandhi could tell the principal countries of Europe personally what he has said in Britain about the political, social and spiritual ideals of India, we did not agree with the Working Committee of the Congress that the Mahatma should return to India direct from England without touring in Europe as he had intended to do. It is something, however, that he would be able to spend a few days on the continent, visiting Switzerland and perhaps France, Germany and Italy also, on his way back.

Other Indian Delegates at R. T. C.

Besides the Mahatma, some other Indian delegates have done good work at the R. T. C. Without intending in the least to give an exhaustive list, we may mention Dr. Moonje, Sir T. B. Sapru, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani at the last Conference and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at the recent one. Sir P. Thakurdas has made notable contributions to the financial discussions, and Mrs. Subharayan to those relating to Indian women's rights and views.

Some had hoped that Sir Ali Inam would do some work. But that hope has not been fulfilled, and he has returned to India before the conclusion of the Conference. Like the majority of the delegates, he has visited England at the cost of the Indian tax-payer without rendering any service in return.

A Moslem Estimate of Moslem Delegates

The following appeal over the signatures of Md. Shamshul Huda, President, Golam Kader Chowdhury, Secretary, District Muslim Nationalist Party, Hedayet-ul-Islam, M.A., L.L.B., Pleader, Naimuddin Ahmed, M.A., B.L., Abeduddin Ahmed, M.B., Choudhury Md. Kasem, B.A., Zemindar, Waliulla Sufyani, Member B. P. S.A., Md. Yesin, B.L., Pleader, A. J. Golam Samdani, B.L., Pleader, A. K. Golam Jilani, B.A., Safulla, Khalilur Rahaman, Mainuddin Ahmed, Md. Kalimulla, B.A., Chand Mia, and Mahtabuddin Ahmed, Gaisuddin Ahmed, Md. Yakub Ali Mia, Ahmed, Rezauddin, Abdul Majid, S. M. Hossain Md. Rezauddin, Abdul Majid, S. M. Hossain and Abdul Monnaf University students has been issued to the younger section of the Muslim Community:—

Ye Young Muslim Brethren, the the R.T.C. are before you. They have not failed, you cannot say it.

why it has failed. Freedom, liberty and independence are the birth-rights of the creation of God. But we never knew that our so-called representatives would forget them. That is our great misfortune. They were callous to the interests of the country, why, to the interests of the community. If they without prejudice, made a united stand with others the result would have been otherwise. Great Britain would have swallowed the bitter pill and left us free to manage our own business. The country would have been grateful to her and to her children at London. But our estimate has failed. Personal interests, chronic whims and sense of self-aggrandizement have led our so-called leaders to the external pit of slavishness. If the Muslim world should be proud of its achievements both in the past and in the present, we Indian Mussalmans certainly fall far from that category. We have lost our self-respect and it is a pity that we don't even want to regain it.

The present world is a world of competition. It is the time for the survival of the fittest. The Mussalmans were never the mediocre; they ruled and were never ruled. Why should we then cry for safe-guards clamour for protection and lament for reservation. If we cannot thrive in the competition it is better we die out.

We know our alleged leaders—you know them perfectly well. Can you claim them as your well-wishers? Their look-out is narrow and limited to the interests of their own family. You cannot—the community must not own these traitors. Its ideal, its ambition, its everything now rests with you. You are to be the pioneers and you are to fulfil the great mission of Islam. It is you who can strive to regain its lost glories. We appeal to you, young brethren, to form that divine brotherhood, with new zeal and courage, and make your sister community believe that you can stand equal by their side.—*Free Press*

"Blunder" by Muslims

In a debate meeting held last month in the Salimullah Muslim Hall, the Muslim students of the Dacca University accepted the motion that Muslims had committed a great blunder by keeping themselves aloof from the Congress movement. The same debate was held again and some of the Muslim luminaries of Bengal, who chanced to visit Dacca, spoke for and against the motion. The debate had to be adjourned then, and although less enthusiasm prevailed in the later meeting, the motion secured an overwhelming majority of votes in its favour.

Repression Anticipated

Mr. Gandhi and many others anticipate that there would be repression in India in the near future and that it would be ten times as severe as it was in 1930. It would not be welcome. But large numbers of men and women are ready to meet it.

Signs of the coming repression are evident in Bengal and from the arrangements announced for Bengal or rumoured to be intended for this province. The appointment of Mr. Anderson, with Irish experience, to the governorship of Bengal is believed to be an omen. The old jail at Dum Dum has been repaired. During the civil disobedience movement the mental hospital at Berhampur in Bengal was converted into a jail. It is again being repaired. The Delhi correspondent of *The Pioneer* has written that the Bengal Government is expected shortly to take quick and drastic action to stamp out anarchism, and that action may include extermination of suspects to Aden, for example. Whatever the intention of the higher authorities may be, the actual work would be entrusted to officers of lower rank, and considerable numbers of persons who never had in thought and action anything to do with terrorism would be victimized; that is to say, it is apprehended that in order to suppress anarchism and terrorism there would be some amount of official anarchy and terrorism.

Liberty gives publicity to the report that another Ordinance for Bengal will soon be promulgated. It is said that the new Ordinance will be brought into being in the course of a week and that it is based on the model of the Irish Correction Act. It will provide for a military tribunal and summary trial of certain political offenders. "The New Ordinance, it is said, will not apply to Moslems."

The existing Bengal Ordinance has already led to the arrest and detention of very many persons, mostly connected with the Congress. House searches and arrests are the order of the day. In Dacca in the house searches in connection with the attack on Mr. Durno, it has been alleged that non-official Europeans took part with the police in assaulting the inmates of the houses raided and damaging their property. Mr. Villiers, president of the European Association and other non-official Europeans, have been fulminating. Mr. Villiers has boasted of having received threatening letters and of being unmoved by them. That is not a unique or peculiarly European achievement. The authorship of these alleged threatening letters will never be ascertained. We wish it could—at least its racial and official or non-official character.

The punishment of persons proved guilty in open court according to the ordinary processes of law, is not objected to. It is necessary. But even such procedure would not be enough for the cure of political discontent, di-temper and unrest. Remedial measures calculated to fully remove the causes of discontent would also require to be adopted.

When repression means the punishment of large numbers of men on suspicion, without any trial, or any open trial according to the ordinary processes of law, such procedure has never been known to succeed. But, nevertheless, men in

power do not learn by old experience of themselves or of others. The reason is, when political discontent arises afresh, the new malcontents are presumed or assumed to be more crushable than any former malcontents, or any malcontents in other countries. To be more particular, it is presumed that, though coercion and repression failed in Ireland and though these methods produced a revolution in Russia, they would succeed in India and particularly in Bengal, as Indians are not Irishmen or Russians, and Bengalis are more timid and cowardly than any other section of Indians. But history always keeps an inexhaustible supply of surprises in store for strong rulers, and the recovery and resilience of buoyant human nature under repression are not confined to any particular continent, country, province, race or period of history.

That so many persons may have to suffer cannot be anything but an unhappy anticipation. But if we must suffer, it is best that the worst may come to pass early, so that the country may see the dawn of happier days as early as possible. That such days will dawn is a certainty.

R. T. C. Plenary Session Opens

London, Nov. 28.

The plenary session of the Indian Round Table Conference opened at 10-30 A.M., the Premier Presiding. There was full attendance.

After it was formally opened Lord Sankey submitted the reports of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee dealing with legislative powers and reserved subjects and moved their adoption.

The Premier submitted the Minorities Committee's report simultaneously informing the Conference that his offer to give the decision and the conditions attached to it had not been accepted. A general debate was then begun by the Raja of Korea.

The delegates from Burma who had attended the last session of the Conference were also present. —Reuter.

As the Bengali delegates have not been much in evidence at the Conference, Mr. Narendranath Law perhaps the least of all, it has to be noted that at this sitting Mr. Law declared that the problem of anarchism in Bengal was largely economic, which is true, and said that unless a responsible Government was established with adequate finances (we hope, for Bengal's E. I. M. R.), the problem would not be attacked at the root. That also is true.

Burma R. T. C. Opens

London, Nov. 27.

After performing the formal inauguration ceremony of the Burma Round Table Conference the Prince of Wales retired from the Conference, acknowledging salutations of the assembled delegates, as he left, and the Prime Minister took the chair.

Chit Hlaing moved and Tharrawaddy Pu seconded the election of Lord Peel to the Chair, which was carried.

The Premier welcoming the delegates said that he desired to take the opportunity of wishing the Conference success. He hoped that when they returned to Burma they would be fully satisfied that His Majesty's Government meant to deal fairly and help the Burmese people to advance the political prestige of their country.

U. Ni said that the Government's declarations had been interpreted in Burma to mean only one thing, namely, the establishment of full responsible self-government in Burma.

Tharrawaddy U. Pu hoped that as a result of their deliberations Burma would receive Home Rule, as enjoyed by Ireland and the Dominions and said that no lesser form of self-government would satisfy their aspirations.

The separation of Burma from India has been decided upon not only without the support of the opinion of the vast majority of the people of Burma but against their wishes. This has been done by setting up a few proteges of the official and non-official Britishers in Burma as the real representatives of the people and by gagging Burmese public opinion by declaring the really representative Burmese public bodies as unlawful associations. The motive behind the policy of separation is the more unhampered future European exploitation of Burma, the preservation of the practical British monopoly of the ocean traffic between India and Burma, and the making of that country a military outpost of the British Empire in the East.

Let us, however, see whether the separatist Burmese delegates can return to their country with Dominion Status or responsible government in their pockets! From what has happened to India, intelligent Burmans can form their own anticipations.

Mr. Lloyd George to Gandhiji

A Free Press special message runs as follows:

London, Nov. 24.

According to informed circles it is significant that Mr. Lloyd George telegraphed to Gandhiji that Mr. MacDonald's excuse of the obstruction by the Conservative majority is unsound, since the Premier is certain to be able to face in the House of Commons any proposals with only 150 Tories supporting, which Mr. MacDonald can surely command.

Mr. Lloyd George further advised Mahatmaji not to expect the Conference to produce any results, and to return to India to revive the struggle as the only way to teach Government a lesson.

But would India have got freedom if Mr. Lloyd George's party had been in power with himself as premier? Who prescribed the Civil Service "steel frame" for India for an indefinite period? It is funny that men should cherish the bad habit of blaming the other fellow.

Detention of Postal Packets

The Calcutta Gazette notifies:

In exercise of the power conferred by Section 20 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931

(Act XXIII of 1931), the Governor in Council has authorized the District Magistrate in each district in the Presidency of Bengal and the Chief Presidency Magistrate in the town of Calcutta, to detain any package brought, whether by land, sea or air, into British India, which he suspects to contain any newspapers, books or other documents of the nature described in Section 4, sub-section (1) of the said Act.

In exercise of the further power conferred by the same section of the said Act, the Governor in Council is pleased to appoint the Superintendent or Additional Superintendent of Police in each district, the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Special Branch, in the town of Calcutta and the Deputy Commissioner in the Chittagong Hill Tracts as the officers to whom copies of newspapers, books or other documents found in any such package shall be forwarded.

The officers authorized to detain packets cannot examine all postal articles—they have no time to do so. Some underlings will do so. Neither the officers nor their underlings are infallible. Can Government guarantee that perfectly innocuous literary matter and pictures, and cheques and postal orders etc., will not be withheld from addressees?

General Smuts' Advice

"London, Nov. 20.

"The Indian position at present was by far the most important and perhaps the most dangerous problem facing the country, declared General Smuts before leaving for South Africa to-day. Great Britain must make up their mind to go pretty far in satisfying India, and the sooner the better, as the present favourable situation for settlement might not last long.

"He was convinced that Mr. Gandhi was sincerely anxious to come to a fair settlement, and his power, while it lasted, would be an enormous asset to Britain in her efforts to arrive at a settlement. Mr. Gandhi spoke for a large part of India and could deliver the goods as no other Indian leader could. Every effort should be made to prevent further misunderstanding and recrudescence of disorder in India, with all the misery to which it might lead.

"Force was no remedy, and neither the modern spirit nor the British temper would permit application of a real policy of repression."

But the people, particularly of Bengal, have been already suffering from a policy of repression.

"The Conference, if it was unable to come to the conclusion of its labours now, should adjourn at such a stage and in such a spirit of mutual understanding and good-will that its work could almost immediately be resumed and pressed to a conclusion.

"Neither the communal question nor reservations appeared to him to form an insuperable bar to the early grant of an Indian Constitution, but perhaps even more important at present was the spirit of mutual trust and understanding and avoidance of any action which might create suspicion between Indian and British India and British leaders. He

was convinced that both sides honestly meant to come to a settlement and that was a priceless asset in dealing with an extremely difficult situation. He was sure that the British people would regard with good will every effort to accelerate a settlement and keep India a contented member of the Commonwealth."

We do not know what kind of settlement the British people want to accelerate. Some of their notables want to banish Mr. Gandhi and his co-workers to some island in the Indian Ocean. Many British organs demand "firm rule" in India. The British people as a whole have returned to power a Government which does not want India to be free, for it wants to keep the Army, Finance and Foreign Relations under its control.

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Pt. Malaviya declared, "You have made a recent appointment which is an indication of the policy which might possibly be pursued."

Sir Samuel Hoare rose and asked what the Pandit meant.

Pt. Malaviya replied, "I am speaking of an appointment which has been announced.

Sir Samuel Hoare: In the interests of a public servant, I must ask Pt. Malaviya to be precise.

Pt. Malaviya replied that he would be very precise. It was said that a particular gentleman whose name had been announced had been in Ireland in connection with the administration of the Black and Tans.

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Pt. Malaviya denied that he had brought the charge.

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The ancients knew of men who made a desert and called it peace. It is to be hoped Mr. Fazlul Huq's idea of peace is different.

"The Times" on Encouraging Lawlessness in Kashmir

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Dr. Kitchlew on Kashmir

Dr. Shaifuddin Kitchlew, the nationalist leader of Lahore, who is himself a Kashmiri Musalman, says in a published statement that the problem of the Indian States is very intricate. In Kashmir it has assumed a communal form. The majority of Kashmir subjects are Musalmans. If they have any grievance against the Maharaja, they ought not to have carried on the agitation in the way they have done. If there be similar agitation in other Indian States, the atmosphere will be poisoned. The Moslem subjects of Kashmir ought to have submitted their joint demands with the Hindu subjects after consultation with them. These views of Dr. Kitchlew are entitled to the serious attention of Musalmans in and outside Kashmir. He believes that there is a terrible conspiracy at the back of the Kashmir outbreaks.

Progressive Bihar Women

The Bihar Women's Constituent Conference held last month approved of co-education in

primary schools as well as at University stages and strongly recommended to parents to send their daughters to the boy's schools or colleges, where there were no educational institutions for girls.

It condemned the agitation started by certain classes against the Child Marriage Restraint Act, and condemned the proposed Bills asking for exemptions from the operation of this law. It called upon His Excellency the Viceroy, the Central Legislatures and local Governments to keep the Sarda Act intact and strictly to enforce the provisions of the Act.

It also condemned the custom of enforced seclusion of women, and entreated all Hindus, Musalmans and other communities, which still observed this custom, to take practical steps to educate public opinion in favour of its abolition as soon as possible.

Tagore Septuagenary Celebrations

The Working Committee of the Tagore Septuagenary Celebrations Committee had requested the Government to permit the use of the Eden Gardens to hold an Exhibition of Arts and Crafts of India and of countries culturally connected with it and a *Mela* of artistic handicrafts primarily of Bengal during the last week of this month. The Government has decided "that the Gardens cannot be made available for the proposed exhibition and *Mela*." It has taken the Government more than a month to arrive at this decision. Games and lighter festivities take place in the Eden Gardens. An exhibition, too, was held there twelve years ago. All, of course, under European auspices. Every cold season a dog-show is held there. But then Europeans are more interested in their canine pets than in indigenous arts and crafts. There were perhaps other insuperable difficulties. How could anything be allowed to be done in the Eden Gardens under Indian auspices and in connection with celebrations in honour of an Indian who is not a *jo-hukum*?

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Sunday 27th December—

The main function (pre-sentation of address to the poet).

December 28, 29 and 30—

Evenings: Dramatic Performances.

Afternoons of these days have been kept free for suitable arrangements, such as Folk-songs, and Folk-dances in a suitable public park, "Ladies and Children Day" and "Students Day," as may be arranged.

A Sub-committee to arrange for the Folk-songs and Folk-dances and other arrangements and Sports has been formed.

On the 31st December, the last day of the Tagore Week, it is under contemplation to arrange, if possible, a garden party or some such social function to meet the Poet. Among the public bodies who may present address to the Poet at the main function are the Corporation of Calcutta and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, who, it is understood, are already moving in the matter.

The Exhibition and the Mela will remain open for a fortnight from December 23.

—

Accused to Blame for Protracted Meerut Trial'

LONDON Nov. 23

Replying to Mr. Kirkwood (Lab.) in the House of Commons, the Secretary of State for India Sir Samuel Hoare, said that the date when the Meerut trial was likely to end mainly depended on the time taken by the accused in presenting their defence. He was therefore unable to estimate its probable duration.—

Replying to Mr. Lansbury (Leader of the Opposition), who suggested the discharge of the Meerut prisoners, Sir Samuel said that his predecessor and he had been constantly communicating with the Government of India in regard to the trial. The delay was in no way due to the Government but was entirely due to the protracted course of the defence and it was quite impossible for him to intervene at this stage.

If even before the late Mr. Langford James had made his opening speech the accused had voluntarily pleaded guilty with nooses round their necks, the trial would have concluded very quickly. Even now it can end quickly if the accused for go their right of defence. That would evidently please Sir Samuel Hoare, though it may not please either the Goddess of Justice or the prosecuting counsel.

But is it not a plain terminological inexactitude to say that "the delay was in no way due to the Government"? How many witnesses for the prosecution have been examined? How much time has been taken by prosecuting counsel? Is it only due to the defence that Government has already spent more than 12 lakhs?

Wanted Fiscal and Financial Autonomy for India

The tying of the rupee to sterling has made foreign goods other than British dearer in India

than before. This has made non-British foreign manufacturers exporters to angry. Again, the recent British anti-dumping law, according to which Britain has imposed prohibitory duties on certain foreign goods, has made the manufacturers of these articles angry. Hence a tariff war has begun between Britain and some other countries. But India, too, has to suffer owing to the British connection. Already France has imposed a 7 per cent. duty on Indian goods, though India is not free to be either friendly or unfriendly to any nation. India badly needs fiscal and financial autonomy.

—

"Those Friends of India"

On the 8th November last the special correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* telegraphed to it from London that "Lord Sankey and Lord Irwin who have earned the reputation of being 'friends of India' have been canvassing support in favour of grant of provincial autonomy and deferring the questions of responsibility and federation. They are strengthened in this attitude by the reactionary leanings of the Muslims and the lesser minorities."

—

Bernard Shaw on Home Rule

In the preface to his drama, *John Bull's Other Island*, written in 1904, Bernard Shaw has something very wise to say on Irish Home Rule. He says that Martial Law is only a technical name for Lynch Law, and that the truth formulated by William Morris, that "no man is good enough to be another man's master" is true also of nations. Here are some extracts from the Preface.

IRISH LOYALTY

"The Irish soldier takes the King's shilling and drinks the King's health; and the Irish squire takes the title-deeds of the English settlement and rises uncovered to the strains of the English national anthem. But do not mistake this cupboard loyalty for anything deeper. It gains a broad base from the normal attachment of every reasonable man to the established government as long as it is bearable; for we all, after a certain age, prefer peace to revolution and order to chaos, other things being equal. Such considerations produce loyal Irishmen as they produce loyal Poles and Poles, loyal Hindus, loyal Filipinos, and faithful slaves. But there is nothing more in it than that."

FEAR THE BEST GUARANTEE OF REASONABLENESS

"Let me halt a moment here to impress on you, O English reader, that no fact has been more deeply stamped into us [Irishmen] than that we can do nothing with an English Government unless we frighten it, any more than you can yourself."

BRITISH JUSTICE IN INDIA

"The Englishman in India, for example, stands a very statue of Justice. [But does he really?]

between two natives. He says, in effect, "I am impartial in your religious disputes because I believe in neither of your religions. I am impartial in your conflicts of custom and sentiment, because your customs and sentiments are different from, and abysmally inferior to, my own. Finally, I am impartial as to your interests, because they are both equally opposed to mine, which is to keep you both equally powerless against me in order that I may extract money from you to pay salaries and pensions to myself and my fellow Englishmen as judges and rulers over you. In return for which you get the inestimable benefit of a government that does absolute justice as between Indian and Indian [Does it?—*vide* Chittagong], being wholly preoccupied with the maintenance of absolute injustice as between India and England." It will be observed that no Englishman, without making himself ridiculous, could pretend to be perfectly just or disinterested in English affairs, or would tolerate a proposal to establish the Indian or Irish system in Great Britain. Yet if the justice of the Englishman is sufficient to ensure the welfare of India or Ireland, it ought to suffice equally for England. But the English are wise enough to refuse to trust to English justice themselves, preferring democracy. They can hardly blame the Irish for taking the same view."

NATIONALISM BOUND TO BE AN OBSESSION WITH SLAVE NATIONS

"A healthy nation is as unconscious of its nationality as a healthy man of his bones. But if you break a nation's nationality, it will think of nothing else but getting it set again. It will listen to no reformer, to no philosopher, to no preacher, until the demand of the nationalist is granted. It will attend to no business, however vital, except the business of unification and liberation. That is why everything is in abeyance in Ireland pending the achievement of Home Rule. The great movements of the human spirit which sweep in waves over Europe are stopped on the Irish coast by the English guns of the Pigeon House Fort. Conquered nations lose their place in the world's march because they can do nothing but strive to get rid of their nationalist movement by recovering their national liberty. All demonstrations of the virtues of a foreign government, though often conclusive, are as useless as demonstrations of the superiority of artificial teeth, glass eyes, silver windpipes, and patent wooden legs to the natural products. Like democracy, national self-government is not for the good of the people; it is for the satisfaction of the people. One Antonine emperor, one St. Louis, one Richelieu, may be worth ten democracies in point of what is called good government; but there is no satisfaction of the people in them. To deprive a dyspeptic of his dinner and hand it over to a man who can digest it better is a highly logical proceeding; but it is not a sensible one. To take the government of Ireland away from the Irish and hand it over to the English on the ground that they can govern better would be a precisely parallel case if the English had managed their affairs so well as to place their superior faculty for governing muddlers—rather proud as the English are avowed muddlers—rather proud of it, in fact—even the logic of that case against Home Rule is not complete."

SELF-GOVERNMENT A NATURAL RIGHT

"Acquired rights are deduced from political constitutions; but political constitutions are deduced from natural rights. When a man insists on certain liberties without the slightest regard to demonstrations that they are not for his own good, nor for the public good, nor moral, nor reasonable, nor decent, nor compatible with the existing constitution of society, then he is said to claim a natural right to that liberty. When, for instance, he insists, in spite of the irrefutable demonstrations of many able pessimists, from the author of the book of Ecclesiasts to Schopenhauer, that life is an evil, on living, he is asserting a natural right to live. When he insists on a vote in order that his country may be governed according to his ignorance instead of the wisdom of the Privy Council, he is asserting a natural right to self-government. When he insists on guiding himself at 21 by his own inexperience and folly and immaturity instead of by the experience and sagacity of his father, or the well-stored mind of his grand-mother, he is asserting a natural right to independence. . . . We have learnt that nations insist on being governed by their own consent—or, as they put it, by themselves and for themselves—and that they will finally upset a good government which denies them this, even if the alternative be a bad government which at least creates and maintains an illusion of democracy. . . . And the final reason why Ireland must have Home Rule is that she has a natural right to it."

MILITARY TYRANNY DEFEATS ITSELF.

"Now for England's share of warning. Let her look to her Empire; for unless she makes it such a Federation for civil strength and defence that all free peoples will cling to it voluntarily, it will inevitably become a military tyranny to prevent them from abandoning it; and such a tyranny will drain the English taxpayer of his money more effectually than its worst cruelties can ever drain its victims of their liberty. A political scheme that cannot be carried on except by soldiers will not be a permanent one."

Mr. Nehru on Bengal's Part in Satyagraha

It is a truism that every province of India could and ought to have done more and better than it did in last year's *Satyagraha* campaign. And it is also true that some parts of India did better than some other parts. But it is not quite easy to definitely condemn any province for not having done its duty. For, owing to differing degrees of rigour in the enforcement of the press ordinance of 1930 and to greater or less desire and means of propaganda, Congress work in different provinces did not obtain the same degree of publicity. Some provinces were also more handicapped than others.

In any case, if the shortcomings of any province have to be pointed out, it is best that it should be done by its inhabitants themselves. The reason is obvious.

During his recent visit to Calcutta Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have indulged

We are against all tactics which involve intriguing and other di-honorable and anti-democratic methods. But there is not only no harm in adopting tactical moves which are not di-honorable and anti-democratic but it is sometimes necessary to adopt them in order to checkmate and counteract di-honorable and anti-democratic intriguing. From this point of view the tactical advantage of insisting on the adoption of the League solution in the case of the Indian minorities requires to be pointed out. If the Indian nationalist leaders had boldly insisted upon the acceptance of such adoption by the British Government, that Government would have been cornered and would not have been in a position to ignore the demand, as it has been a party to the League solution in the case of so many countries. For that and other reasons, world opinion would also have been in favour of their just demand. The British Government, if thus cornered, would have been obliged to assume a more sensible mood and would have advised the recalcitrant minorities to come to terms with the nationalists, instead of encouraging the former in their anti-national selfish manoeuvres—and it would have done this to avoid the humiliation of British pride involved in being obliged against its will to agree to the utilization of the League solution.

But some people ignore suggestions coming from outside their party, particularly from the Hindu Mahasabha group.

Hindus Exhorted to be Liberal and Inclusive

Dr. B. S. Moonje wrote some time ago:

"It has been brought to the notice of the Hindu Mahasabha that the sections of Leva Kunbis of Gujarat, Cutch and Khandesh who are known as Matias, who follow the Atharva Veda and call themselves *Salpanthis* or followers of truth, and who observe most of the Hindu customs, but who also pay homage at the tombs of some Muslim saints, and are therefore also called *Purpanthis* but who have notwithstanding this, for centuries regarded themselves as Hindus, and have been so regarded by others have recently been declared by His Holiness the Shankaracharya of Sankheshwar and Karavir Mithas as being outside the pale of Hindu Vedic religion. The Hindu Mahasabha is advised that so long as a Hindu retains his faith in the cardinal teachings of the Hindu religion and follows the main rules prescribed by it, he does not cease to be a Hindu simply because he observes certain days of fasting which are also observed as such by Muslims or Christians or pays respect to the tomb of some Muslim or Christian saint. It is not a sin nor a sign of a change of faith to do so. Hinduism is most tolerant in giving freedom of personal beliefs, and has in its catholicity provided purificatory rites and means of spiritual uplift for even real lapses from religion. It has also provided for the admission into its fold of any one who accepts its cardinal teaching. The idea

of putting a Hindu out of the pale of Vedic Hindu religion because he has adopted some customs or practices of another religion which do not clash with the teachings of his own religion, is opposed both to the letter and the spirit of the teachings of Hinduism. The Hindu Mahasabha exhorts all good Hindus to be generous in their attitude towards brethren of their faith even though they follow some customs of another faith, and by such an attitude to encourage them to realise in a larger measure the truth and excellence of the teachings of Hinduism in their unadulterated form. The Hindu Mahasabha warns all good Hindus against adopting or approving a narrow or too strict a policy in matters of forms of worship as might drive any of their co-religionists to leave the Hindu fold, and calls upon all of them to regard *Salpanthis* as Hindus as before and to give them all the service and benefit of belonging to the Hindu society."

Pretensions of Indian Minorities

With reference to the discussion of the minority problems proceeding at present at the Round Table Conference, an influential meeting of members of the central legislature was held recently under the chairmanship of Sir Hari Singh Gou, leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, when the following resolutions were adopted, and it was decided to cable them to the Prime Minister with the request that they be circulated among the members of the Conference:

"This conference respectfully reminds the Prime Minister of his own declaration of Jan. 19, 1931, in the House of Commons condemning communal elections and weighted representation.

"The conference thinks this view to be in conformity with the general principles of minority protection formulated by the League of Nations to which both Britain and India are signatories.

"The Hindu stand by the League formula declared by Mr. Henderson for world application and already accepted by Turkey, among other nations.

"The conference strongly feels that the constitutional progress of 250 million Hindus should not be blocked by unreasonnable minority pretensions and deprecates protection for any community wherever it is in a majority, as it is a negation of all principles of democracy."

The following cable was sent to Mr. MacDonald:

"A conference of the leading members of the Assembly and the public held today adopted resolutions requesting you to adhere to your House of Commons speech of January last against communal elections, weighted or protection to the majority as a subversion of the established settlement by the League of Nations."

Did Gandhiji Definitely Accept Majority "Protection" ?

The Times of London, dated October 31 last, quoted the following sentence from a statement issued by Maulvi Shafee Daoud:

In recent conversations with the Moslem delegation, Mahatma Gandhi agreed to a bare Moslem majority in the Punjab and in Bengal and, so the communal dispute has been narrowed down to the issue whether the Moslem majority in the Punjab and Bengal is to be reduced to less than their population ratio—57 per cent and 55 per cent respectively.

Probably it is statement like this in the London press which led Dr. B. S. Moonje to de-patch to his friends in India the cable, printed on page 590 of our issue, in which he asked them to advise him as to whether he was to follow Gandhiji and Malayajji implicitly.

Why the Maulana Seeks British "Alliance"

Recently Maulana Shaukat Ali was asked by a British interviewer (or what is more probable, he asked a British interviewer to ask him), why he was so eager for a close "alliance" with the British against whom he had once fought so bitterly. His reply was:

"We Muslims and especially the Khilafatists, the advanced group of Muslims, fought to the bitter end against the British when we knew they were working against our great faith and our Muslim countries. We now see a change in their policy and they want to go back to the old days when they were anxious for friendship in Muslim lands. Such an understanding for peace and goodwill would be very beneficial both to the Muslims and the British people, and that is why my late brother, Mahomed Ali, came in spite of serious illness last year and laid down his life for an honourable peace and I am back here to carry on that noble mission."

Maulana Shaukat Ali is certainly entitled to carry on his mission. Whether his late brother, Maulana Mahomed Ali, went to England on exactly the same mission, we do not know, though his last wish regarding his burial shows that he honoured another country more than his motherland India. One thing, however, is clear from Maulana Shaukat Ali's reply: he is allied him-self with Mahatma Gandhi, not in the interests of Indian freedom and nationalism, but in those of Muslims of all lands, and, as events proved, of a defunct Khilafat.

A Free Moslem King and the British

It is probable that free Muslims do not want British patronage as Maulana Shaukat Ali does. Reuter carried the following news from Jerusalem on November 25 last:

It is understood that King Ibn Saud has refused to send his delegate to the Muslim Congress owing to the participation of Women. The Aidjaz Minister of War states that owing to British influence in Jerusalem King Ibn Saud does not favour the Congress there and suggests that Mecca will be more congenial."

Aviation in India

There are more than 10,000 civilian pilots in Britain and hundreds of women pilots as well. The London Times recently published the following news:

Seventy aeroplanes were used in a display by women pilots at Eryell, Northants, on Saturday, which was opened by the Duchess of Bedford.

In India there is not one college where the science of aviation is taught to Indians. To check the progress of aviation, under the pretext of economy, it has been proposed to abolish grants-in-aid for civil aviation in India!

It is essential that the Indian people should adopt measures for training young men in aviation. If the people of India agree to spend Rs. 50,000 or even less annually, then they can establish a department of Aviation Engineering with an expert scientist as well as flyers who may teach the art of flying. For example, if in connection with the National College of Engineering and Technology of Bengal at Jadavpur a new department of Aviation Engineering is established, then with the addition of two professors (German, French or Italian) provision can be made for training a large number of Indians thoroughly in aviation.

It means this: If a capital sum of Rs. 1,000,000 can be raised, then there can be a permanent department of Aviation in connection with the Bengal National Engineering College.

T. D.

In the modern world aviation is necessary not only for the purpose of national defence but also for carrying mails, for passenger traffic and for commercial and other purposes generally.

Progress of Aviation in Italy

About seven years ago, when Signor Mussolini assumed the leadership of the Italian State, there were only less than 30 aeroplanes in the country. But during the last month when Italy had a demonstration for aerial defence of the country, there were more than 1,000 military and naval planes in formation. This has been possible, because the Fascist state is determined to increase national efficiency in national defence. If one can examine the details of India's military expenditure it will be found that India spends less than Italy in her Air Defence programme, but Italy has trained thousands of pilots and acquired thousands of machines, whereas there is no facility for aviation training in India.

In this connection let this be noted that India spends abnormally large sums for foreign experts and professors without increasing national efficiency. For instance, for the maintenance of the Roorkee Engineering College, India spends annually a sum of £ 30,000 or more. This college may be the best engineering college in India but it is no better than a third-rate college when we compare it with such institutions as the first class Engineering Universities of the West. Yet Roorkee Engineering College does not admit even 50 new students annually, and the professors live in luxury and do not carry on any scientific research. I have found that many German professors of great eminence, as Prof Sommerfeld, Prof. Wieland and others, do not draw half the salary of that of some third-rate British "expert" of the educational service in India.

Italy has become a first-class power within a few years, and what is it that prevents India from attaining the position of Italy in national efficiency, especially in aviation? Is it merely foreign rule or something else?

T D

Military Education among Western Women

Modern science has revolutionized the modes of warfare. Hand-to-hand fights are not going to be the determining factors in future wars. On the contrary, poison gas, bombs from aeroplanes, tanks, machine guns and other weapons will play a more important part in deciding the final outcome. A woman pilot with her endurance and coolness of mind would bombard cities from the air as a man. Women chemists will aid in making poison gases, as woman workers made ammunitions during the World War (Not an inspiring prospect! Ed, M. R.)

The Soviet Russian military authorities recognize the fact that women will play a significant rôle in the next war, and therefore they have inaugurated a system of training for women who wish to become officers. There are women officers in the Soviet Army, even in the General Staff. In India women like Maharani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi have led armies in battle with skill and courage.

In Great Britain and France women can get certain kinds of training which have military value. In the U. S. A., the War Department has inaugurated a policy of giving training in rifle shooting and pistol practice for young women. In India even men are not given the opportunity to master the art of national defence.

T. D.

Modern world tendencies should be taken note of. There are men who are working sincerely in the cause of disarmament and outlawry of war. There are others who, under the guise of co-operating with the workers for peace,

are merely trying to weaken their neighbours or to keep them weak; as all the while, direct or indirect work in the direction of preparedness for war has been going on. Far from wishing that India's women should learn to kill, we would welcome the day when even men would cease to shed blood. But that day is not yet. And hence even Mahatma Gandhi has to say, not that the Indian army should be disbanded, but that it should be completely under India's control. And that defence force should consist of all Indians of fighting age.

—

Coasting Trade in Britain and India

Mr. Sarabhai N. Haji's Bill wants to reserve Indian coasting traffic for Indian vessels. This has been opposed by Britishers in Britain and India. But when British shippers are themselves hit, they want their coasting trade to be reserved for themselves. This will be clear from what the British Journal *Fair Play* wrote some time ago:

One bull point in favour of British shipowners, should Conservatives be returned at the next election, would be that the British imperial coasting trade, will, we are told, be restricted to British ships—that is to say, only British ship will be allowed to carry passengers or cargo from one British port in any part of the world to another.

There is no doubt that it will force more cargoes to be sent by British ships than at present. It is interesting that at this juncture the League of Nations should publish (price 1s.) the results of an inquiry concerning the meaning attached to the terms "coasting trade" in the various countries, and whether this trade is reserved for the national flag.

The following list shows in brief the result of the League of Nations inquiry:

Alabama: Reserved.
Belgium: Not reserved.
Brazil: Reserved.
Bulgaria: Reserved.
Chile: Reserved.
Costa Rica: Reserved.
Denmark: Not reserved.

Egypt: Reserved for craft of 400 tons gross and under.

Estonia: Reserved.
Finland: Reserved.
France: Reserved.

Germany: Exclusively reserved to German ships, but a number of countries are authorised by decree to engage in it.

Greece: Reserved.

Haiti: Not reserved.

Italy: Reserved, but it is provided that foreign vessels can engage in it by virtue of special treaties or conventions.

Japan: Reserved.

Latvia: Reserved.

Lithuania: Reserved.

Mexico: Reserved.



View of the Procession

Yasomitra, Khemendra, must be red-covered and and brought back to their birth place. In Europe Burnout, Max Muller, Turnour, Bopp, Stenislav, Julien, Westergaard, Wassilew, Childers, Bohlungk, Spiegel, Kuhn, Minayoff, Senart, Neumann, Weber, Fausboll, Eitel, Foucaux, Rhys Davids, Oldenburg, Trenkner, Feer, Cowell, Chalmers and others laboured to translate Buddhist texts which exists in different Oriental languages.

We heartily support Rev. Dharmapala's de-ire for the cessation of internecine quarrels. We also de-ire that Indians should undertake research in and about Buddhist literature. That they have not yet done their duty in this matter to an adequate extent is true. But the impression likely to be produced by what the reverend gentleman said in this connection would not be quite correct. Probably he did not mean it and, if he had been well and at leisure to make a more considered and informed pronouncement, he would most probably have recognized that some work has been done by Indian scholars like Rajendra Lal Mitra, Sarat Chandra Das, Sati-h Chandra Vidyabhusan, some Chittagong Buddhists and others.

Rabindranath Tagore's message, reproduced elsewhere in his own handwriting, runs thus:

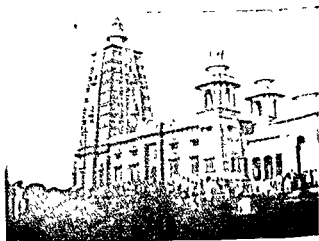
The spiritual illumination in India, which ages ago shed its radiance over the continent of Asia, raised its memorial on the sacred spot near Benares where Lord Buddha had proclaimed to his disciples his message of love's supreme fulfilment.



Before the Gate of the Vihara

Though this monument representing the final hope of liberation for all peoples was buried under dust and forgotten in India, the voice of her greatest son still waits in the heart of silent centuries for a new awakening to hearken to his call.

Today when in spite of a physical closeness of all nations a universal moral alienation between races has become a fateful menace to all humanity, let us, in this threatening gloom of a militant savagery, before the widening jaws of an organized greed still rejoice in the fact that the reopening of the ancient monastery of Sarnath is being celebrated by pilgrims from the West and the East.



View of the Vihara

Numerous are the triumphal towers built to perpetuate the memories of injuries and indignities inflicted by one murdering race upon another, but let us once for all, for the sake of humanity restore to its full significance this great memorial of a generous past to remind us of an ancient meeting of nations in India for the exchange of love, for the establishment of spiritual comradeship among races separated by distance and historical

Tagore's Message On The Opening of Saranath Vihara

The spiritual illumination in Asia which ages ago shed its radiance over the Continent of Asia, raised its memorial on the sacred spot near Benares where Lord Buddha had proclaimed to his disciples his message of love's supreme fulfillment. Though this monument representing the final hope of liberation for all peoples was buried under dust and forgotten in India the voice of her greatest son still waits in the heart of silent centuries for a new awakening to hearken to his call.

Today when in spite of a physical obscurity of all nations a universal moral alienation between races has become a fearful menace to all humanity, let us in this threatening gloom of a militant savagery, before the widening jaws of an organised greed, still rejoice in the fact that the resurfacing of the

ancient monastery of Saranath is being celebrated by pilgrims from the West and the East.

Numerous are the triumphal towers built to perpetuate the memories of injuries and indignities inflicted by one murdering race upon another, but let us once for all, for the sake of humanity, restore to its full significance this great memorial of a generous pact to remind us of an ancient meeting of nations in India for the exchange of love, for the establishment of spiritual comradeship among races separated by distance and historical tradition, for the offering of the treasure of immortal wisdom left to the world by the Blessed one to whom we dedicate our united homage.

Rabindranath Tagore

Nov. 11,
1931

traditions, for the offering of the treasure of immortal wisdom left to the world by the Blessed One to whom we dedicate our united homage.

Sir J. C. Bose's words of welcome to the Buddhist Pilgrims are reproduced below.

India welcomes the pilgrims that are gathering from all corners of the earth to be present at the opening of the Mulagandhakuti Vihara where Gautama Buddha, more than twenty-five centuries ago, proclaimed his great message of love and compassion for alleviation of the sorrow and suffering of all living beings.

It teaches us that man is not dependent on external powers, but by his own persistent efforts alone can he win his highest freedom. It is the realization of this freedom that greatly exalts all his powers, including that of inquiry in advancement of knowledge.

He then realises—in the spiritual triumph of the martyr, in the ecstasy of the saint—the higher and higher expression of that evolutionary process by which man rises above and beyond all circumstances of the environment, and fortifies himself to control them.

His message was

Not in matter, but in thought, not in possessions nor even in attainments, but in ideals, is to be found the seed of immortality.

The other messages were not available to us. Babu Ramananda Chatterjee on behalf of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha read out the resolution of the Working Committee held at Delhi on November 7 expressing their cordial felicitations to their Buddhist brethren of India and abroad on the auspicious occasion of the re-establishment of the Gandhakuti Vihara. The committee hoped that the temple would be a bond of union between the followers of the sister faiths of Hinduism and Buddhism and urged upon the Hindus of India the necessity of a closer cooperation and communion between themselves and the Buddhists of other lands.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who was requested to address the gathering, spoke a few words and said it was a great honour and privilege to be associated in however humble a way with that solemn ceremony. They had had messages of goodwill from great men men of religion, from organisations and from the representatives of great religions. He was not a man of religion but he wished to say a few words as a humble representative of the great organisation, the Indian National Congress. He wished to convey to them a warm welcome on behalf of the Congress. Religions came and went but the great eternal truths remained. They could not be distorted or twisted. The Congress had made an experiment with the principle of *Ahimsa* and it had succeeded. He promised on behalf of the Congress to present a national flag in silver and gold as a token of goodwill and homage to the Great One



The Tibetan Procession

Buddhist Convention at Sarnath

In connection with the opening of the new vihara at Sarnath, there was a Buddhist convention presided over by Dr. Surendranath Das Gupta, principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. He read a learned paper, of which the religious and philosophical portions may form subjects of controversy which are beyond our province. Some extracts from other parts of his address, as reported in the *Leader*, are given below.

After referring to the life of the Buddha and the spread of Buddhism in other lands, the president said that nowhere in the history of the world before Lord Buddha did they hear of any teacher of religion who was ever filled with such an all-absorbing sympathy and love for the suffering humanity. He wished that in these days of communal and minority disensions Lord Buddha had once more appeared and had shown them the way how a man could meet his fellow-brother and embrace him with love.

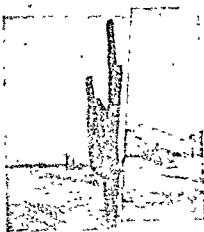
In conclusion, the president said that only one man in India seemed to have been convinced of the truth of Buddhism that violence would not be stopped by violence. All would have seen what power such a conviction had given to this great man. He in his lion cloth had brought about the unification of the masses of India and was trying to dictate his terms to the greatest military power of the world. In no other country was such an experiment conducted and with so much success.

Pandit Vidhusekhari Sastri, principal of the research department of Visvabharati, read a thoughtful and learned paper. Reports of his and other papers have not, to our knowledge, appeared in any new-paper. A gentleman from Tibet and another from Sikkim made sensible speeches in good English. It was a pleasure to find that among the Buddhist monks present at the convention who spoke, there were some who were distinguished for independent thinking. One of them said that they should not pass from slavery to the Vedas to slavery to the Tripitaka.



Turning Desert

Where there's a will, America proved this in the matter of oranges and flourishes the "before and after" of the land.



Making vests

India has thousands of acres of such arid soil. The population of India is fast increasing and we can bring under better for us: What about emulating

Henry Ford in his first Ford

The picture shows, not a new style bath chair but an old style Ford Henry Ford himself is seated in it with John Borough. Cars have since made great strides, same as buildings have since cottages yielded place to sky scrapers.



Henry Ford in the First Ford

Wrestling for Gentlemen

American colleges are now taking up amateur wrestling in all seriousness. Formerly it was the game of heavy and bulky professionals only. Young America is now taking to wrestling as it has done with boxing and field sports etc.

India is the land of Wrestlers. Our wrestlers have time and again beaten so called world's champions with the greatest ease. But in the amateur tournaments Indian Gentlemen have not shined so well. Reason being that wrestling has not been so far a Gentleman's game in India. If Indian Universities and Student organizations take up wrestling seriously we may

yet dominate the
Moreover it, is
and good health
done.

atics and elsewhere
Stamina, Strength
sport if properly



American Student Wrestlers



An Italian House

etc



A HUNTING SCENE
After an Old Painting

thirsty. I ought to have drunk two cups of tea instead of one."

"Your thirst could easily be quenched, if you only please. You see the restaurant before you? It's a good one and much patronized by us Indians. It is not too fashionable, yet neat and clean. If you cannot wield knife and fork properly, nobody minds. But they are careful about health and hygiene. So if you want any drink, we can go in here."

Jotin looked in. The place looked attractive enough. There were people inside, but not exactly a crowd.

"All right," he said, "let's go in and have something cold. I don't suppose the old lady would object to this. In Calcutta too, I had tea or cold drinks outside now and then. She kept her mouth shut about these. But one day I was caught partaking of some roast mutton. She nearly went for me with a cane."

The two friends entered and sat down at a table, by the door. A waiter took their orders, and soon two glasses of iced lemonades stood in front of them.

Jotin began to sip the drink leisurely, casting inquisitive eyes all around. At a table, a little in front of them, sat a Burman and two ladies of the same nationality. The young ladies were gaily dressed—their dresses, their jewels, even their tiny embroidered slippers, glittered and sparkled. One wore a *loongyi* of orange-coloured satin, another of gold tissue. Their blouses however were white. Scarves of fine French chiffon were flung round their shoulders. Diamond rings shone on their fingers, chains of gold adorned the round white throats and rubies glittered in their ears. One was very fair, the other had an olive complexion. Both the girls were exquisitely pretty.

"What are you staring at?" asked Kartik. "Do you want a row here?"

"I say," said Jotin, "these people must be immensely rich."

"Well, you cannot say," said Kartik. "You can never judge a Burman's position from the dress of his womenfolk. A millionaire's wife and a clerk's wife will come out dressed exactly alike. They believe in fine dresses, even if they have to starve to indulge in it. Beside them, we look a nation of paupers."

"The girl on the left is very beautiful," said Jotin. "She does not look like a

Mongolian at all. See, what a fine nose she has got."

"She is an Indo-Burman. Don't you see, she wears her hair in a bun behind her head? She is probably a Zerbadi."

"What on earth is that?" asked his friend.

"A person of mixed parentage with half Mahomedan blood and half Burmese."

One cannot go on drinking a glass of lemonade for ever. But Jotin felt extremely unwilling to go away so soon. "Shall we have another glass apiece?" he asked Kartik.

Kartik laughed. "You need not," he said "Look, they are about to go away."

The Burmese gentleman and one of the ladies paid their bills and left. But the other girl, of whom they had been talking, ordered another cup of tea and sat waiting for it.

"Wait a bit," said Kartik. "I must go out for a minute. See that you don't lose your heart here. Remember the old lady at home and you will be all right. The mother who objects to her son eating at hotels, must object to his making love to foreign girls."

Jotin looked a bit awkward and Kartik walked out laughing.

The girl finished her second cup of tea, too soon. The waiter presented the bill and the girl took out a rupee from her beaded handbag and paid. Then she stood up and gathered together her belongings, a fan, a magazine and a small parcel prior to departure.

Just then the waiter returned and said something to her in an undertone. He carried the rupee in his hand. The girl looked at him with extreme displeasure and began to fumble in her handbag. Then she began to say something to the man. She looked a little upset. The man shook his head and went off to return with the manager. Youth is the time for romance. Every young man or woman possesses a desire to indulge in it, sometimes unconsciously even. Jotin came of a very orthodox and conservative family and was ruled by his mother with a rod of iron. He had never talked to any unrelated woman in his life and suppressed every desire of this kind heroically. But suddenly he forgot himself completely. He could only feel that he was a man, and a beautiful girl stood near him in evident need of his assistance.

He approached the girl quickly and asked in English, "Pardon me, can I help you in any way?"

The girl looked up at his face. Then she

of government for well over a thousand years. Polonnaruwa's period of pride, on the other hand, was comparatively brief. It ceased to be the capital early in thirteenth century. The buildings and statuary which I shall describe presently were, therefore, created in Polonnaruwa during four hundred years or so—or rather in the intervals of fighting during those centuries.

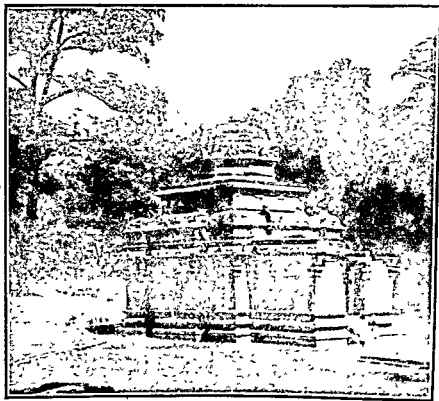
The ruins at Anuradhapura occupy a much larger area than do those at Polonnaruwa. This does not, in itself, warrant the assumption that the older capital, in the heyday of its splendour, was necessarily more extensive. More effort has been put into excavation at Anuradhapura than at Polonnaruwa. It is not at all unlikely that further exploration might disclose parts, or at least suburbs, of the early mediæval capital that today lie buried in the jungle. It is generally presumed, however, that Polonnaruwa did not, at any time, attain the dimensions of Anuradhapura. The country between the two cities, it is said, was at one time so thickly settled that a cock, alighting on a roof in either place could go all the way to the other by flying from house to house, without ever coming down to the ground.

Both Nature and man have wrought greater havoc at the older than at the later capital. Much, moreover, remains to be done to repair these ravages at Anuradhapura. The only buildings that have been restored are interesting from the religious rather than the artistic point of view. The Buddhists responsible for rebuilding were impelled by the desire to acquire merit and woefully lacked the artistic perception of their forefathers.

Each time that I visit Anuradhapura in quest of data for my forthcoming books on Ceylon, I return more impressed with the callous disregard for monuments of the past shown by the people and the Government alike. Strwn over the sward are stones with carvings that any nation with the slightest

love for the past would take infinite pains to protect. Statues precious from the artistic and religious points of view, rest insecurely on broken, tottering pedestals. It appears, however, that everybody is content with what has been done, and little attention is being paid to the monuments that are lying about unconserved.

In Polonnaruwa the case is very different. The relics of olden days that have been exposed to view there are, as a rule, in a much better state of preservation than those at Anuradhapura. That difference is not due to the fact that more durable materials were used, nor that time and man have done nothing to demolish them. Quite the contrary.

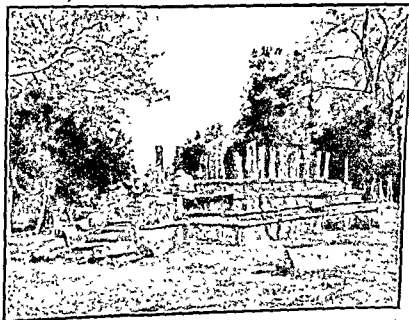


The Siva Devale Polonnaruwa

Most of the buildings in Polonnaruwa are of brick. The Government of Ceylon has, however, taken the trouble and incurred the expense to restore them as much as possible to a semblance of their pristine glory. The monuments in Polonnaruwa, therefore, impress the casual visitor much more than the ruins at Anuradhapura. Even the serious student of art and archæology is not compelled to piece together information from broken bits of stone as he must at the older capital, but is able to see the ornament in its original

settling and the building amongst its neighbours where it has stood for centuries.

In one other respect Polonnaruwa differs from Anuradhapura. So far only structures of a sacred character have been exposed to view at the older capital. The Archaeological Department of the Ceylon Government appears to be convinced that it has discovered the spot upon which the king's palace stood. When I last saw the site excavation had not resulted in baring any part of the building. In Polonnaruwa, on the other hand, structures of temporal character can be seen. Among the remnants are, for instance, a palace, an audience chamber and a council chamber. The last-named building is particularly important because it enables us to form an idea of the administrative institutions that existed in the early Middle Ages.



Parakrama Bāhu's Audience Chamber—Polonnaruwa

II

To a student of Indian culture the art treasures at Polonnaruwa are of a special interest. The two distinctive schools of art evolved in northern and southern India met here early in the Middle Ages and were harmonized.

The process of reconciliation had begun some time before the seat of government was permanently removed from Anuradhapura. The southern Indian influence is particularly noticeable in the ornamentation assigned to the two or three centuries prior to the change.

The infiltration of southern Indian technique was only to be expected in view of the geographic propinquity of Ceylon with southern India and the intercourse that undoubtedly existed between the two from the earliest times. Accounts of several Tamil invasions have been handed down by the Sinhalese chroniclers. They also mention cases of Sinhalese kings seeking their brides in southern India. Peaceful penetration from the Pandyan and Cholian kingdoms was either too prosaic or too imperceptible to have been set down by the monks who compiled the *Mahāvamsa* and other chronicles more or less based upon it.

As the result of this steady process of migration from southern India, mixture of blood took place not only in the ruling dynasty but, to a greater or lesser extent, among all classes of people. It was inevitable that forms of thought and worship and ideals of art and architecture should change.

Though these processes began long ere the Court deserted Anuradhapura, they received great strength during the Polonnaruwa period. For one thing, off and on during this period southern Indians either occupied the Sinhalese throne or exercised great political influence. In the tenth century, for instance, Sena V, the Sinhalese King, fled, following a quarrel with the head of his army, to the southern part of Ceylon or Ruhuna, as it was then called. The capital was thereupon seized by the Tamils. His successor, Mahinda V, after

carrying on government with great difficulty for twelve years, was himself forced to flee to Ruhuna for safety.

Early in the eleventh century the Cholian king, with his capital near Madras of our day, taking advantage of the unsettled conditions in Ceylon, sent an army across the Palk Strait and brought the entire northern half of the Island under his sway. Not until many years later were the Sinhalese able to throw off the yoke of the Cholians.

During three or four generations the Fates kept the Island in a constantly unsettled

state, with the southern Indians always harrying the Sinhalese, sometimes succeeding in completely driving them out of power, again receding more or less into the shadows. Gaja Bahu restored the Sinhalese fortunes and was followed by Parakrama Bahu the Great, who ruled from 1153 to 1186 A.D. Fierce controversy rages over Parakrama's lineage—whether or not he was of mixed Tamil and Sinhalese blood. He certainly had a Hindu queen for whom he built and endowed Hindu temples. His devotion to Buddhism did not apparently prevent him from listening to Hindu discourses and recitations from the Hindu scriptures. Within a year of Parakrama's death a Prince from southern India was anointed as the overlord of the Sinhalese under the title of Kirti Nissanka Malla; and he ruled until 1196. Within a few years of his demise the Tamils were in undisputed possession of Polonnaruwa and a little later Bhuvaneka Bahu I removed the capital to Yapahuwa.

Only a few of the archaeological remains at Polonnaruwa antedate Parakrama's reign. They are temples devoted to the worship of Siva and Vishnu and unmistakably of Tamil workmanship. The others show, almost without exception, a strong southern Indian influence.

III

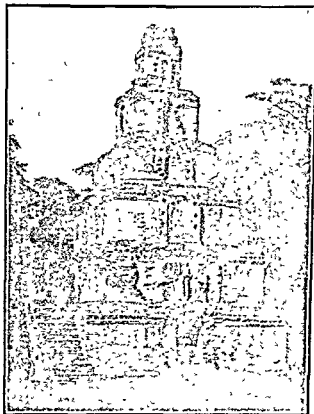
The monuments of outstanding interest at Polonnaruwa fall into two distinct classifications according to whether they are of temporal or of a religious character. Of the former, two deserve special attention—the private audience chamber standing at the back of the ruins of Parakrama Bahu's palace; and the council chamber, erected by Kirti Nissanka Malla.

The private audience chamber, judging by what has been left of it, must have been a gem of architecture. It was not a large building but was evidently graceful in proportion and beautifully ornamented.

The foundation consists of three platforms, slightly decreasing in size as they rise. Running round the base is a row of elephants. Around the middle platform is a row of lions, and around the top one is a row of grotesque dwarfs. Upon careful examination it is found that no two figures are exactly alike. The elephants particularly are carved with vigour and realism.

The chamber is reached by a short flight of stone steps. The design on the moonstone lying like a huge, semi-circular mat at the

bottom of them has become nearly obliterated. The guardstones have fallen. The balustrades remain in position and are noteworthy for their graceful form and skilful carving. At the top are two lions, one on either side, their mouths partly open as if snarling threateningly. Though exposed to the devastating effect of wind and weather, they retain much of the detail patiently chiselled by master-craftsmen centuries ago.



The Sat Mahal Pasada—Polonnaruwa

The pillars that once supported the roof rise from the third platform. Some of them are broken. Not one is there, however, that does not show that attention was lavished upon it by men who had inherited skill from many generations of stone-carvers.

The purpose to which this building was put has been lost in the labyrinth of time. Various conjectures have been made, all based upon its proximity to Parakrama's palace. The theory that is generally accepted is that the king here received his trusted advisers and discussed with them plans of campaigns and other important affairs of state. It has been suggested to me by a Sinhalese friend who has spent many years of his life in Polonnaruwa, at first as a forest

rock-holding an *ola* (palm-leaf)—book in his hands, he would have just the slight stoop that the sculptor gave to the figure that he carved. It can be seen to the best advantage from the side.

In the popular estimation this is a statue of Parakrama Bahu the Great. No documentary evidence has, however, been discovered so far that would warrant that belief.

The figure is probably symbolic. The boulder upon which it is executed stood, it is believed, in the immediate vicinity of the library erected by Parakrama Bahu. The structure, which persons who accept this theory have in mind was probably the "circular building" which that king frequently visited to listen to the reading of the *Jalakas*—stories relating to the hundreds of births through which Gautama passed prior to attaining Buddha-hood.

Two other objects of temporal character deserve passing reference. One of them known as the Sat Mahal Pasada is a seven-story building, with each successive story diminishing. The purpose for which it is built is not known, though one of my Sinhalese friends suggests it might have served as a lighthouse for guiding shipping in "Parakrama's Sea" at night. It bears signs of having been richly ornamented, but weather and vandals have made sad havoc with the figures.

The other object is an immense slab of granite known as the Gal Pota—or stone book. Upon it is carved a long inscription at the instance of Nissanka Malla, which shows him to be an enlightened monarch, with enlightened policy of taxation. The inscription is decorated with the sacred geese (*hamsa*), which though very much worn, show taste and workmanship.

Great ingenuity must have been required to transport such a heavy slab from Mihintale—the mound on which Mahinda, the royal missionary, alighted in the 3rd century B.C. The weight is estimated to be in the neighborhood of 25 tons, and the distance over which it was carried about fifty miles.

IV

Monuments of a sacred character need to be considered under two separate heads, according to whether they were created for Siva or Vishnu worship or for the glorification of the Buddha and the preaching of his precepts. Siva, I may add, is regarded in southern India and by the Hindus in

Ceylon as the god of gods rather than as an aspect of the *Trimurti* (Hindu Trinity).

One of the Siva Devalas—known in archaeological lore as "Siva Devala No. 1," is situated not far from the ruins of Parakrama Bahu's palace and private audience chamber, and is in a fairly good state of preservation.

The temple was wholly constructed, from basement to dome, of squared stones dressed and moulded. Pilasters and half pilasters flanked central niches; and a wealth of ornamentation in admittedly Dravidian style, was lavished everywhere. It reminds me of the Subramanya shrine at the great temple at Tanjore, which I recently visited.

Not one of the sculptures that adorned this Devala escaped mutilation. Among the best preserved are a four-armed Ganesha seated on a lotus throne, with the rat running over his face and an eight-armed, standing Kartikeya (the war-god, son of Siva) holding various symbols in its hands. Both are carved on slabs in low relief. There is also an image of Kali the goddess, carved in full round. She is depicted with high-peaked hat and waist-cloth and with the traditional face, body, arm and leg ornaments. This statue evidently stood on a pedestal in a wall niche.

The most valuable art treasures found in this temple, however, consist of a number of bronze images which were discovered a foot or two below the surface by workmen who were digging a trench along the building. They must have been buried by Hindu priests to save them from destruction, at the hands of fanatical Buddhists, but nothing authentic is known as to their origin or history.

All the bronze figures are now in the Museum at Colombo, where they form some of the choicest exhibits in the collection there. The largest is three feet in height and the smallest four and a half inches. Some of them are the work of master artists who, while strictly adhering to the canons laid down in the *Sastras*, were able to produce statuettes characterized by originality, power and perfection of finish.

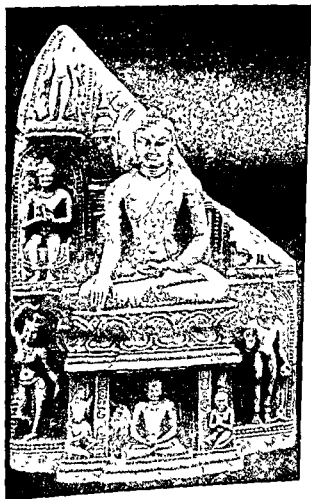
A four-armed Siva with an aureole representing the god in the dancing attitude, or as Nataraja, is particularly striking. So is one showing Siva and Parvati seated on a lotus throne. The statues are not all images of the deity with or without his consort. Saints, too, are included in the series. There is, for instance,

Buddhacharita in Bengal

By PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

AFTER the end of the 7th century A D Buddhism was slowly driven out of the rest of India and found shelter in Bengal and Bihar. Gradually Buddhist sculptures became confined to these two provinces

selected a series of pictures or scenes from the life of the Buddha which were slightly different from the series adopted by the Greek artists of Gandhara. For six long centuries this particular selection of scenes of the Buddhacharita prevailed in Bihar, Bengal and Burma. When Buddhism finally disappeared from Burma in the 10th century,



Stele with Eight Principal Incidents of the Buddha's Life

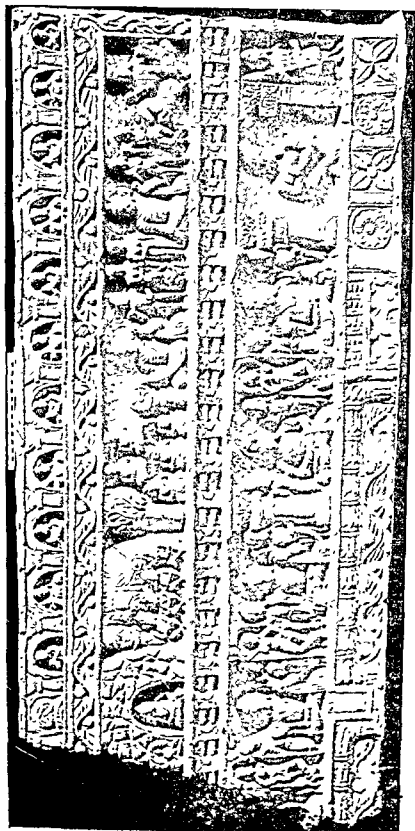
from Nalanda, Patna District

Just as Krishnacharita or Ramacharita finds favour among modern sculptors and painters so also Buddhacharita found favour among Buddhist artists of the north-eastern provinces of India. Buddhist artists gradually



The Enlightenment of the Buddha
From Kuksihar, Gaya District

its place was taken by Hinayana Buddhism from Ceylon, and the representation of this particular style of Buddhacharita disappeared from Burma. Occasionally Buddha's life of this particular style are discovered in Arakan, Pegu and Lower Burma.



Scenes from Buddha's Lives: The Visit of Indra to the Buddha in the Indrasila (ave), The First Sermon at Sarnath, and the Perfect Enlightenment at Bodhi-Gaya (Kushan School)

places like Bodhi Gaya, Nalanda, Bihar and one or two places in Bengal. These images of the Buddhacharita differ from those of the older schools of Indian sculpture in two prominent factors. Unlike the ancient Indian school of Bharhut, the Indo-Greek school of Gandhara, the Scythian school of Mathura and even the Gupta schools of Mathura, Benares and Pataliputra, the Bengal School drops the representation of the Jatakas entirely. Moreover, it does not represent the earlier scenes of Gautama Siddhartha's life such as, Maya's dream, its interpretation etc. The representation of the Buddha's life begins with Gautama's birth in the Lumbini garden and ends with his death in the Sala forest at Kusinara. In the majority of cases, the long series of scenes of Gautama Buddha's life represented by the Indo-Greek artists of Gandhara are omitted; In the Bengal school special images of the Buddhacharita are classified into four styles:—

I. Images with the figure of the Buddha attaining perfect wisdom in the centre and surrounded by a large number of scenes beginning with the birth and ending with the death of the Buddha. Only two such images have been discovered up to date, one at Shibbati in the Khulna district of Bengal and another at Bihar Sharif of the Patna district.

Such images or stonae agree in almost all respects, except in some of the scenes represented. In both cases the centre of the slab is occupied by a representation of the

In Bengal and Bihar images of the Buddhacharita are being discovered in different places; specially in Buddhist holy-

great temple at Bodhi-Gaya with a figure of the Buddha seated in the attitude of 'touching the earth'—*Bhumispar-a-mudra* inside. The

fact that this is not an ordinary image but the representation of one of the principal incidents of his life is indicated by ;—

(a) the posture or attitude of the hands indicating the exact moment when the Bodhisattva Gautama became the Buddha.

(b) the symbol for the *Vajra* or the 'thunder-bolt' on the lotus-throne of the Buddha

(iii) the failure of this attack.

(iv) the allurements of Mara's daughters and their failure.

The enlightenment of the Bodhisattva Gautama being generally regarded as the most important incident of the Buddha's life its representation is given in more detail in these two images. The Buddha-

charita commences on these two images or stelae inside a miniature temple to the left of Bodh-Gaya temple, then follow minor incidents ; such as competition in archery, the leaving of Kapilavastu on horseback, the change of garments, the cutting of the hair etc, till the enlightenment is reached. The remaining incidents, such as the first sermon at Benares, the great Miracle of Sravasti, the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods, the Miracle of the monkey at Valsali, are represented in miniature temples on the left side of the stelae or in the interspaces, until the line reaches the top where we find the death scene of the *Mahaparinirvana*.

II Image of the Buddha in the posture of attaining perfect wisdom, surrounded by seven other principal scenes of his life. This is really a stele, and the largest and the most perfect example has been found on the bank of a tank at Jagdishpur near Nalanda. In these images there are seven scenes on the back slab :—

(a) Birth, (b) first sermon at Benares, (c) the taming

of the mad elephant Nalagiri at Rajagriha, (d) death on the top of the back slab, (e) the descent of the Buddha from the heaven of the thirty-three gods, (f) the Miracle of Sravasti, and (g) the Miracle of the monkey at Valsali. The main image is surrounded by the army of Mara attacking the Buddha before his enlightenment.

The great image or stele of Jagdishpur still remains unique though it was discovered early in the 19th century. It is a colossal



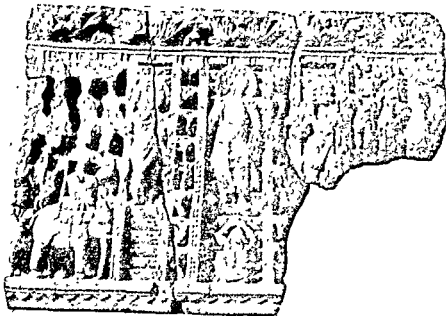
The Birth of the Buddha—Indo Greek Bas-relief
Indian Museum

indicating that the seat must be the *Vajrasana* at Bodh-Gaya, under the Pipal tree on which Gautama became perfectly enlightened.

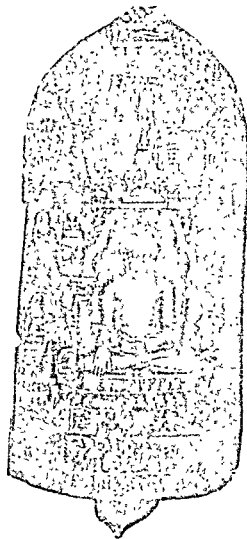
(c) two rows of figures under this lotus-seat representing the scenes immediately preceding the enlightenment :—

(i) Mara, the Buddhist Satan arriving on the scene on his vehicle, the *Makara*

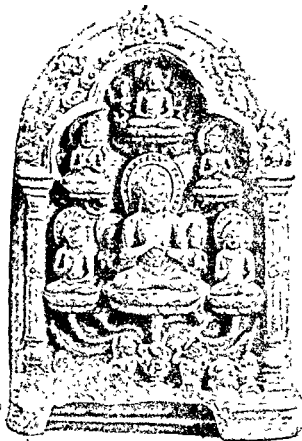
(ii) the attack on Gautama by Mara's army.



The Descent from the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods.
Indian Museum



Stele with Scenes from the Buddha's Life
From Shibbati, Khulna District (Bengal)



The Miracle of Sravasti
From Nalanda, Patna District

image, the most perfect of its kind. The central image or the main figure, does represent the Buddha at the moment of the

enlightenment but the temple of Bodh-Gaya is omitted. On the other hand, on the left side of it we find the host of Mara sailing through the sky to attack the Bodhisattva on their wild mounts. On the other side we find the same army flying through the air after their defeat. On the back-slab of this image we find seven other neat bas-reliefs, each complete in itself, so that if these seven scenes are detached today, they would become seven distinct bas-reliefs representing seven scenes of the Buddha's as are common to the Bengal school. With the exception of the Jagadishpur stele no other image of the Bengal school, not even the fuller stele found at Shibbati or Bihar Sbarif shows the representation in such full detail. In all other stelae bearing eight principal incidents or separate images bearing one incident details are gradually omitted till it becomes extremely difficult to recognize them. In the

Jagadishpur stele each incident can be recognized at the first sight and the details are as copious as in some of the bas-reliefs found on the larger of the Gandhara *Stupas*.

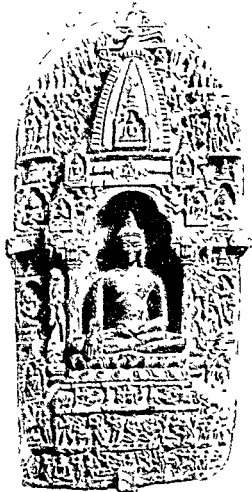
III. A large number of less elaborate stelae discovered at different places containing eight different scenes of the Buddha's life, of which the birth, enlightenment at Bodhi-Gaya, first sermon at Benares and death are constant. The remaining four scenes are composed of any

In the majority of these smaller stelae the central figure is that of Buddha in the attitude of obtaining perfect wisdom, but there are certain well-marked exceptions. In the Archaeological collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta as it stood in 1916, when I left that institution, there were a number of such stelae in which the central figure was that of Buddha at the time of the Miracle of Sravasti or the first sermon at Benares.



Image representing Buddha's Descent from the Heaven of Thirty-three Gods.
Beigal

of these four : (a) the taming of the mad elephant Nalagiri at Rajagriha, (b) the taming of the robbers employed by Devadatta to kill the Buddha in the narrow streets of Rajagriha, (c) the Miracle of Sravasti, (d) the Miracle of the monkey at Markatahrada, Vai-ali, (e) the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods.



Stele with Scenes of the Life of Buddha
From Bihar Sharf, Patna District

One of these stelae I found at the Museum of the Varendra Research Society's Museum at Rajshahi and another in the Patna Museum in 1923 and 1926. One specimen at least in the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad at Calcutta and another in the north-western corner tower in the second floor of the great temple at Bodhi-Gaya show that the central figure in these stelae are the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three

said a bit hesitatingly, "If you could lend me a rupee, I should be very thankful. I had only this rupee with me; unfortunately it is not good." Her manner of speaking was quite free and dignified.

Only one rupee! Jotin felt a bit cast down. If he could have done something tremendous for her, he would have been satisfied. Still he was fortunate in having this small opportunity. So he took out a rupee, and handed it to the girl.

The girl paid the waiter, and seemed to breathe with relief. She turned to Jotin and said, "You have saved me much trouble. Thank you very much. If you come here to-morrow at this time, I shall return the money. If it does not suit you, please give me your address, I shall send it to you."

Jotin jumped at the offer. "Certainly I shall come," he said. "I shall be here punctually at six."

"Are you a Bengali?" asked the girl.

"Yes," said Jotin, "I come from Calcutta."

The girl took leave of him with a smile and went out. Jotin returned to his seat to find Kartik already back there. He was grinning from ear to ear.

"Good boy," he said, as Jotin sat down. "Never miss an opportunity. So you have already made another appointment? I envy you, my dear chap. I have been here years and years, but no one even looked at me. But the first day you come out, you meet with romance—"

"Yes, I am lucky," said Jotin, interrupting him. "Let's be off now."

"Very well," said Kartik, getting up. "But don't try to go too far, it may land you into trouble. You don't know these people."

"You too belong to the old lady's clan, it seems," said Jotin. "Just because I talked to a girl, you presuppose a huge romance or tragedy."

"Great things have small beginnings," said Kartik. "I warn you, it is my duty. It is up to you to accept my advice or not."

Jotin's heart was singing a tune which prevented him from listening to the voice of cold prudence. "I don't want to return just now," he said changing the topic: "let's walk on and look at the illumination for a bit."

Next morning Jotin woke up much before his time. He was feeling restless and impatient. He wanted the day to pass off quickly and the longed-for evening to come. He could not say anything to Kartik, for fear he would sneer. He got more

and more impatient as the day advanced. He consulted his watch every five minutes, and could hardly sit still for two minutes anywhere. The time seemed to hang heavily in his hand.

The afternoon passed off somehow. Then another anxiety took possession of Jotin's mind. What if Kartik should want to accompany him? True, his appointment was not exactly a love tryst, still he felt extremely unwilling to have Kartik with him, to sit staring at them, while he talked to the girl. But how could he say that to Kartik without offending him?

Fortunately, Kartik saved him the trouble. When it was about four o'clock, he called Jotin and said, "Look here, old chap, I thought of accompanying you, though you certainly would not have liked it. Still, as you are my guest here, I am responsible for your safety. But my old manager has suddenly sent for me, I don't know why. So it's 'Line clear' for you. But be extremely cautious. Talk to her there, as long as you like, but don't accompany her anywhere else."

Jotin felt so much relieved at Kartik's words, that he promised anything and everything. As soon as his host had departed, he began his toilet. The girl would not arrive at the restaurant before six, but Jotin could hardly wait that long. He opened his trunk and took out his finest dress. He put on a diamond ring too. He felt ashamed of his shoes. They certainly looked shabby. He had left two pairs of brand new Nagra slippers, gold embroidered too, in Calcutta. The old lady was good to him in her own way. She never grudged him money for personal expenses. If he wanted ten diamond rings for ten fingers, he was welcome to them. She never enquired about the amount he spent. The old cashier had order to supply any of his just demands.

He finished dressing, called a carriage and went out. Where to spend the intervening one hour? He toured about the town, visited the shops and the wharves, and finally arrived before the restaurant, when it was still a quarter to six.

He peeped inside and saw that the girl had not yet arrived. He paid off the carriage and began to saunter along the footpath, keeping a sharp look-out around. He felt very sore with the girl. Could not she have come a few moments earlier?

A carriage drove up and stopped just in



Image with eight Principal Incidents of the Buddha's Life
From Jagdishpur in Patna District

gods. In some cases the total number of incidents is less than eight. The birth and the death and even the Sambodhi or the perfect enlightenment are omitted in these imperfect stelae. Such arrangements of incidents of the life of the Buddha are to be found only in the Bengal school of Sculpture and its offshoot, the sculpture of Arakan, Burma and Siam.

IV. Separate images representing one particular incident of the Buddha's life.

Such images were evolved for the first time in the Gupta school of Benares. An image dedicated by the Sthavira Bandhugupta at Sarnath, representing the enlightenment of the Buddha, is the earliest example of separate images of principal incidents of the Buddha's life. In the Gandhara school we find separate bas-reliefs but in the Bengal school we find separate images representing incidents.

In the Mathura school we find representations of incidents of the Buddha's life carved

or a German-Russian compact which might be directed against France. They formed a chain of alliances with France and Belgium, Poland, Czecho-slovakia, Rumania and Jugoslavia.

Broadly speaking the actual situation in European politics of to-day is as follows:—Great Britain is "on the fence" and is watching the regrouping of Powers in Europe and trying to use all the groups to promote her imperial interests, without committing herself into any definite alliance. France has alliances with various European Powers. Germany and Russia are virtual allies, France's relations with Italy has not been very cordial. However, it is expected that the proposed marriage between the Belgian princess and the Italian Crown Prince will lead to cordial relations among Italy, Belgium and France. Furthermore recent efforts on the part of France to secure Spanish co-operation in Africa is bound to create better feelings between these two nations. Franco-Spanish co-operation might bring Italy, France and Spain in closer understanding, because Italy and Spain are already on most cordial terms.

Therefore, if France and Germany agree to co-operate, then it seems quite possible that by a common agreement, there will be no chance for Great Britain to play one nation of Europe against another and there will be peace in Europe. A Franco-German accord will be the foundation of the so-called United States of Europe, and it will be the best security for France as well as Germany. One is inclined to think that both M. Briand and the late Dr. Stresemann were working for the object of creating a new peaceful Europe through a Franco-German understanding. British statesmen are opposed to any such development and they have been working to create a strong party in Germany which will work against the programme of Franco-German understanding, but promote Anglo-German friendship and hostility towards France. A Franco-German accord, with its possible corollaries, will bring about a revolution in World Politics; and its one effect will be that Britain will have to change her policies

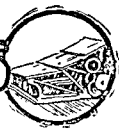
towards other nations, especially towards the peoples of Asia. Britain, under such circumstances, will be forced to pay respectful heed to India's demands for freedom.

Indian politicians do not apparently realize that India is kept under subjection due to three things: (1) isolation of India in World Politics and Britain's alliances with other nations; (2) Indian disunity and (3) lack of military education among Indians who have been disarmed by the British. It may be safely asserted that unless India succeeds in ridding herself of political isolation and makes close friendly understanding with other Powers, Britain will never give up her hold on India—she will never agree to grant even Dominion Status for India. As long as Britain will be able to keep Europe divided into two fighting camps, India will not succeed in securing effective co-operation from at least a group of European powers.

During the World War, the people of India might have secured their independence through a revolution. But the British statesmen knew that because of "isolation of India in World Politics" and also because of the existence of allies of Britain—France, Russia, Japan, Italy, China and the United States—Indian revolutionary nationalists could not secure *effective* moral and material support from outside. It is a well-known fact that during the World War, Germany tried to aid the Indian nationalists to free India from British control. But German efforts were neutralized because Britain was supported by other Powers to keep India in subjection, while both India and Germany were in virtual isolation. Have the Indian nationalists learnt their lessons that freedom of India depends largely upon the ability of Indian statesmen in breaking up the "isolation of India in World Politics"? What are they doing to-day to free India from the existing political isolation? What are they doing to establish close friendly relations with great Powers? Are they doing anything to help to bring about a revolution in World Politics, through a Franco-German accord?



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Rural India To-day

The Hon'ble V. Ramadas Pantulu writes in *The Scholar* on rural India. The picture of economic and social helplessness he draws is gloomy enough. Writes he:

Go to the smallest Indian village in the remotest corner of the country. What do we find? We find that the minutest and simplest wants of the villager are catered to by the enterprising foreign manufacturer. Ordinary articles of consumption by agriculturists like sugar and salt are largely foreign. The Swiss condensed milk and Danish tinned milk products are to be found in the humblest hut. The durable brass and bronze domestic utensils are practically displaced by cheap enamel, porcelain and aluminium or other light metalwares from European Japanese and American factories.

Just as the new commercial and economic regime resulted in the destruction of the industrial life of villages, the new civic-administrative regime—"the individualism emanating from the Legislator's anvil, the Judge's rod, and the Settlement Officer's compass"—led to the disintegration of all corporate life in rural India. The theories of state landlordism, economic rent and contractual relationship between landlord and tenant, which are essentially western notions, led to the development of an irrational and oppressive land revenue system which has made our peasantry economically crippled, weak, disunited and disorganised. The foundations of the community right in the waste lands, pasture grounds, service *inams*, religious and charitable endowments and the like, which were once administered for common purposes like the maintenance of village services and works of common village utility such as education, irrigation, recreation or poor relief, are destroyed. To-day there are no local services or common properties which in legal theory and customary practice really appertain to village communities and which are administered by them without control or interference by the central or provincial governments or their agents in the districts. The growth of local self-government under these conditions is an absolute impossibility. The villages are now mere clusters of houses inhabited by individual residents who are not animated by common economic or civic purposes in life and who live in a state of pathetic, placid contentment, depending upon the foreign rulers to look after all their political and social needs and on foreign manufacturers to supply their daily wants.

World-Economy 1919-1928

The economy history of these ten difficult years is summed up for *The Journal of the*

Bengal National Chamber of Commerce by Signor Alberto Pirelli, President of the International Chamber of Commerce:

Ten years of strenuous reconstruction work have reduced this chaos to order and the panorama of economic conditions at the close of 1928 presents an entirely different picture, not only in those countries that bore the brunt of war, but in all parts of the world. Devastated regions have been reconstructed and restored to their normal economic rhythm, political conditions in many countries have improved under more stable governments, public finances have been reorganised and currencies stabilised everywhere, the revival of activity and confidence in the future bear witness to the excellence of the results attained.

But such great achievements as indeed the whole work of reconstruction, have not left the pre-war economic situation unchanged, and we must reckon with new elements and new factors, that have arisen or undergone change during these years of feverish reconstructive activity.

One of the most important factors of this great change has been the attainment by the United States of a level of economic prosperity never before achieved—the most notable feature, as we have already said, of the post-war situation. The great financial prosperity of that country, its abundant supplies of raw materials, the possibility of adapting its production and distribution systems to the requirements of a huge home market, have favoured industrial development on a gigantic scale and even led to widespread economic and commercial penetration of foreign markets, in keen competition with the old-manufacturing countries of Europe.

And while the world of business has lived since the war under the sign of American expansion, accompanied by higher tariffs to protect her home market, Europe has been attempting to re-establish the normal flow of trade currents across her many frontiers, in spite of their increased number, all of which has increased the tendency toward economic nationalism and independence.

The situation has been further complicated by the closing of a great European market, that of Russia, left almost entirely out of the picture of trade revival.

is not equal to the demand, the refuse which hitherto has been burnt in lime and generally used with the *pan* or *betel* leaf, still commands a market. While Chank powder has been from remote ages recognised by the people of India as of great medicinal importance, being used by some internally in cases of acute dysentery, and from remote ages also, has it been known as a specific for pimples and skin diseases: as an eradicator of the marks left by the ravages of small-pox it is said to have no equal, and it now only remains for Chank powder to catch the market as a specific and cosmetic, to command a large demand in all the markets of the world.

To-day, unless Government speedily comes to the rescue and takes all measures to save the industry, there is little hope for it. The hopeless outlook, the more remunerative and less arduous trades, are daily taking away men who are the main-stay of the Clank industry, and everything points to a speedy and imminent collapse.

The Indian Princes and their Subjects

The All-Parties Convention, as is well-known, invited the Indian Princes to a tripartite conference between themselves, the British Indian representatives, and the representatives of the subjects of the Indian Princes. The proposal did not find favour in the eyes of the latter. Among other causes, their objection is based upon their unwillingness to sit in a conference with their own subjects on a footing of equality. The Maharajah of Bikanir in a statement issued to the Press, and reproduced in *The Feudatory and Zemindari India* explains the attitude of the Princes. Referring to the invitation of Pandit Motilal Nehru he says :

order for a machine has been placed in England and to be driven by electric power giving four thousand revolutions a minute. If the machine proves suitable it will be a veritable god-send to all shell-workers in the country: provided the price is within the reach of all.

All the chank fisheries being at present the monopoly of Government, who invite tenders for their purchase, eliminates the artisan from the market, who can only buy their shells from the class of middlemen speculators who tender for the purchase of the fisheries and secure the contract.

These obstacles are working to the detriment of the trade, and to protect themselves into workers of Dacca have formed themselves into an Association which first came into existence in 1921.

In the method of selling the Chank fisheries, it cannot be denied that the industry is suffering from the rapaciousness of the middlemen speculators, and, unless the contract system is given up, replacing it by methods by which a reasonable valuation of shells can be fixed for a whole year, thus allowing the *Shankaris* themselves to enter the market, who at present cannot get the shells even at a second monopoly rate, the Chank industry is doomed. There are many by-products of the industry. Buttons made from the refuse of shells command a high price, but the supply

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The International Labour Office and Students

The International Labour Office, which is an adjunct to the League of Nations, takes very great interest in the welfare of students. The possibilities of a greater co-operation between student organizations and the League is discussed by Dr. P. P. Pillai of the I. L. O. in *The Progress of Education*. He writes:

The students' associations are interested in the office not only because they are in sympathy with its ideals, but also because of what it can do for them from the practical point of view. Life is very difficult for professional workers at the present time, and several students' associations have asked for help in finding a solution for the problems of unemployment among them. It is perhaps not yet widely known in India that India occupies an important place in I. L. O.'s scheme of enquiry into the causes and remedies of unemployment amongst the intellectual classes.

He then goes on to give an account of the two conferences which had been organized by the International Students Service:

Dresden was chosen for the former meeting partly because it is the seat of the "International Institute for Student Self-Help and Co-operative Organizations", which was started in 1927 as a department of the International Student Service, and is concerned with the study and promotion of student self-help and co-operative work in all parts of the world as a basis for the betterment of the material condition of students, the development of the "working student" idea, and the enabling of working class people to obtain a university education.

The main questions for discussion were student co-operative organisations, student houses, financial aid, the "working student," unemployment among intellectual workers, the financing of student self-help enterprises, etc. Of all these subjects the problem of the "working student" and the unemployment of intellectuals and the means of overcoming it, such as vocational guidance, etc., were most carefully studied by the delegates. In the discussion on the latter subject reference was made to the enquiry undertaken by the International Labour Office into the situation of unemployed intellectual workers. The conference passed a resolution thanking the International Labour Office for this undertaking, and asking the delegates present to support, in every possible way, the efforts of the International Labour Office.

At the annual Conference at Krems, the programme of the International Student Service for 1930 was worked out. Here again the discussion on "student and worker relationships" took a prominent place in the work of the Conference. It was suggested that there should be held in the near future, a special conference between students and workers, and that in the meanwhile, an effort should be made to encourage discussion between groups of students who differ in their attitude to the social question, and to find opportunities for bringing such different groups into contact with

industrial conditions and with both workers and employers. The conference also decided to give material aid to students, and to promote self-help in countries where, at present, there is very great material need in university circles, such as China, India, Bulgaria, South Wales and, to a certain extent, amongst native students in South Africa

Study of Sanskrit in Germany

A new review, in German and English, called the *Deutsche Rundschau*, has been started in India. Its object is to promote interchange of ideas between the Germans and Indians on an intellectual platform, to collect all possible information of the educational facilities in Germany. Among many interesting articles in the first number we quote from an article by Professor Otto Strauss of the University of Breslau. He writes on the present situation of the study of Sanskrit in Germany:

A German University professor has a double task to fulfil teaching and research work. As regards the former, Sanskrit is being taught to students at almost every German University. There are, of course, only very few people who take up Sanskrit as the main subject to their doctorate—that is to say, who write a dissertation on a Sanskrit topic to be printed besides undergoing an oral examination. Most students take up Sanskrit as a secondary subject, of which with us in Breslau three are required besides the main one. For these students it is only necessary to show a certain practice in *prima facie* interpreting a Sanskrit text of no great difficulty (e. g. Upanishads, Bhagavadgita, Kalidasa's Epics, Hitopadesa, and similar texts) a general knowledge of Sanskrit grammar from the descriptive, historical and comparative point of view and general acquaintance with literary history, religion, philosophy and political history of ancient and mediæval India.

where we must take things as they are as our starting point; and it is very clear that there are to-day multitudes of lepers who have already passed beyond the primary non-infective stage, and that for many years yet there will continue to be such cases. Working particularly among that class of the community which is least able to observe the rules of self-segregation at home, the Mission is directly serving the public by its care of such cases. At the large asylum of Purulia, to give an instance, there are, besides the very early and very advanced patients, no less than 432 infective cases. There are repeated evidences of one infective leper, living at home, transmitting the disease to numerous relations with whom he is in close contact, and particularly to children. We know of one case where 111 lepers can trace their infection back to one leper. It can therefore be readily appreciated that the provision of our Homes for such lepers as are infective, and even for those who are in the pre-infective stage and who would normally become infective if they were not treated in time, is of no inconsiderable public service. The care of the most advanced cases, too, who like wrecks after a storm bear the enduring effects of the fury that has passed, is a social service no less real because it is not directly one of consequence to the public health. Other factors enter into civic well-being, and an important one is the proper care of the infirm and helpless. The rescue of the children, by the provision of separate Homes for those who are still uninfected, but who, if left with their parents would frequently become victims of the disease themselves, is another service of definite civic value. Over seven hundred such children are at present being saved to become builders, instead of breakers of society. They go out into life bearing health and not disease.

Market Research

Market research is an indispensable preliminary to industry and commerce in these days, and perhaps the last thing attended to in a systematic and business like spirit in this country. A writer in *The Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce* explains its scope and utility:

Research is to marketing what diagnosis is to medicine. That is a basic principle upon which all advertising and merchandising men are agreed. Nevertheless, the fact remains that there are comparatively few of us who really appreciate the full value of market research and apply it properly to our particular business.

Markets are people. Generally the only limits placed upon their expense are the number of people who can afford to buy the product and the number of people who can be made to desire it. When they are properly informed about it. The producer is being brought closer to the consumer almost daily by human ingenuity. Time is almost vanishing as a factor in communication and transportation. While this in itself is a great ally of the marketer, it likewise makes it vital to his success that he market more scientifically because his competitor has the same time-effacing facilities at his disposal. How can the producer market more scientifically? By market research.

What is market research? It is the application of scientific principles to the problems that arise from the kind, size and peculiarities of the individual market and the securing of the necessary data for bringing the product to the people in the most economical and effective way. Naturally this presupposes an accurate knowledge of facts. The marketer must be able to say "I know," not "I think." To make the research of most value it is necessary to most intelligently plan the means of "Fact Finding"; then must follow careful analysis; later proper correlation of the data collected and their interpretation and finally adapting the findings to the particular product under consideration.

America and India

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, the editor of the New York *Nation* sends "a word" to the *Indian Review* and through it to the Indian people. After dwelling upon the sympathy of the American friends of India, he goes on to offer a few words of advice. He writes:

Finally, as one devoutly in sympathy with the non-resistance of Gandhi, may I strongly urge all who may see those lines to use their influence against any form of violence? If violence, let it be on the other side and let it be received upon non-resisting bodies. There is no greater weapon than that, none surer, none more certain to win in the long run, if only there since I heard an American Minister to China declare that the foreign endurance. It is only a few years since I heard an American Minister to China declare that the foreign problem there was most difficult because, so he said, to an audience of American newspaper men, said the Chinese have got hold of the most dangerous weapon in the world—non-resistance, and you can't beat that." This was just after he had said that as far as the shells of our gun-boats could reach, we should inflict our wills on the Chinese whether they liked it or no!

There is a great reservoir of goodwill for India here, though we have also many sympathizers with British imperialism and many believers that the white race is justified in imposing its will upon coloured people wherever it finds them, whether at home or abroad. But the reservoir of goodwill will be largely unavailable if force should be used by the Indians. I hope therefore that whatever else happens in India after January, there will be no overt acts. You may be sure that those of us who are sympathetic with your aspirations will await the coming of that day with profoundest anxiety and with deepest sympathy for all concerned.

Students' Strikes

Mr. A. S. Venkataraman, P. A., L. J. has some judicious remarks to offer on students' strikes in *The Indian Educator*. He says:

Students' strikes are becoming more common and familiar that it is high time that we stopped

future. The great qualities that brought the industry into existence and that helped to build it to its present position are certainly not dead. When those qualities are brought into play again, as they certainly will be, there will be once more a brighter prospect for the first and easily the most advanced city in India. We cannot afford to give up the industry. A million persons live by it, and Bombay's wealth and importance entirely depend upon it. But there is another point to be kept in mind. It is an Indian industry in the most complete sense of the term. It is financed by Indians, it is controlled by Indians, it is worked by Indians. Europeans have helped it and Bombay is a city which seeks co-operation from every quarter, but it is Indians who are really the architects of this great cotton piecegoods manufacturing industry of India. The whole of India may well be proud of that. Every industry has its ups and downs, and that the depression and bad times are sure to be followed by prosperity and better days. All that is needed is closer co-operation between capital and labour, and between producers and consumers. That is bound to come if capital is humane and labour is considerate, if producers are not greedy and if consumers are patriotic. India has vast resources of cotton. She may well gratify all the needs of her children in point of piecegoods. She

has the chance also of supplying the eastern markets with her goods, provided the goods are of quality, and are sold at competitive prices.

In the same paper

Is given a table of figures indicating the production of woven goods in the different parts of India for the two months of April and May during the last three years. All the figures represent yards. The figures are combined for the two months.

Province.	1927.	1928.	1929.
Bombay	300,773,359	178,930,026	246,889,012
Madras	10,538,992	10,264,626	9,308,580
Bengal	5,415,518	5,628,972	9,559,623
United Provinces	13,952,634	14,920,142	17,318,719
Ajmer-Merwara	2,063,008	1,883,908	2,360,882
Punjab	1,000,722	543,710	736,440
Delhi	4,617,370	6,366,748	8,764,273
C. P. and Berar	10,645,737	10,809,784	13,311,830
Indian States, etc.	33,093,292	37,591,737	47,754,016

The last category, Indian States, etc. means Indore, Mysore, Baroda, Nandgoan, Bhavnagar, Hyderabad, Wadhwan, Gwahor, Cambay, Cochin, Kolhapur, and the French Settlements at Pondicherry.



Decay
By Manishi Dey

front of him. A Bengali girl got down. It is unusual to meet Bengali women in public places. So Jotin stared at her rather curiously. But his curiosity turned to surprise, as he recognised her. For she was none other than his fair acquaintance of yesterday. But instead of her Burmese dress, she was wearing a gold embroidered red Dacca sari and a blouse of the same stuff. Her head was uncovered, her hair being dressed in the modern Bengali way.

The girl paid off the driver, then approached Jotin with quick steps, "Have you been waiting long?"

"Not very long," said Jotin. "But why are you dressed like this? I did not know you at first."

The girl was merely a chance acquaintance and he should not have presumed to ask her such questions. But Jotin was unaccustomed to the society of ladies and his surprise had made him forget his manners. Not that he knew that he was saying anything unusual.

But the girl did not seem to mind. "Let's go in," she said with a smile. "I shall answer your question there."

They went in and sat down. Jotin ordered tea, though he was not feeling thirsty at all. "Do you live very far off?" he asked.

"No," said the girl. "But I could not get here sooner. I work in a shop and cannot go anywhere until it closes. I went home, then came on here."

But Jotin was eager to know the reason of her change of dress. So he asked again, "You did not tell me, why you have dressed up like this."

"Because this happens to be my own dress," said the girl. "I too am a Bengali. But I put on Burmese dress usually. To-day, as I was coming to meet one of my own people, I dressed up as a Bengali. May I ask your name?"

Jotin told her his name. "But why then do you talk in English?" he asked. "Don't you know Bengali?"

"No," said the girl. "I have never seen Bengal, neither do I know any Bengalis. My father came here from Bengal, and married my mother here. When I was but a baby, he went back to India and died there."

"But did not his relatives enquire about you or send for you?" asked Jotin.

"No," said the girl. "It was natural for them to ignore us. Bengalis are very

orthodox, they do not like their young men to marry foreigners."

"May I know, what your name is?" asked Jotin.

The girl smiled. "My father named me Maya. But nobody uses that name now. I am known as Ma Sakina."

"Where do you work?" asked Jotin.

"In a Japanese shop, near by," the girl replied.

Jotin went on talking and talking. He was afraid to stop, lest the girl should go away. So he asked again, "Do you like working in a shop?"

"I don't like it much," said Ma Sakina, "but where could I get a better job? My education is not much to boast of."

"But you speak English perfectly," said Jotin. "I am a graduate of the Calcutta University. You speak it better than myself."

Ma Sakina laughed outright. "My teachers were English," she said. "So I can speak well. I intended to go to England to be trained as a teacher. But my mother was finding it very hard to bring up the children unaided. So I gave up studying and took up a job."

Jotin was a bit surprised, "Have you got more brothers and sisters?" he asked.

The girl appeared a bit embarrassed. Then she said, "They are not exactly my own brothers and sisters. In your country it is not customary for widows to remarry. Here it is usual. My mother married a second time. The gentleman was a Mahomedan. He took good care of us and was paying for my education too. But he died about five years ago."

"There are many Bengalis in Rangoon," said Jotin, "have not you got any friends amongst them?"

"No," said Ma Sakina. "My mother does not like the Bengalis. My father had not treated her well. He left her completely helpless. So she had always warned me against the Indians. But I do so want to meet them and to learn Bengali. But I never got an opportunity. How could I know a good man from a bad man?"

Jotin could not resist the temptation of asking, "Then how was it that you ventured to make my acquaintance?"

The girl laughed again. "I think God meant us to meet. I know you are a good man."

Jotin's heart sang with joy. Was the



The Leader of the Anglo-Saxons or Kaiser-i-Hind

Owing to a narrow-minded colonial policy which Great Britain has since wholly abandoned, the Anglo-Saxon community of the world finds itself to-day, under a divided allegiance, that of the British Empire on the one hand and the United States of America on the other. With the increasing cordiality which marks their relations at present and is probably going to bear its first fruit in the elimination of naval rivalry between them, will there be an attempt at an *Anschluss*, sentimental if not political, of the two halves?

This, at any rate, is what ought to be, is the opinion of Professor G. E. G. Catlin who writes in *The Realist* on the desirability of an Anglo-Saxon comity. He presents Great Britain with a choice of policy between racial loyalty and racial disloyalty cloaked by a narrow nationalism and false perception of Imperial interests. He writes:

Great Britain has before it a tremendous choice in policy. She can look West towards the lands of her own speech ("her own speech" whatever the futile censoriousness of a few intellectuals may be about the unity of that speech). Or she can look East. As Austria-Hungary based her policy on the Danube, so Britain may base her policy on the maintenance of the route to India with its complications in Europe, in the Levant, in Egypt, and in India itself. Apart from the separate problem of the safeguarding of Australasia (which could also be affected through the Panama Canal), this involves basing power and prestige on the obedience of millions who can never be sentimentally and culturally at one with Great Britain. The maintenance of the bond with India may be regarded as a desirable contingency; it is folly to regard it as the palladium of Empire. Wherever the lure, as an adornment, of the Indian ruby, whatever even the mutual advantages of the imperial connection, to build power on the Rai in India is to build a mighty castle on the sand. The foundation of power is in the sentiment of the British peoples and the good will of the Anglo-Saxon world; it is not in being Kaiser-i-Hind.

The Menace of Freudianism

"We may be said to be living in a Psycho-analytic age. For there has been

insinuated into our outlook a Freudian temper," so writes Mr. Joseph Jastrow in the autumn number of *The Century*, and it is in this ever widening application of psycho-analysis as a complete instrument for the exploration of human character that he thinks precisely where the menace of new psychology lies. Some rather technical studies in hysteria, as he happily puts it, have within the space of a generation converted the human scene into a neurotic clinic. Has it profited mankind? Will it profit mankind? Perhaps these questions are best answered in the writer's own words:

The Freudian temper extends from the attitude of its contributing advocates to its effect upon the lay mind, and there reaches its menacing expression. The popularity of Freudian ideas may prove to be a disaster to mental fitness and a sane outlook on life. The most pernicious complex of the day may well be the psycho-analytic complex—the unexpressed desire to dig at the roots of delicate psychic growths that prosper best in the undisturbed privacy that nature has provided for them. The tendency to bare our intimate personal problems to the Freudian diagnostic knife, to rush off to be "psyched" on slight provocation or none, is about as wholesome as would be a periodic exposure on the operating-table to see whether our insides are in order. Whether more persons have been injured or aided by psycho-analysis is an open question.

The analyst vivisects the most sensitive tissues of the human personality. If every analyst were a superman, the procedure would still be hazardous. Some of us are in fact most complexly composed, and others quite simple in our make-up. The analyst is too apt to insist upon complexity as well as complexes, and to find what he looks for or incite it. To be of service, the psycho-analyst must be at least as high-grade a personality as his patient. When, all too commonly, he is not, his knowledge of technique cannot replace his intellectual, his social, his personal shortcomings. In many an instance, considering the contrast between his own human nature and that of his patient, when that patient belongs to a superior class, his procedure and advice is nothing short of an impertinence. A dose of indignation may accompany this verdict when the patient is a woman and the analyst a man, by reason of the natural barrier between their inner lives, and the different texture and design of the feminine emotional cloth; so much at least is open to masculine understanding.

As on the professional side in less responsible

or less competent hands, the practice takes on the dangers of a cult, on the lay side the recourse to it flourishes as a vogue of emancipation.

Through all social circles the Freudian wave has spread with variable local symptoms and with no benefit to the tone of conversation or intellectual stimulation. "And everybody talks glibly of repression, complexes, sublimation, with wish fulfillment and subconsciousness as if they really understood Freud and knew what he was talking about. Gentle reader, let me say this, that with the exception of a few professional philosophers, Psychologists, psychiatrists, and psycho-analysts, I have not met a dozen people who knew more than the terms of Freud." And Dr. Myerson, thus cited, has his office in the very centre of culture, on Boston's Beacon Street.

French Thought on America

After all the adulation that it has become an intellectual fashion to shower upon the new woman, it is, at any rate, refreshing to come across so downright a denunciation of them in the *Paris Comœdia*:

To us Latins the American woman, that luxurious and futile object, remains an object to amaze. Her rôle of mother, of wife, of guardian of the home is almost non-existent. Should one even speak in this connection of a home? Yet no society can live without such an armour. . . . No nation has ever seemed to me to have felt so tragically the emptiness of its soul. Its moral life has become enfeebled in proportion as its material prosperity has grown. But what are the foundations of a spiritual life that is not nourished on the profoundest realities of humanity?

The name of the writer is Max Frantel, and it seems that this denunciation is the part of a general onslaught on American ideals and American manners, in which more than one distinguished name in contemporary French thought has been brought in. We have had occasion, more than once, to draw attention to the rising hostility of European thought towards America. This antagonism is crystallising more and more in the form of a war between the spiritual values for which European civilisation stands and the material scale of values of America. This is clearly brought out in the summary given in *The Literary Digest* of the article from which we have quoted above, and from its comments on it:

"More to be pitied than censured is the verdict passed by some French writers on America in her flood-tide of prosperity. As for admiring American industrial and commercial progress, such sad observers avert their eyes from the awful spectacle of material plenty and luxury in the United States, for while the French are seen to have no bounds set to it, the French are cautioned not to be misled as to what such power

of wealth means. Along these lines runs the comment of a contributor to the *Paris Comœdia*, who calls our attention to a book of Henri Massis—"A Defense of the West"—in which America is evidently subjected to a severe pummelling.

According to M. Massis American prosperity is only "an imposing facade, the mighty collapse of which will probably be seen by our grandchildren." As quoted in *Comœdia*, M. Massis continues:

"One can imagine at a given period the general suicide of this nation, which will have lost its soul in seeking the most perfected means of living and, having found them, will blow up the machine, as if fascinated by chaos. The reason is that one can not violate the conditions of human nature beyond certain limits. Baudelaire, in his preface to the stories of Edgar Allan Poe, uttered prophetic words to explain the evil that is silently working in the United States, a country that is at once gigantic and infantile. Baudelaire said: 'Proud of its material development, abnormal and almost monstrous, this newcomer has a naive faith in the almighty power of industry. He is convinced, as are some unfortunate ones among us, that industry will eventually devour the devil. The material activity which is exaggerated to such an extent as to be a national mania leaves very little room in the mind for things that are not of this earth.' And it is paid for while we are here below."

Dominion Status for India

A momentous decision will have been taken by Indian Nationalism by the time that these lines will reach our readers. Nevertheless, there is no harm, and perhaps not wholly a mere historical interest in drawing attention to an article by Major Grahani Pole in *The Labour Magazine*, which is the official monthly journal of the Labour Movement. It gives an authoritative exposition of the point of view of official Labour. Major Pole begins by saying:

"I think we hardly realise at what a fascinating period of the world's history we are living. A new era is upon us and changes come about with apparently startling suddenness. These changes, however, can often be foreseen by those who care to look below the surface. There is an irresistible tide of freedom, liberty and self-determination sweeping over the whole globe. It is for us to see that we do not try to stem that tide, but rather lead it into the right channels. The attitude of some of our die-hards in this connection makes one think of the old conundrum of what would happen if an irresistible force met an unmovable object!

Equality of Indians and Europeans in India is, of course, nothing new—as far as declarations go. As a nation we are good at making declarations.

He then goes on to trace the history of all the declaration from the Queen's Proclamation down to the statement of Mr. Ramsay

MacDonald when he set up the Muddiman Committee. About this last he says :

Before that Committee had reported, however, the Labour Government had been replaced by a Tory Government; the doctrine of continuity of policy was forgotten; and the promise of the Prime Minister was never redeemed. Nothing happened; and India was again given reason to believe that she could place no reliance on British promises.

Things went from bad to worse. Lord Birkenhead made every mistake possible in the setting up of the Indian Statutory Commission (the Simon Commission). Speaking in the House of Lords as Secretary of State for India, in connection with the Commission, he said that they would go out to India as "a jury," and twice in the course of that speech, which I heard, he referred to the Indians as "natives"—quite oblivious of the fact that that word had been banned by the Government of India many years before, it having in India the same connotation as "nigger."

In spite of all that any of us who have been trying to make a better understanding between England and India could say or do, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution, at its meeting in December, 1928, that unless Great Britain gave India Dominion Status by December 31, 1929, they would declare and work for Independence outside the British Commonwealth of Nations. The steps to be taken would be "civil disobedience," non-payment of taxes, etc., etc.

Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, realized the serious position and the necessity of restoring in India faith in the promises and intentions of the British people. Lord Irwin was a member of the late Conservative Cabinet before his appointment as Viceroy of India, and this gave his advice—coinciding as it did with the views of the Labour Cabinet—all the more weight. He is the "man on the spot" who according to that Tory doctrine, ought to be trusted and upheld.

His remarks on the Press attack on the Viceroy's statement is illuminating, as is his exposition of what can be done at the Round Table Conference :

The recent Press attack, it should be noted, was made not on this innovation, but on the declaration that Dominion Status as the goal of British policy for India was implicit in the Montagu Declaration of 1917. In the course of this attack the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Mail* abandoned their talk of our being trustees for the voiceless and down-trodden millions of India, and showed the real nature of their "interest" in India. Said the *Morning Post* : "If the British Government really does contemplate this folly of 'Dominion Status,' it had better begin to raise a relief fund for the Anglo-Indian population." Whilst the *Daily Mail* was even more plain-spoken : "The people of Great Britain stand to sacrifice a capital of some £1,200,000,000 by Dominion Home Rule in India. There is, further, the certain loss of the considerable sum now paid in this country by the Indian Government in pensions to retired Civil Servants and officers." No argument and no proof was offered for this palpably absurd and untrue statement.

Everything can come up at the Round Table Conference to be held next year. The Simon Commission Report may be discussed, but so also may the Nehru Report and the Butler Committee Report on the Indian States. The Indian States may be represented, both Princes and peoples, and the various political bodies in India and the various religions and interests can also have their representation to meet the Government here and so "promote the full co-operation of all parties and interests in the solution of the Indian problem as a whole." That is the great thing that the Labour Government, with the cordial co-operation of the Viceroy has brought about.

Demand for Scottish Home Rule

The establishment of a Dominion in Ireland is apparently going to have its repercussions in the sister Celtic nations of Wales and Scotland. There have already been set on foot in both these countries Nationalist parties which have for their aim the establishment of two more Dominions within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Hon'ble Ruaraidh Erskine of Marr, the President of the Scots National League writes on this subject in *Current History*.

Advocates of Scottish nationalism are sometimes criticized on the ground that the success of the doctrine they preach would lead to the isolation of their country. Those who use this foolish gibe can know little about either current political tendencies within the British group of nations or what is really in the minds of the Nationalist leaders. Those tendencies are not toward isolation in respect of any one member (present or future) of the British group, but, on the contrary, toward closer and more effective co-operation for common purposes—in a word, toward confederation. The idea of what was at one time called "Imperial Federation"—that is, a scheme, or system of politics by virtue of which the British "colonies" and dependencies would have been linked up with England as the centre and the controlling power of the system—is as dead as emphatic repudiation of the scheme on the part of "Greater Britain" can render it. What lives and tends to live yet more vigorously with the passing of each successive Imperial Conference is the notion of friendly co-operation in respect of common aims between the different sovereign States of which the British group of nations is composed. It is toward this particular end that the Scottish Nationalists are working and it is into this comity of nations that they propose to introduce their country, not under the suzerainty of England, gifted in virtue of the latter's benevolence with a limited measure of "home rule" and otherwise tied to her, but as a sovereign State, independent of England even as Scotland was formerly independent of her, and independent of her even as the different Dominions are to-day independent of her.

Such is the great political end toward which the Scots, who are Nationalists are working to-day. It stands to reason that the more the kindred

nations of the Irish and the Welsh are drawn toward the same lofty ideal and the better the concert is among the three in order to bring it about, the more perfectly is it likely that existing major tendencies in British political affairs will be fulfilled.

Emil Ludwig's Tribute to His Great Countryman

Among the numerous tributes to the memory of Gustav Stresemann, that of the *Vossische Zeitung* (translated in *The Living Age*) comes from the pen of Emil Ludwig, the eminent literary man of Germany and a friend of the dead statesman. Stresemann leaves behind him an abiding reputation as a man of peace, and there are few competent judges who would not recognize his achievement in the reconstruction of post-war Europe. He began his political career as an out and out imperialist. He modified his outlook to suit new conditions, but he did not, as Ludwig records to his credit, turn red in five minutes during the troublous days of November, 1918.

The frightful defeat in the war had completely shattered him intellectually, but his ear detected the new historical rhythm and his trained historical mind perceived what was going on. He understood that Europe, and particularly Germany, could no longer cling to outworn methods. The same man whom I had heard only a few months ago extolling moral influences to a group of young students, the same man whose true nature was reckless and artistic, perceived that the military uniform had seen its best days. He recognised of vengeance that certain groups were advocating, but that it could only be rescued by the idea that underlay the League of Nations. When I spoke to him during that fateful period of doubt when Germany was forced to wait in the antechamber of Geneva, like a new club member whose qualifications for membership are still being questioned, he asked me with downcast mien, "What would you do now?" "Go away," I replied. "That would give Berlin a cheap triumph," he said, "but it tempts me not." At such moments as these he revealed himself as the real statesman that he was.

Except for Rathenau, Stresemann is the first German minister since Bismarck who had received an advanced education. I have heard him discuss Goethe interestingly and at length, not merely giving quotations but showing that he understood the significance of the man, and I know that he put to productive use that under-estimated political skill of the German nation which no one believed existed in Goethe's time. And he also would lend his aid to rescue the German spirit whenever it was threatened.

In my house in the Swiss forests where I am now dictating these fleeting words, he stood, two years ago, before a picture of Goethe. After keeping silent for a long time, as it was only

proper that he should, he later brought the conversation back to Goethe again. In such small ways one recognized that he was really less interested in immediate results than in far-reaching conclusions. Yet his character also possessed the naiveté of a student, which kept him from being a good judge of men. Thus he had a freshness that made him prone to deliberation and a seriousness that made him a man of action. Stresemann was a thoroughly German character.

Aristide Briand

Poincaré was, and Aristide Briand still is, France's indispensable man. He fell as Premier only to re-enter the arena as Foreign Minister in M. André Tardieu's Cabinet. He has been a member of twenty-one Cabinets and Premier in eleven of them, and is, as M. Jules-Blois points out in *Current History*, one the most important and picturesque figures in French political life. His importance in foreign politics is acknowledged on all hands. But perhaps not the least interesting side of him is his private life of which we are given charming glimpses in M. Jules-Blois' article:

This man who has made so much French and even European history, remains to-day as simple as when he began his career. Before going into politics he lived in furnished rooms for which he paid \$20 a month, including board. His latest residence is Avenue Kleber, a fashionable part of Paris but the apartment is almost small enough for a doll's house. There, during the war, even when in office, he would betake himself frequently to meditate in dark khaki pajamas over a cup of coffee, watching the smoke spirals of his cigarette. But he also has a rural retreat, the realization of every Frenchman's dream—a country place with cattle, real milk and a little brook, at Cocherel. There, he says, he perfected his diplomatic skill: "You see, I went to a good school. I had the best masters. But for them I confess, I could not have gone very far. In order to complete my domain of Cocherel I had to buy eighty pieces of ground from peasant owners. I had to discuss, to haggle, to be yielding and hard by turns. I struggled for an entire year; and I declare to-day with a certain pride that the man who has been able to do business with eighty Norman peasants can easily cope with the Foreign Ministers of the Great Powers."

Fishing is one of his favourite diversions so much so that the story is told that, when informed that President Fallières had selected him to form the Ministry, his first words were: "Now my fishing season is ruined." Nor would he be consolled by the example of the former Premier Waldeck-Rousseau, who remained none the less a great fisherman. "Yes, yes," Briand replied, "but as soon as one is in power, the fish all go over to the opposition."

His detractors claim that he reads little and scarcely ever writes. But he reflects much and never speaks unwittingly. His speciality is working

with living material. Himself silent, he makes others talk. I have often observed him, quiet and vigilant in the uproar of a Parliamentary session, maintaining complete silence for hours, and then mount the tribune with the careless, almost dragging step of the lounge, and begin a speech, his voice groping at first, but before long swelling with sonority, as he dramatically reaches the heights of oratory and carries the vote in a thunder of applause. A lover of humanity, Briand flees from men in order to escape the temptation to hate them. He chooses either solitude or the exclusive company of congenial minds. Among them no one is of greater service to him than Philippe Berthelot, the son of the philosopher and scientist.

Some Reminiscences of Clemenceau

Clemenceau belonged as decidedly to the past as Stresemann belonged, and Briand belongs, to the present. His early experiences made the Tiger what he was. The following reminiscences about him appear in the course of a some notes on him in the *Inquirer and Christian Life*.

Bi-march and 1870 put their mark on Georges Clemenceau, as Clemenceau put his mark on the Peace of 1918. Yet Clemenceau accepted (after a fashion) the League of Nations at the hand of Woodrow Wilson, though America repudiated the work of her own prophet.

"Every morning when I wake I say to myself, 'Georges, you believe in the League of Nations?'" the old sceptic explained. He believed far more in the American alliance—which the Americans denied him after he had paid the price. It was the rôle of Mr. Lloyd George, arch-conciliator, to draw the two together, but Clemenceau, as the more stubborn of two stubborn men, decided where the junction should be effected. If Mr. Lloyd George instead of drawing Wilson, had stood with him immovably for the Fourteen Points, what would Clemenceau have done? What could he have done? But we had had the "Hang the Kaiser" election.

In connection with M. Clemenceau's death Dame Henrietta Barnett calls our attention to a passage in her "Life" of her husband describing how on one occasion (in 1884) M. Clemenceau, came with M. Waddington and Dr. Bridges (the Comptist and Poor Law Inspector) and spent a long day with Canon Barnett "seeing the workhouse, the schools, the streets, and looking into many of our neighbours' homes."

As we sat in the drawing-room after tea, he told us much of the sufferings of the French poor unaided by State provision, and this was the summing-up of the three men with their varied experience:

"If I could establish a poor-law system in France I would do it," said M. Clemenceau.

"If I could abolish it with a stroke of my pen. I would do it," said the Inspector.

"If I could reform it I would keep it," said my husband.

Since then reform has come.

The Perils Ahead for Turkey

Turkey has won and established her national independence in the face of tremendous odds. She has put through a colossal programme of educational, legal, and social reform. Her achievement in these fields are admitted on all hands. Yet the difficulties which face her to-day are very great. The elements of future danger for her are enumerated by a writer in *The World To-morrow*. They spring from the following considerations:

The present government is a military dictatorship. The members of the National Assembly were hand-picked and are under the almost complete control of President Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who is everywhere acclaimed as the Gazi or Victor. No opposition party is tolerated. The freedom of the press and assembly are drastically abridged. Most citizens are illiterate and wholly lacking in political experience. A truly representative government cannot be created for many decades to come. Everyone is constantly asking: "What will happen when the Gazi dies?" The answer is a deep mystery. He now wields illimitable power over the people. His prestige equals that of Lenin before the death of the latter. Without the adoration and loyalty of the masses for their victorious leader, the superlative achievements of the past seven years would have been utterly impossible. Only time can tell whether a worthy successor will be found or whether Parliamentary institutions will become sufficiently well established to conserve these marvellous gains or, on the other hand, whether the Gazi's death will usher in a period of chaos and retrogression.

A second cause of apprehension is the scarcity of men of high moral character for positions of leadership. Permanent success depends absolutely upon the securing of a sufficient number of officials with honesty, integrity and devotion to the public good. One hears disquieting stories about the prevalence of graft. Drinking among officials seems to be on the increase. The Gazi himself is notoriously dissolute. Indeed the rumour is persistent that he is drinking himself to death. At present most educated Turks are either agnostics or atheists and lack the disciplines of religion. Whether secularized Turkey can produce men of self-control, integrity, and public spirit in sufficient numbers remains to be seen.

The prevalence of an extreme form of nationalism is also a cause for concern. No one can question the values nationalism has brought to Turkey during the past decade. On the other hand, it is impossible to forget that excessive nationalism has frequently been a terrible curse to mankind. The dogma of national sovereignty has been exalted to such a height that it constitutes a major barrier to international co-operation. Turkish nationalism, like every other brand, is potentially unifying and constructive, but it is also as disruptive and devastating as a keg of dynamite. If ignited by some crisis it may explode with calamitous consequences. The Turks are confronted with a universal problem: how to conserve the values of their new nationalism and at the same time avoid its perils.

Agricultural Education

In 1921 the Third Session of the International Labour Conference adopted a recommendation urging the Governments to develop vocational agricultural education drawing their attention to the justice of ensuring that it should be made available to agricultural wage earners on the same conditions as to other person engaged in agriculture. Subsequently enquiries on this subject were carried on by a committee under the auspices of the International Labour Office. L. E. Matthæi, Chief of the Agricultural Service of the I. L. O. refers to the report of the Committee and gives a general outline of the broad principles involved in the *International Labour Review*.

The great variety of institutions necessary to cater for the different needs of rural populations is striking, and makes agricultural technical education an expensive business, especially as it has to be backed up by a series of model farms and often most costly experiment stations. The number of teaching institutions is sometimes not sufficient on account of the expense of maintaining them. On the other hand, a good deal of effort is also needed to get candidates to present themselves, and not every course or institution can automatically count on attracting pupils. Indeed, the really count on the willingness of rural populations to problem of the technical lines is a special problem be educated on technical lines is a special problem which will call for further remark. Here the voluntary bodies connected with agriculture—farmers' associations, agricultural societies, etc.—play a big role, as they have expressed themselves pretty well without exception in favour of technical training, and often greatly assist Governments in spreading knowledge of courses or, indeed, actually shouldering some of the work themselves, with or without financial assistance from the Government. In general, however, vocational agricultural education is both Government-controlled and publicly financed. An important system of private education exists in France, but this appears to be exceptional. Higher agricultural institutions have often benefited by private benefactions or have been originally founded by private gift, but even these are now practically all public, or semi-public, institutions.

The effort made to train the agricultural population in the pursuit of their occupation is therefore a public effort and should conform to the standards usually laid down for such public arrangements. Such education must be thoroughly inspected and controlled; it must be directed to useful ends; it must be non-sectarian and democratic, i.e., open to all; it must be kept within the limits laid down by parliamentary appropriations. But its opportunities should be adequate and fairly spread so as to serve the different parts of the country equally. Some of these requirements are by no means easy to fulfil and some are a long way from being properly fulfilled; but, on the whole, Governments have made great efforts to conform to these principles, and the state of healthy, agricultural education may be said to be healthy, though more of it is very much to be desired.

The Expulsion of Bukharin

Leaders of revolutions have a peculiar way devouring their predecessors. Danton sent the Girondist, Robespierre sent Danton, the Thermidorians sent Robespierre, to the guillotine, and so it goes on till the full cycle has come round. Is the Russian Revolution going to have its Thermidor soon? One by the one the more prominent leaders of the October Revolution and the companions of Lenin are being thrown overboard by the present dictator of Russia. The latest victim of the suspicions of Stalin is Nikolai Bukharin, the theoretician of the Communist Party and the President of the Third International. The significance of his expulsion is discussed in a leading article in *The Christian Science Monitor* of Boston.

The expulsion of Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin from the Political Bureau of the Communist Party has profound significance for Russia and the world. From the Communist standpoint his is a distinguished career. In contrast to Trotsky, he has always been considered orthodox—until lately. As far back as 1906, a mere lad of eighteen, he joined the party and became a leader in secret revolutionary student organizations. He also was successful in organizing strikes, both in Moscow and Petrograd. As a result he was chosen to the important Moscow committee of the party at twenty years of age. In 1910 he was arrested and exiled to Siberia, but escaped abroad, where he remained until the revolution of 1917. He lived in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden and America. In the course of his travels he came to know Lenin intimately and was considered one of his most brilliant pupils. Immediately after his return to Russia following the March revolution he became editor of several of the Bolshevik papers. During the same year he was elected a member of the central committee of the party.

No doubt his most important claim to renown is due to his editorship of *Pravda*, the official newspaper of the Communist Party, and to the fact that he succeeded Zinoviev as head of the Communist International. He is author of what to the Bolshevik mentality are notable volumes, ranking him as the chief theoretician of the party. They include "The Crisis of Capitalism and the Communist Movement," "World Economy and Imperialism," "The Proletarian Revolution and Culture," "The Theory of Historical Materialism" and "A B C of Communism."

Bukharin's downfall has its humorous side. He who anathematized Zinoviev and Trotsky is now himself anathema. He who directed world-wide propaganda is himself the victim of it. Then again, propaganda of Communist theory when its chief philosopher is officially declared bankrupt of authority?

Bukharin is now out of *Pravda*, out of the Communist International and out of the Political Bureau—completely shorn of power. His humiliation is a further index of the concentration of power in the hands of the dictator, Stalin, who has

gradually been antagonizing and expelling one after another of the old guard. First it was Trotsky, then Zinoviev, Kamenoff, Radek and a host of others. Finally Tomsky and Rykoff fell from grace, although not from office. To-day Bukharin is tossed overboard. Stalin remains in complete control of party and state.

There is nothing remarkable in the methods used; politicians the world over know them. Stalin is an opportunist, a middle-of-the-road man, who plays one revolutionist against another, always to the advancement of Stalin. On any moot point he can rely on winning support from the Central Committee of the party. He is now so powerful that it is doubtful if any group longer dares oppose him.

The expulsion of Bukharin has significance as an indication of the decline of the Communist International. Stalin is a firm believer in rebuilding economic stability, in establishing an industrial nation, in demonstrating Communism in Russia, minimizing for the present its efforts at revolutionizing the world. To this extent the displacement of Bukharin is of importance to other countries.

The Nobel Prize for Literature

The New Republic has some judicious remarks to offer on the Nobel Prize in literature, which we in this country, who are rather too prone to take it a little over-seriously, might well take to heart and ponder over:

The Nobel Prize for literature is the most widely advertised of the five Nobel prizes, cynics would say, because it is the only one which affects the fortunes of an important industry, that of publishing. It is also the largest of the prizes open to men of letters, and the only one that is truly international. The Swedish academicians who award it have not always shown great wisdom. Too often they have allowed their sense of news value to outweigh their literary judgment. Too often they have chosen windy philosophers who have achieved a momentary fame, or empty pretensions novelists, or didactic poets, or representatives of the minor European literatures who were giants only among their compatriots. Who reads Maeterlinck to-day, or Rudolf Eucken? Who is Jose Echegaray? Who in any country but France even remembers the name of Sully-Prudhomme? And who, on the other hand, would criticize the awards to Yeats, Shaw or Anatole France? Ideally, the prize should be given not as encouragement to a young writer or as vindication of a popular writer, but rather as tribute to a man of high talent, worthy of international and permanent recognition, who has devoted a lifetime to the art of letters. There are two or three writers in the world to-day who fulfil these qualifications: Thomas Mann in Germany, André Gide in France, and perhaps Maxim Gorky in Russia. By choosing the first of these, the Swedish Academy has added to the prestige of the Nobel Prize, and has atoned for some of the mistaken awards it has made in the past.

Science and Western Civilisation

That Western civilisation rests on science has become a cliché. It is one of those commonplaces whose truth nobody dreams of establishing or denying. Yet Professor J. B. Haldane would vigorously dispute the proposition in an article on "The Place of Science in Western Civilisation" in *The Realist*. He contends that

Science has furnished the material basis of our civilisation, but its ideas are still pre-scientific, and that is one of the principal reasons for the extraordinary misuse of applied science which is so characteristic of our age. The late war was a very good example of this misuse. I shall attempt to show that the future of Western civilisation depends, to a very large extent on whether it can incorporate into itself not only scientific invention, but scientific ideas and a scientific outlook.

So far as Governments and the ruling classes are concerned Professor Haldane is inclined to doubt whether they can ever accomplish this. He writes:

The general policy no doubt not stated in so many words, of the present Government and of Governments in the past, is to prevent, as far as possible, new applications of science, either to life or to industry.

There are certain exceptional individuals in our governing classes who know a little science themselves including some of the men at the head of our more successful industries; for example, Lord Melchett. But the politicians I think are pretty universally ignorant of it. The attitude of the majority of politicians on these matters may, I think, be summed up in the immortal words of Sir Auckland Geddes: "In politics in the affairs with which Governments have to deal, it is not accurate knowledge that matters—it is emotion!" A minority of politicians, however do possess a certain amount of accurate knowledge, but that accurate knowledge is almost invariably of law or of economics.

According to Professor Haldane, the outlook for European civilisation is dark indeed, if this attitude towards science persists among the ruling classes. The danger is both material and spiritual, but the danger of spiritual decay is more disquieting of the two. As Prof Haldane observes:

To-day it seems to me that transcendental ideals which take men out of the field of ordinary life are only active in the realms of science and art. But most artists do not reach anything but a limited public. The exception, a very important exception, due not to art but to science, is in the case of music. For the first time in history, thanks to broadcasting, millions of people are hearing first-rate intellectual music performed by first-rate artists. That will have, I think very great spiritual consequences, but I do not think that it will be sufficient to stem the general lack of belief in transcendental ideals, such as truth and beauty, which is going on.

He is beneficent in all sacrifices, is holy and is decorated with ornaments of a grey colour.

According to Hemadri Agni has one face, three eyes and four hands. In all other respects his *dhyana* tallies with the first one except that his wife is Savitri instead of Svaha.

Sri Sankaracharya in the *Prapanchasaratantra* (patala 6, verse 88) gives his *dhyana* to wit :

त्रिनयनमक्षतवदमौलिं सशुक्रं
शुक्रमक्षमनेकाकण्ठं समभोजनस्थम् ।
यन्मित्रवरयक्तिर्यस्ति कर्मोतिहस्तं
नमस्त कनकमालालङ्कृतां कृपाणम् ॥

According to the *Aditya-purana*, Agni is red in colour, has a protuberant belly, eyebrows, hair and eyes greyish. He holds rosary and Sakti in his hands. He has seven flames. His vehicle is a goat. The *Agni-purana* corroborates his vehicle and Sakti with—

इन्द्रो यन्नो गजार्द्धखगणोऽग्निश्च शक्तिमत् । ६

The sage Maya in his *Mayamalam* speaks of Agni as having a golden ram and Sakti. A description of Agni is given in the *Mahabharata* in which Agni has seven red tongues or red horses, seven faces, red throat, grey eyes, bright hair, gold Vijam.

Agni, however, generally has two faces, three legs and seven hands; his colour is red, vehicle ram, in front of him there will be flags and banners with ram as insignia.

IMAGES

The coins of King Agnimitra furnish us with the oldest figure of Agni, the fire god. In these Agni is found in a standing posture.

In Orissa and in South India there are numerous images of Agni in the *mandapas* of temples, but the vehicles are not uniform.

VEHICLE

In temples of Orissa there will be found both goat and ram as vehicle. In the temple of Hariharesvara in Mysore his vehicle is a goat. The horse is his vehicle in the temple of Kallesvara at Bagali.

Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, the first Protestant missionary of India, published in 1869 a book on the Malabar gods entitled *Genealogie der Malabarischen Gotter*. He has given the names of the vehicles of all the eight regents of the quarters. Rhea, in his *Chalukyan Architecture* has given a com-

parative table, whereas Ziegenbalg has mentioned only a goat for Agni. Rhea has given both goat and horse as the vehicle of Agni. But an iconographical study shows lotus, goat, ram and horse as his vehicle.

D. A. E. Vollheim da Fonseca of Berlin in his *Mythology of Ancient India* (*Mythologie des alten Indien*, 1856, p. 122) gives an image of Agni on a ram. Agni has two legs, four hands. He has spear in one hand, lotus in another, rosary in the third; the fourth hand is upon the neck of the ram. The crown is like a saw or an ancient *mana-danda*. According to the author the wife of Agni is Agneyi or Agnayi or Svaha.

Generally a goat is the vehicle of Agni. But why is a goat connected with Agni? *Upanishad* has it that Purusa divided himself into a male and a female. He created all beings. Aja or goat first came out of his mouth. Again Agni is his first creation. But 'Brahmano'sa mukhamasit.' Therefore Agni, Brahman and goat are supposed to have some mystic relation.

Krishna-Yajur-Samhita (1. 3. 3) has styled Agni as "Aja ekapad." This *Samhita* also prescribes a goat for Agni and Soma of the day before the pressing day (*sutya*) of the soma-sacrifice. Then a "Nirulha pasu" is prescribed in lieu of a goat. There is a big list of sacrificial animals in the *Asva-medha sacrifice* in all the *Samhitas* except the *Rik*. *Rigveda* gives only two names, viz., a goat and a horse. A goat is dragged before a horse in order to carry message to the gods. According to the *Sankhayana* (16. 3. 27-34) two goats are tied to the limbs of the horse. But *Vajasaneyi* (24.1) and *Maitrayani* (3.12) prescribe that one goat should be tied to the forehead of Agni and the other one to the navel of Pusa or Soma and Pusa both. *Taittiriya Brahmana* (3. 8. 23) has prescribed a goat for Agni.

In the courtyard of the Bhogamandapa of the temple of Ramachandi in Orissa, there is an image of Agni sitting on a ram. Formerly this image was mistaken for Bibhandaka by some scholars; Vishan Svarup ascertained this to be the image of Brihaspati. The late Mr. Manomohan Ganguly for the first time pronounced it to be an Agni image. The image is made of chlorite—2½-10' × 1-5' in measure. The head-dress of the image is excellent. The belly is very fat and the face has beard and moustache on it. According to Mr. Ganguly the beard is after the Muhammadan fashion.

There is a curious bearded image of Agni in the collection of Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, Calcutta. Agni is seated on a *Mahambujapitha* with his right leg upon the back of a ram. The slab has its edges carved with a very prominent representation of flames from the elbow to the crown of Agni's head and upwards. It is flanked on the left by a standing female figure in a *tribhanga* form holding a *lamandatu* in the left hand. A devotee sits in the right corner. The portion projecting from the representation of flames is carved with a flying female figure on either side. The slab contains an inscription.

There is an image of Agni at Doma Gandara on the river Sone. This place is about 5 miles from Ayodhya in Nilgiri. Seventeen years back this image was published by Prachyavidya-maharaja Nagendranath Vasu.

It is an image in standing posture. There is a sacred thread about its person. It has plaited hair, beard and moustache. Front portions of both hands are broken. The cloth on its person is nicely trimmed. There are two *kundals* on each side of it. Two *dvapalas* with sword and club in their hands stand on either side. In front of the *dvapala* on the right side there is a ram.

The Russian scholar C. Oldenburg published in 1903 pictures of three hundred gods found in Tibet. No. 286 is the figure of Agni sitting on a goat. Agni is two-handed having rosary in the right hand and the left hand rests on a water jar which he has on his lap. He has a head-dress set with five gems. On his neck he has a necklace of *Vaidurya-mani*. In Tibet Agni is called 'Me-lha' or Me-lha-dmo-po. In Mongolia he is called 'Gul-un-tagri.'

A marriage scene of Hara-Parvati has been shown on the eastern wall towards the south of the cave-temple of Ellora, called Dumar-Lena or Sitarchardi. Hara and Parvati have a flower each in their left hands. Lower down to the right sits near the sacrificial fire the three-faced Brahma as *purohita*. To the left are Mena and Himalaya with flowers and cocoa-nut in their hands. Higher up are gods and goddesses; to the left—Vishnu upon Garuda, Yama upon a buffalo, Vayu upon a deer, Agni upon a goat, and probably Varuna; to the right Indra upon Airavata and Nirriti upon Makara.

There is a very attractive image in the *maha-mandapa* of the Kailasa temple, Ellora. There is an image of Mahisa-mardini near the northern wall. She has killed the

Asura, divine beings have come to witness the scene. Indra upon Airavata, Agni upon a ram, Yama upon a buffalo etc. can be recognized.

There is an image of Agni in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The image is $1'-8\frac{1}{2}"$ $\times 11\frac{1}{2}"$. Here also Agni rides a ram. He has two hands, rosary in one and *lamandatu* in the other. The figure is of the form of a fat dwarf. Agni has a beard and flames all round his body. Its find spot is Behar. Among the images of the gods Yama, Surya, Agni and Sani are found with beards. Sometimes the image of Siva-guru has beard. There are five Siva-guru images in the Leyden Museum. Besides, images of Rishis may have beards. The image of Agastya is represented with a beard. The Eastern *Gopuram* of Chidambaram contains a bearded Agastya. Coomaraswamy has given a dancing figure of a bearded Rishi in his *Vishakarma*. It is a wooden image of the 7th or 8th century. There are also bearded Rishis in Havell's *Ideals of Indian Art*, Krishna Sastri's *South Indian Gods and Goddesses*, etc.

An image of Agni among *Asta-dikpalas* is very prominent in the Sarnath Museum. On page 318 (G. 21) of the catalogue, Davaram Sahni has wrongly identified the deities G. 24, contains the images of *Asta-dikpalas*. Agni here has his head surrounded by flames and has in the right hand *Abhaya* pose and something not discernible. He has a *lamandatu* in the left hand.

A flat ceiling in the antarala mandapa of the Harihareshvara temple is divided by four cross ribs into nine panels. In the central panel is *Isvara* standing in a niche surrounded by various small images. The remaining eight panels represent the *Asta-dikpalas* or regents of the eight cardinal points. Each is there mounted on his vehicle.

The *maha-mandapa* of this place is constructed in the form of a dome. A heavy stone has been let down through the crown or *sikhara*. In front of and behind this stone there are images of gods. In the lowermost spot upon a stone can be seen the figures of the *Asta-dikpalas*.

In the *Venuzopala* temple there are the images of the *Asta-dikpalas*. The ceiling of the chamber inside the *maha-mandapa* is nicely carved. The circular position rests upon four pillars. And in eight corners right under the beams are the eight beautiful images of the *dikpalas*.

The Badami temple in the Deccan com-

events are in progress in India; Europe pays too little attention to these coming events which may be of the greatest importance for the final phases of the oriental empire of England and also for the coming settling of accounts between the East and the West. The Indian National Congress has resolved that it will wait till the 31st December, 1929 to see if Great Britain gives Dominion Status to India. If, however, England takes no definite step before the end of this year towards the granting of Dominion Status to India, India will no longer be satisfied with such a position within the world empire of England but will cut off all connections with England and begin the struggle for complete independence. This resolution, moreover, is a compromise which was got through only with the help of the great personality of Gandhi who at first proposed a respite for two years while the radical wing of the Congress wanted immediately to proclaim the war of complete independence. Gandhi has in view nothing else than the battle of non-payment of taxes; younger Indian leaders however—it is significant that the present leaders in India are in the thirties of their youth—in spite of all the reverence they have for Gandhi, believe that the revolutionary movement in India cannot always be confined to the ways pointed out by him. In the coming battle which will break out in January, 1930, if before that time the Labour Government gives no encouraging gesture of coming relief with the same boldness and decision which it should in the case of Egypt and Mesopotamia, much will depend on who will play the rôle of the leader. The man who could have been the leader, a follower of Gandhi, who united in himself European

culture and the love of the masses—C. R. Das, died in the year 1925. Who will it be, Gandhi or some other leader, who can now unite the Hindus and the Mohammedans of India for combined activity?

The coming year will at all events see decisive and important events. The British Government has so far let the movements in India take their own course. It has not even stopped the trial of the 31 persons accused of conspiracy in Meerut. In this case partly communists, partly moderate Indian labour leaders and partly Indian nationalist leaders are involved. The Indian Government has decided that this trial should take place in Meerut and that without a jury, for the Government knows that no Indian jury would give the verdict of guilty of high treason on an Indian. Of course, the communists add strength to the national movement, but the help of the communists does not indicate that the Indian leaders themselves are inclined towards communism. By stopping this trial the British government could have given a friendly gesture which would have immediately relieved the strain that is now going on in India and would have also marked a new turn towards friendly understanding.

The excitement in India is now greater than at any time after 1921. The characteristically deliberative English temperament does not attach much importance to this fact. The Indian youth which has grown up during the last decade, to which the pre-war traditions are quite foreign, is now the decisive element in the public life of India. It has now learnt to believe that every British Cabinet yields only to those demands which are backed by force.

The Problem of the States

By C. Y. CHINTAMANI

OF the many problems by which India is confronted and on the wise solution of which depends her future to a great extent, hardly any one is more difficult than or nearly as delicate as the problem presented by the Indian States. An united, self-governing India presupposes that autonomous States with autonomous provinces shall together make up the future federal

India. There will necessarily be the difference between them, that while the latter will have governors appointed by the Crown from time to time, as at present, the former will still be ruled by their hereditary princes, but as constitutional heads of State and not as absolute monarchs. Such limitation of the rights they now exercise without owning responsibility to their

girl right? Had God indeed brought about their meeting? Why had He?

Suddenly, a clock on the wall struck eight. The girl started and cried, "Oh, I am awfully late. I must be off now." She took out a rupee from her handbag, saying, "I almost forgot the real object of my coming."

Jotin felt extremely unwilling to take the money from her, but he did not know how to refuse. He was furious with the clock for striking so loudly.

As the girl was about to get up, Jotin asked, "Won't I see you again?"

"It is difficult," said Ma Sakina.

"But did not you say that God had brought about our meeting?" asked Jotin eagerly. "Why should it all end like this? Could I not see you at your house?"

The girl hesitated. "Perhaps, mother would not like it," she said. "How long will you stay in Rangoon?"

"It is not settled," said Jotin. "I came here for a week or two, but I can stay on for months. There's nobody to say no."

Ma Sakina took out a pencil and a piece of paper from her handbag and wrote down something. "Here's the address of the shop, where I work," she said handing him the paper. "I get half an hour off, for lunch, at one o'clock. If you call for me, we can go out and have it together."

Jotin was ready to dance with joy. "I shall be sure to come," he said. "But mind, don't you forget and go out without me."

"No, no," said the girl. "I am not so forgetful. But still, leave me your address. If for some reason or other we have to postpone our appointment, I shall write to you."

Jotin wrote down his address. They left their tea untouched, paid their bills and left the restaurant.

The girl called a carriage and got in. "I usually take rickshaws," she said. "But I feel ashamed to be seen in this dress in an open rickshaw."

As the carriage drove off, the street seemed to become dark to Jotin. Even his heart seemed to feel empty. What had happened to him? Was this love at first sight? The girl was surely beautiful enough to inspire it. In that Bengali dress, she looked as fair as the very Queen of Heaven! And how sweetly she spoke! Yet she did not appear a bit forward or coquettish.

But the streets of Rangoon are not exact-

ly suited for romantic day-dreamings. Three or four rickshawmen came and stood in a row before Jotin, in the hope of getting a fare. Then a carriage joined them and hailed him loudly. Jotin came to himself with a start and bolted into the first rickshaw he saw and drove away home.

Kartik was not yet back. Jotin took off his outdoor garment, and stretched himself in an easy chair. He let his imagination full play. Even his cigarette was forgotten and it dropped from his mouth unheeded after a few moments.

Was he going to see her again? What would she say? Was Ma Sakina, too, attracted a little towards him? But this foreign name did not suit her at all. Jotin would call her Maya. Would the girl think him too presumptuous if he were to take her a small present to-morrow?

Kartik entered with a cough and broke through the chain of his thoughts. He put his walking stick in a corner, and began to unbutton his shirt. "How long have you been back?" he asked.

"Oh, long ago," said Jotin, lighting a cigarette.

"How did you enjoy yourselves? What did you talk about?"

Jotin had decided not to take Kartik in his confidence. "Nothing much," he replied in a non-committal way. "She returned the money, then went away."

Kartik looked at him with unbelief written large on his face. "Only that?" he asked. "She did not even leave her address?"

Jotin sat up. He blew rings of smoke in the air, then asked, "What are you driving at, may I know?"

Kartik was taken aback a bit at the evident displeasure of his friend. "Don't be angry," he said. "May not a friend feel a little interest in your romance?"

Jotin remained silent. Kartik began to talk on other subjects.

Next day Kartik did not give him any trouble at all. His vacation was over. He went off to his office, punctually at ten.

Jotin too finished his lunch soon and prepared to go out. He took some money with him, as he wanted to buy a present for Maya. She had been unkind enough to return him his rupee, so he was going to take his revenge by spending ten times as much on her.

He could not decide what to buy. He was totally inexperienced in this line. He

subjects may be distasteful to them, but their study of history should have taught the lesson that therein alone lies the safety and stability of their position. Nor need they think that it compromises their dignity, for what is good enough for their Sovereign, the King of England should be at least equally good for them as well.

The efforts made by the ruling princes who speak through the standing committee of the Chamber of Princes to get an authoritative declaration that their treaties were with the Crown and not the Government of India, and the success that unfortunately attended those uncommendable efforts so far as the Butler Committee went, created just misgivings in the minds of Indian public men as to the purposes and intentions of both those ruling princes and the British Government. Fortunately for India as well as the princes the Viceroy's announcement of Oct. 31 showed that the last word had still to be said on the subject and that it would be considered by the Round Table Conference to be convoked by His Majesty's Government. The plea of the princes has been so demonstrated by competent judges to be untenable that more need not be said on it now and here. The political and administrative relations of the princes and their States must in all circumstances and at all times be with the Government of India, howsoever it may be constituted, and not with a foreign State six thousand miles away across the high seas.

It is of the essence of a self-governing, federal India that there should be no autocratic and irresponsible government in any of the States or provinces comprising it. The ruling princes would probably say that their position *vis a vis* the Government of India must be higher than that of provinces while in the internal government of their territories they should enjoy the same freedom as is now theirs. Neither of these claims will help to bring about a federated India. I do not want to say any word against their rightful claim that treaty rights must be respected. But it should be evident to them that unless they

give timely assent to reasonable proposals urged in the friendliest spirit and devised with the sole motive of Swaraj for the whole of India, they will be retarding the achievement of this dearly cherished object and lose the sympathy alike of their own subjects and of their fellow-countrymen of what is now called British India. And once this happens, of what avail will their own or foreign bayonets be to them? It is not merely desirable but essential that they should propose and agree to terms which, while preserving their position as hereditary rulers of their States, will at the same time make them the trusted and honoured rulers of loyal and contented subjects, and patriotic citizens of India.

There can be no doubt about the views and wishes of the subjects of the princes. They are most eager for responsible government. It may be representative government in the beginning but must develop into responsible government within a reasonable period. They must have and be permitted to exercise in a lawful manner the full rights of citizens. Freedom of speech and of the press, and freedom of association and security of person and property must be theirs. In a word, the rule of law must be substituted for the reign of discretion. And the taxation revenues of the States (including land revenue) must be spent on objects and for purposes and in the manner approved by representative legislatures. It will not do for the ruling princes to say that they are acting for the best and in the interests of their people. This is what all autocracies say. And yet autocracies have ceased to be because the people affected by them were less satisfied than those who wielded autocratic power. Neither should they be excessively self-satisfied that no one complains except a few malcontents, professional agitators and "the gutter press." What the intelligentsia think today the masses will think tomorrow and when the former are despised or disregarded the latter will give a rude awakening to autocrats one disturbed morning.

cational workers from India go to these colonies every year and bring an immense amount of money for their institutions in India. What our colonial friends lack is discrimination in charity. The Indian Association in Mombasa has no money to send even important cablegrams to India, but let some religious fanatic go from India and he will get 2000 shillings from these very people who will not give a penny for a letter to be sent to India!

And why should not a few of us in India devote all their time and energies to study the problems of Greater India? Every one of us need not dabble in controversial politics. There is something else to be done. The problems of colonial Indians are vast and varied enough to demand the time and energies of a large number of our people of different tastes and qualifications. Take for example the work of education among our colonial Indians. Mr. Andrews told me that South Africa alone has need of dozens of teachers every year for several years to come. If we can send from India an educational commission of enquiry to the colonies it will do immense good to our cause of Greater India. I know some of our people in East Africa who could have easily spared Rs.20,000 in 1917 or 1918, when they were quite well off. Now they may feel sorry that while they have the desire they have no means to fulfil it. This sort of belated lamentation is in store for a good number of our merchants in the colonies.

Can we imagine the benefits that India will derive from Greater India of 2000 A. D.? Even to day our people in the colonies have been a source of great help to our countrymen at home. Has not the Akali movement received substantial help from the Canadian Sikhs? Did not the Gurukul at Kangri receive about a lakh of rupees from East Africa? Was not the Gurukul at Supa (Gujarat) established with East African money? And do not the Charotar Education Society and the School at Bhavanagar receive an immense amount of money from the East African colonies? And what shall I say of the Congress, which received not less than Rs. 80,000 from Indians overseas in the Tilak Swarajya Fund and which has not spent one-fifth of this sum for their cause?

How many doctors and barristers of India are earning a comfortable living in the colonies? And what is the amount of

money that comes from the colonies to India every year? The sum-total will not be less than a crore per year. And add to this the value of property owned by colonial Indians and it will come to several crores. But I must not attach too much importance to the financial aspect of the question. The gain to India and to the world from a cultural point of view will be very great indeed. Our own movements in India—whether beneficial or harmful—have their echoes in the colonies and if we have any ambition to spread our cultural ideas in the world we cannot find better messengers than Indians overseas who link us up with the world.

II

My dear—

'The apathy of India is contagious—there is hardly any life in our colonising activities.' There you are. You have rightly diagnosed the disease. I am just returning from a short tour in the important towns of my province and I came to the same conclusion. I visited Cawnpore, Lucknow, Benares and Allahabad and interviewed Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and several others on the problems of Greater India. Mahatmaji is ever ready to help the cause of Indians overseas but it is a crime to trouble him again and again. Mahatmaji has told us so often that we must act according to our own convictions but weak as we are we wish to lean on him and other leaders. A friend of mine put the thing quite appropriately. when he told me: 'We get an idea and we expect Mahatmaji to carry it out.' That is the mistake many of us have been making.

I had never thought of the Greater India of the future. I only thought there were thousands of our countrymen living overseas and they had their grievances to be redressed. That is all. It is for the first time that I realize that we have to build a "Greater India." This was the comment of a very intelligent friend of mine after I had spoken to him about my ideas of Greater India. It is a pity that very few of our leaders have an idea of the immense possibilities of Greater India. I wonder if they realize that Mahatma Gandhi is a gift of the Greater India to India. Even our religious organizations like the Arya Samaj have only a faint idea of the vast field which Greater India offers for the spread of Aryan culture. Yesterday I had the privilege of a long talk with



PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
President, The 44th Session of The Indian National Congress, Lahore



NOTES

Poverty in India

R. Rickards was in service in India more than a century ago. In his work on India published in 1828, referring to India, he wrote :

"It is thus that our revenue systems provide for the 'happiness and prosperity' of the natives of India. Their good is always the avowed object. Professions abound, and good intentions, I admit, are for the most part sincere. But the means adopted are an absolute bar to the accomplishment of our own wishes. The indispensable wants of Government must be supplied. A system, which inseparably links the great mass of the people with pauperism and beggary, is, consequently, enforced ; and because human beings so fettered cannot improve their condition, we think to relieve our own responsibility by illiberally charging the evil on immutable prejudices, and supposing or pretending to suppose, native Indians to be naturally incapable of moral improvement." (Vol. II. p. 266.)

The author, therefore, expressed the opinion that

"Poverty, therefore, in India, is universal ; our revenue system,—the sole cause."

In an earlier portion of the same work he wrote :

"Poverty—hopeless, helpless poverty—with its usual concomitants, apathy and despair is thus the unpitied, unredressed, lot of this most valuable and important race. Yet this is the system—these its principles, and this its operation—which uninformed persons in this country, and even some of the better informed abroad, are in the habit of holding up to admiration, as being peculiarly up to admiration, as being peculiarly well suited to the natives of India" (p. 123.)

According to him, dacoity in Bengal was "due to poverty of the people, pressure of revenue and the exaction of the revenue servants." (*Ibid*, vol. II. pp. 210-211.)

Valentine Ball was employed in the Geological Survey Department of the Government of India. Like many others of his class he was "a bird of prey and passage" in India and had hardly any sympathy with the natives of this country. However, he should be given the credit for saying the truth that the Indian *ryot* was the poorest being on this planet of ours. His book named

"Jungle Life," published just half a century ago, is a well-known book in Anglo-Indian literature. It was published from London in 1880. On page 71 of this work, he wrote .

Captain Burton in his work on the lake regions of Central Africa, writes as follows :

"The assertion may startle the reader's preconceived opinions concerning the savage state of Central Africa, and the wretched condition of the slave races, negroid and negro, but it is not less true, that the African is, in these regions, superior in comforts, better dressed, and better fed and lodged, and less worked, than the unhappy *ryot* of British India." (Vol. II. p. 278).

"In short, there are in India probably many millions of people whose means of subsistence are almost identical with those of the beasts that inhabit the jungles where they also live. The same wild fruits and leaves furnish the staple food of both. Those whose sympathies are often directed towards the Khedive's subjects—the fellaheen of Egypt—would do well to remember these, their fellow British subjects in India." (Valentine Ball's *Jungle Life in India*, London, 1880, p. 71).

Living authorities, including Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, has borne similar testimony to the poverty of the Indian masses.

The Vitality of the Hindus

Of the vitality of the Hindus Rickards wrote as follows :

"The invasion of the Roman Empire by the Northern barbarians, continued to desolate Europe from the beginning of the fourth century till about the close of the sixth ; at which time the ancient inhabitants were nearly exterminated ; little or no trace being left of their policy, jurisprudence, arts or literature ; 'new forms of government, new laws, new manners, new dresses, new languages, and new names of men and countries, were everywhere introduced.' (Robertson's *History* Charles I., vol. I. p. 12.) Italy, in particular, in the eighth century, is said to have been overrun with wood, or laid under water, the habitation of wild beasts, and almost destitute of human inhabitants. Although the spirit of rapacity and cruelty was quite as strong in the Eastern as the Western conquerors, its results were very different. The Hindoos of India, though persecuted and

oppressed, from religious as well as avaricious views, were never so completely prostrated as the vanquished people of ancient Europe. The former retained, through ages of devastation and rapine, and still exhibit unimpaired, the manners, the usages, the institutions, the languages, arts, and sciences, of their fathers. Their persons were prostrated by the superior might of the Mussalman sword, but their minds were never so degraded as to make a voluntary abandonment of their natural rights. They did not court slavery as a refuge from other miseries and oppressions. Whatever brute force may have extorted, they never sought to change an independence into a conditional property for the inglorious distinction of becoming vassals to a superior lord."

Here in a foot-note Rickards writes that "Dr. Robertson, in treating of the state of society in Europe from the seventh to the eleventh century observes :

"Such was the spirit of tyranny which prevailed among the great proprietors of land, and so various their opportunities of oppressing those who were settled on their estates, and of rendering their condition intolerable, that many freemen in despair renounced their liberty, and voluntarily surrendered themselves as slaves to their powerful masters. This they did, that their masters might become more immediately interested to afford them protection, together with the means of subsisting themselves and their families. Such a surrender was termed *obvinctio*. The reason given for it is the wretched and indigent condition of the person who gives up his liberty. It was still more common for freemen to surrender their liberty to bishops or abbots, that they might partake of the security which the vassals and slaves of churches and monasteries enjoyed, in consequence of the superstitious veneration paid to the saint under whose immediate protection they were supposed to be taken. That condition must have been miserable indeed, which could induce a freeman voluntarily to renounce his liberty, and to give up himself as a slave to the disposal of another. The number of slaves in every nation of Europe was prodigious. In the greater part of the inferior class of people in France were reduced to this state at the commencement of the third race of Kings. The same was the case in England (Rob., *Charles I.*, vol. I, p. 277).

"In those times of anarchy and disorder which became general in Europe after the death of Charlemagne, when there was scarcely any union among the different members of the community, and individuals were exposed, single and undefended, by government, to rapine and oppression, it became necessary for every man to have a powerful protector, under whose banner he might range himself, and obtain securities against enemies whom he could not singly oppose. For this reason he relinquished his allodial independence, and he subjected himself to the feudal patronage of some might find safety under the patronage of some respectable superior. In some parts of Europe this change from allodial to feudal property became so general, that he who possessed land had no longer any liberty of choice left. He was obliged to recognize some liege lord, and to hold of him."—(Rob., *Charles I.*, vol. I, p. 267).

Resuming his observations, Rickards writes

with reference to the Hindus' refraining from surrendering their personal freedom :

"In this respect the advocates of Hindoo degeneracy would be forced to admit that a comparison between the inhabitants of the East and West is not favourable to the assumed innate superiority of the latter." (R. Rickards' *India*, vol. II, pp. 286-288)

This author did not believe in the innate inferiority of the Hindus. He truly observed that :

"Similar states of society will produce similarity of usages and condition, among nations far removed, and holding no intercourse with each other. Dr. Robertson quotes a profound remark, on this head, by a philosopher 'that the characters of nations depend on the state of society in which they live, and on the political institutions established among them ; and that the human mind, whenever it is placed in the same situation, will in ages the most distant, and in countries the most remote, assume the same form, and be distinguished, by the same manners.' (Robertson's *Charles I.*, vol. I, p. 263.) The asserter of Hindu incapacity would do well to reflect on this remark. If the political state, and the social institutions of this people be advisedly weighed—if the darkness and despotism, of which they have been the victims for so many centuries, be fairly estimated, if the facts contained in this treatise, be contrasted with the stationary, and at times retrograde state of Europe, during the middle ages, and from the same causes—and if it be also considered that human improvement must be rooted in the mind and that man can neither advance his conditions nor moral qualifications, unless the soul within him be moved to expansion by the circumstances in which he is placed, we shall not only perceive the force of the parallel, but be enabled more satisfactorily, and more rationally, to account for the observed torpor of Indians than by ascribing it to so vague and undefinable a cause as immutability of caste, or natural imbecility of character." (Vol II, pp. 332-333.)

Rickards makes some other observations on this head in the following passage :

"The constitution of their (Hindus) Society would always have admitted their gratifying their tastes, and the natural bias of their minds, to the same extent as is now perceptible, and to much greater, if the gates of knowledge had been fairly opened—the means of attaining it honestly encouraged—and laws and regulations enacted, really calculated to improve their condition. But in these respects our system, both social and political, has unfortunately been fraught with obstruction and discouragement. In spite of these impediments, however, the light of knowledge, irresistible in its progress has at length penetrated the barrier of Eastern darkness." (Vol. I, p. 115.)

The observations of Rickards, quoted in this and the previous note will furnish impartial thinkers with some data for ascertaining how much of the intellectual, moral, economic and physical condition of the inhabitants of India is due to their own

character and to the constitution of their society and how much to other causes.

"Notes" in this Issue

The editor writes his "Notes" generally during the last few days of the month. As he will have to start for Lahore on the 22nd of December to preside over two conferences and take part in some other conferences there, he will not be able to write on many important topics for this, the January issue. As far as practicable and necessary, these will be dealt with in the February issue.

"Great Charter of Right for Backward Natives" Arrives Too Late !

The following extracts are taken from a Reuter's telegram, dated London, the 12th December :

In the House of Commons today a resolution which was described as the "great Charter of Right for the backward native population of the Empire," was moved by Mr. Marley. (Labour) demanding, *inter alia* that natives should not be exploited as a source of low-grade labour and also appealing for direct Imperial control of native policy, where natives were not yet fitted for self-government and the establishment of franchise and legal rights without regard to race or colour.

Mr. Roden Buxton, who seconded, urged the need of framing new provisions to safeguard native rights and remove the grievances of natives in all British colonies.

The Duchess of Atholl drew attention to the existence among certain African tribes, particularly in East Africa, of the practice of inflicting a cruel pre-marriage rite on young girls, which was cruelly performed in public, and urged the Government to abolish the practice altogether like *suttee*.

Dr. Drummond Shiels, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, replying to the debate paid a tribute to the 60,000 colonial civil servants in different parts of the Empire and said that the Government fully accepted the trusteeship of natives in the spirit and in the letter of declarations of the past Government.

The Government were already dealing with the matter raised by the Duchess of Atholl, but considerable efforts were required to end the practice. If a satisfactory international convention to limit forced labour were produced at next year's conference, it would be similarly applied in all British colonies.

The Government's policy as regards land was that native land should not be alienated except for public utility purposes and even then only in return for an equivalent amount of land. Education and development of self-governing institutions were most important requirements, and Committees were working out plans for better conditions in the Colonies.

Every right-thinking person will share the Duchess of Atholl's earnest desire for the suppression of the cruel practice referred to by her. But she need not have brought in *suttee*, dead and gone these hundred years.

The relevancy of Dr. Drummond Shiels' compliment to the 60,000 colonial civil servants may well be questioned. Evidently, as will be shown below, the natives have been exploited as a source of low-grade labour and their land has been taken away from them. Otherwise Mr. Marley need not have moved his resolution. The following passage from a review article by Lord Olivier in *The International Review of Missions* for July, 1929, throws some light, but not as much as is necessary, on the actual condition of the natives in South Africa.

What is wrong with South Africa at the present time is that its social conditions are essentially and flagrantly unjust and oppressive to the native population. Where this is in some less degree the case, as in the old Cape Province, the happier conditions are due to the tremendous fight put up by Dr. Philip and his local associates and those who supported him among the survivors of the slave-emancipation movement in England which was inspired by the same principles. Everywhere else in South Africa the native population has been refused civil equality, and outside of limited and insufficient native reserves, has been deprived of all rights in the land and homes on which it was bred.

Comparing the rural revolution of Europeans and Natives it is the fact there are now 45½ acres of land per head appropriated for Europeans to each acre per head for Natives. Great masses of Natives have nowhere to live except upon the large farms of white men, taken from their fathers and forefathers by conquest, or upon the vast areas of undeveloped estates owned by land companies. The Natives living on farms cannot go elsewhere to seek labour, because they are only allowed to reside there on condition of working for the proprietor either at the wage of six to eight shillings per month or without wages by way of rent for their tenancies. The Native, resident on the lands not occupied but only owned by Europeans, are heavily taxed with a view to driving them into the labour market. All Natives in employment are bound by the provisions of Masters and Servants Laws which make it a criminal offence for them to leave their employment. This is true universally and not merely of Natives employed on farms. Native workers cannot therefore assist themselves by combination to strike work for higher wages. In order to assist the control of them they are bound by Pass Laws forbidding them to move from one place to another without written authority from their employer.

Those resident on the farms are miserably poor and have no means of bettering their condition. Those resident in the reserves, which are overcrowded, are getting poorer because the great majority (in some parts ninety per cent) of the

able-bodied men have to leave home to work in the mines or in the towns, leaving an increasing burden upon the women in the work of food production for the local communities. Upon this impoverished stratum of unskilled labourers the whole structure of South African society has been built.

If in South Africa the social conditions "are essentially and flagrantly unjust and oppressive to the native population," if "the Native population has been refused civil equality, and, outside of limited and insufficient reserves, has been deprived of all rights in the land and homes on which it was bred," one does not know what the heavenly civil servants have done to deserve the tribute paid to them by the colonial Under-Secretary. They must render service to the natives equivalent to their salaries drawn from the wealth produced in the land of and by the natives.

The "Great Charter" appears to have arrived too late. When there is little land left in the possession of the natives, almost all of it having been taken away from them, what is the use of saying that land should not be alienated from them? When a man is dead or has been slain, it is farcical to pass a resolution that apparatus for resuscitation should be provided. As regards laying down that the natives should not be exploited as a source of low-grade labour, the paragraphs reproduced above from Lord Ohriar's article shows how they have been practically reduced to the position of landless serfs who must slave for the white man or die. The British Parliament often serves as a stage to enable some Britishers to pose as great philanthropists and display their histrionic talents.

Injured Innocence !

Lord Inchcape and all the other philanthropists who lighten the burden of wealth of the heathens in order that the latter, thus relieved of the encumbrance of worldliness, may be better able to make their journey to heaven, are sorely grieved that there is a proposal which may deprive them of their self-imposed mission of doing good. In the course of his presidential speech at the P. O. Company's last annual meeting, that typical altruist dwelt at length on the situation in India. About Mr. Haji's Coastal Reservation Bill, he observed :

"The Coastal Reservation Bill had been introduced to prevent ships trading between Indian ports

unless they are Indian-owned. If the Bill is passed into law by the Legislative Assembly as well as by the Council of State and receives the Governor-General's assent, it means that no British-owned and no British-registered vessel can trade between Bombay and Karachi and intermediate ports. No British ships will be permitted to trade between the Coromandel Coast and Burmah. British Companies which built, fostered and made this trade by up-to-date fleets will have to close their doors as far as these trades are concerned."

This is true. But this trade is the birthright, not of British Companies, but the people of India, and the latter are only trying to recover their birthright. Before the British Companies "built, fostered and made this trade," there *was* coastal traffic carried on by Indian ships, and there were a thousand ports, instead of the present half-a-dozen or so. What the British Companies did was done by killing Indian shipbuilding and coastal traffic. And coastal traffic in Indian waters by Indian ships is being prevented from being revived or maintained, by various iniquitous tricks adopted by British shipowners. Some people should pay the penalty for the wicked destruction of India's mercantile marine. And who should justly pay, except the British shipping Companies who are making enormous profits in Indian waters? If British ships cannot in future ply in Indian waters, they may try to do so in other parts of the ocean. During a century or more, British shipping Companies have made such enormous profits from Indian coastal traffic that, on the whole, any possible future loss must have been already more than made up for by those profits. Every nation, people or group of people has the inalienable right to protect itself by every legitimate means. Indians would be wrong, if they sought to oust Britishers from their own seas. But as Indians have been unrighteously ousted from their own waters by the Britishers, the former have every right to act in self-defence to get back what they have lost. It cannot be helped, if the usurping Britishers are hit hard in the process. The ghosts of the countless Indians, with their families, who while on earth were supported by India's coastal traffic even so late as the East India Company's days, must be grimly amused at Lord Inchcape's very righteous indignation.

The marine lord proceeded next to echo some words spoken by Lord Birkenhead. So the Birkenhead tone still reverberates, as the following words of the shipping magnate show :

could not ask Kartik; not that Kartik would have been of much help, even if he had. At last, in desperation, he entered a large shop, before which he had been standing so long. He could get here anything he wanted.

A shop girl came forward and asked, "What can I give you?"

Suddenly, a brilliant idea flashed across Jotin's brain. Why not consult this girl? She must know. He hoped the girl would not mind.

He hesitated a little, then said, "I want to buy a present for one of my lady friends. Can you suggest something?"

The girl smiled. "If she is young," she said, "you can give her a nice box of chocolates."

Jotin saw no objection to that. He took the most expensive box he could find, and, after thanking the girl went out.

He easily found the shop where Maya worked. It was a big shop on one of the larger thoroughfares. As he got down from his carriage, he looked at his watch. It was still five minutes to one. He decided to enter and buy something. It would serve the double purpose of whiling away the time, as well as announcing himself.

He saw Maya, as soon as he entered. She was busy, serving a very stout lady. Another girl approached him. Jotin asked to be shown some white silk.

The girl brought forward three or four kinds of stuff. Jotin chose one and bought some three yards of it. As he was going out, he glanced at Maya. She had finished her work, and was ready to go out.

"I have kept my carriage waiting," said Jotin; "where do you want to go?"

"If I get into the carriage with you," said Maya, rather shyly, "everyone here will notice it, and joke about it."

"What's to be done, then?" asked Jotin. "shall I dismiss the carriage?"

"No, no," said Maya; "let's go, this once. There is a Chinese tea shop, near by. We shall go there."

They got into the carriage and Maya told the coachman where to drive. As it started Jotin said, "I have brought you a small present."

"What's it?" asked Maya. "Let me see." Jotin took out the box. "What a beauty!" said Maya. "But why waste money like this?" Jotin could have said much in answer, but he restrained himself.

They sat in the tea shop talking. Maya

was much interested in Bengal and the Bengalis. She wanted to know everything about them. "If you stayed here for some-time," she said, "I would have learned Bengali from you."

"Well, I am in no hurry to depart," said Jotin.

The half an hour passed all too quickly. Maya got up, saying, "I must go now."

"Shall I call for you again, to-morrow?" asked Jotin.

"No please," said Maya rather embarrassed. "If you come everyday, it will give rise to much talk. I shall write to you and let you know, where we can meet."

Jotin felt keenly disappointed. Maya looked at his face and said, "You are still here for sometime, are not you? We shall meet frequently."

Jotin returned straight home as soon as Maya left. He felt amazed at himself. He had never expected to become infatuated in this way. How was all this going to end? He could not live here for ever. If Maya agreed to marry him, he could take her to Calcutta, but as long as his mother was living, this was out of the question. He could get engaged and wait till the old lady's death. But would Maya agree to wait on indefinitely? They did not trust Bengalis overmuch, and it was more than likely that Maya would refuse. And even if they married, according to what form should they marry? Nowadays, there was much talk of *shuddhi*, or purification. If he could know, who Maya's father was, then he could bribe the Brahmins and priests into accepting her within the folds of Hinduism.

But such things could never be arranged in secret. If the old lady came to know anything about these, it would mean utter ruin for him.

When Kartik returned from office the two friends had their evening tea and went out to see the Shwedagon Pagoda. Jotin remained pre-occupied all the time. He began to feel angry with Maya's mother. Why did she harbour such hatred against the Bengalis? Otherwise, he could easily have called upon them. These old ladies were at the root of every mischief in creation.

Next day he waited impatiently for Maya's letter. He did not know whether it would come by hand or by post. If Kartik saw it, he would draw his own conclusion. He kept ready some plausible excuses.

It came by post after all. Fortunately, it

"When the proposal was originally put forward, it was pronounced by the then Secretary of State for India as monstrous. If the Bill becomes law, it will be made a precedent and will doubtless be followed by measures affecting tea and coffee plantations, coal-mines, cotton, jute, paper factories, stonequarries, inland steamers, one hundred and one other industries, banks, insurances, newspapers, etc. It would mean that industries established by British capital will have to be closed down and will probably be followed by a bill under which no clothing is to be worn unless made in Indian factories belonging to Indians. In fact, the present Bill is the thin end of a wedge to drive the British mercantile community out of the country."

If the mirror of justice were held up to the exploiters, they would be able to recognise real monstrosities elsewhere.

The speaker anticipated a whole series of disasters to British business in India following in the wake of the Haji Bill. At present Indian legislators have no intention to proceed in the way apprehended by him; but his fears no doubt may very well provide them with suggestions as to the directions in which legislation may be necessary to enable Indians to get back their birthright. If in course of time there be no industries and business concerns in India except those owned by Indians, or if there be only a few, not owned by them, that is what ought to be and similar is the case in all really free countries. If that results in some loss to British capitalists, that would be but entirely just nemesis; for they had no moral right to make India their milch cow. Moreover, they have already made such enormous profits, that the loss would perhaps not be loss but only a deduction from or diminution of profits. And perhaps, observing the trend of things, they would be able to transfer their investments and activities elsewhere before any possible crash.

Lord Inchcape went on to say:

"British Viceroy, British Governors, British capital and British enterprise have developed India. The British army has protected its millions. These factors made India great as she is to-day. You may have noticed that two Indian merchants have recently been elected to the Baltic Exchange. We do not discriminate in this country against the King's subjects. I earnestly trust that this Coastal Reservation Legislation would not be sanctioned as it is discriminating against Great Britain and its mercantile community. There should be fair field for all. I may be wrong but I feel assured that it would be a death-blow to India's progress, prosperity and credit which is mostly provided by Britain if discrimination is adopted against British enterprise."

It is true British Viceroy, British Governors, and British enterprise have developed *modern* India But for whose benefit mainly? They have done so in British interests, and in the process some Indians also have made some money. As for British capital developing India, the historical truth is, as we have shown in this Review repeatedly, Britishers did not originally bring any capital to India. They made money here, and transferred some of it to Britain and invested the balance in India. These sums masqueraded as British capital. At present British capitalists invest their own money here. But as originally "the Bengal plunder" helped to develop Britain, there is probably not much British capital invested in India of which at least the nucleus was not derived from India.

"The British Army has protected its millions." Not the British army entirely, but the Indian sepoys also. And the British and Indian fighters and officers are all paid by India. The protection is not an act of altruism. If India were not protected, Britain would have to cease to draw her crores upon crores of annual income from here.

The speaker talks of making India "great." Why, this "great" India contains the poorest of all populations in any civilized country.

"We do not discriminate in this country against the King's subjects," because you do not need to. You discriminate *here* in India against Indians in every way necessary for your power, prestige and profit. Only *two* Indians have been *recently* admitted to the Baltic Exchange. Why not more, and why not long ere this?

Lord Inchcape speaks of a fair field for all. When Indians have been crippled and handicapped in so many ways, the talk of a fair field sounds like mockery. If Britain and India had equal political and economic freedom and power, then there could be sincere and honest talk about a fair field for all and no favour to anybody. As there has been discrimination against and ousting of Indians, there must be practically some discrimination against Britishers in India and ousting of them in order that Indians may be restored to their birthright and the two peoples may be quits.

Calcutta Congress Accounts, 1928

There has been much wrangling about the last Calcutta Congress accounts. We do not wish to take part in them. But one thing has struck us as rather odd. One item in the accounts shows that the Imperial Restaurant's bill for food and drink supplied to "the leaders" amounted to Rs. 6,880 8-0. This was only for "European" food and drink. The "camp" expenses of "the leaders" has again been shown as Rs. 17,954-1-6. What items are comprised in this? Who were "the leaders"? Evidently they were leaders both in politics and gastronomy, and real servants of *daridra narayan* to boot!

St. Andrews' Dinner

"Like master, like man," they say. Similarly one may say, "Like *guru*, like *chela*." And if its converse be true, St. Andrews, the patron saint of the Scots, must have been rather fond of conviviality, instead of being a shrunken, sour-faced saint. For Scots celebrate his day every year by eating and drinking to their fill—not by fasting in the Hindu fashion. And these dinners are marked by postprandial eloquence also. Out of the fulness of the stomach the mouth speaketh.

At the last St. Andrews' dinner in Calcutta, Mr. Fraser Blair, the journalist, was a principal speaker. Let us sample his speech. Here is a gem:

"It is, as Lord Reading has pointed out, a partnership; and the terms of a partnership cannot be varied by either party at will and without reference to the other; nor is it feasible for the junior to dictate to the senior, or to grab the entire assets of the firm. These facts are apt to be neglected in the turmoil of controversy and in the impatient quest after an ideal which has never yet been realized anywhere on land or sea. But they govern the situation and they cannot be safely ignored."

The British came to India as traders, and even now their Empire is run for profit. It is, therefore, quite appropriate for any of them to speak of the governance of India as a partnership. But we do not at all admit that anybody has any right to India except those who have been living here or propose to live here as permanent inhabitants from generation to generation. India is not the only country which has been conquered and occupied by outsiders

for some generations or centuries. And when subject countries become free, liquidators are not appointed to divide the assets between the outsiders and the permanent dwellers.

But supposing the administration of India is a partnership, who is the senior and who the junior partner? It is a fact of history that India was a civilized country long before the peoples by whose mingling the British nation was born, and ages before the British came here. It is also a fact that Indians, who have been in possession all along except for about two centuries, are much larger in number than Britishers. There is also no question about the fact that, whoever may enjoy the fruits of labour, it is the people of India who do most of the work. Hence, unless "might is right" outweighs every other consideration, it is the Indians who ought to be styled the senior partner. But, as we have said before, we do not admit the fact of the partnership at all.

So long as Englishmen could, they did not want to part with any power. When they perceived that Indians had become politically conscious and come to realize that the country was theirs, they tried to keep them quiet with lollipops. Finding that these would not now do, they talk of partnership and their being the senior partner. If things do not take altogether a different turn in the near future, Englishmen may yet talk of their being the junior partner. The next step would perhaps be for them to plead that they were salaried assistants and ought not to be turned adrift without a pension!

But there would not have been any such talk if Indians had been sufficiently united and organized. More unexpected things have, however, happened than Indians becoming united and organized. So, whether you call them junior or senior partner, it is not utterly impossible that they may yet be in a position to dictate terms. But we hate to bluff.

As for grabbing the entire assets of the firm, we do not want a pic of what really belongs to Englishmen, though it would be quite equitable to ask them to refund what they have taken from India over and above their remuneration for services rendered. We want only what in every country belongs to the children of the soil. We want what does not belong to Englishmen and what they did not create, namely, the soil of India and

what grows there, its rivers and their use, its mountains and forests, its mineral wealth, the seas which encompass it and traffic on their waters, and India's sky and ether. The factories built here by Englishmen with their own money we do not want, nor the machinery there and their products. But whatever has been built up with the revenues of India, we certainly want.

Mr. Blair says that Indians are impatiently running after an ideal which has never yet been realized anywhere on land or sea. Indeed! The facts of history are entirely the other way. No "birds of passage" have ever succeeded in remaining masters of a country permanently. And that Britishers are birds of passage, has been admitted by Mr. Blair himself in the following passage:

"We have been called 'birds of passage.' Let us examine the accusation and see where it takes us. Putting aside Government officials—who, of course, have always been altruists to a man—what is the aim and object of the average Britisher who comes out to India to engage in trade, in commerce, or in one of the professions? Isn't it generally to make as much money as he can in the shortest time possible, and then to make tracks for home at such a pace that you can't see him for the dust?"

British Government officials in India "altruists to man"? Shades of the Lee loot! But Mr. Blair was perhaps pulling some fellows' legs. Scots *can* be pawky, you know

Bengal Governor at St. Andrews' Dinner

In the course of his speech at the Calcutta St. Andrews' dinner, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal referred to "methods of agitation based upon suspicion, mistrust and racial hatred." To take the last item first. He is mistaken in thinking that the leading agitators at any rate agitate against the present form of Government, because Englishmen as such are hated. Englishmen in general we do not hate. On the contrary, we have a genuine love and respect for their great poets (not Kipling of course) and other great authors, their fighters for liberty like Hampden, Milton, Pym, etc., their Wilberforces, Byron as a champion of Greece, and so on. English literature has made many of us love British scenery in imagination. Many of our boys and girls look back with pleasure on the days they spent in British universities, if they had not received bad treatment. No, Englishmen as Englishmen we do

not hate. But we do not like those of them who are oppressors, exploiters, ousters, bullies, bounders, promise-breakers and cads.

His Excellency was quite right in speaking of agitation based on suspicion and mistrust. Englishmen in general are suspected. But those whose profession and practice tally are respected, loved and trusted. But such men are rare, particularly among those who run the Empire. The Governor of Bengal should not blame Indians for suspecting and mistrusting Englishmen. Has he read what Lord Lytton, who was a Viceroy in India in the last century, wrote confidentially? Dealing with official promises in an official despatch to the Secretary of State for India he wrote on 2nd May 1878:

"We all know that these expectations never can, or will, be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them we have chosen the least straightforward course.

"Since I am writing confidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and of India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken overy means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear."

That owing to such "cheating" and promise-breaking "suspicion and mistrust" still quite naturally persist will be clear from the following reply given by Mahatma Gandhi to a cable from Mr. Fenner Brockway, M. P., urging co-operation in view of the Round Table Conference and the Viceroy's declaration with regard to Dominion Status:

"He would want some absolute guarantee that things are not what they seem. The two Parliamentary debates on the subject of the Viceroy's declaration contain nothing to enable him to approach the conference with confidence and safety.

He would far rather wait, watch and pray than run into what may after all be a dangerous trap, though it may be quite unintended.

The Montagu reforms (he proceeds) have proved illusory and have increased the burdens on the poor. The price paid for them is too heavy and he does not wish to pay a price for Dominion Status or by whatever name the reality is called.

Why should a creditor have to pay anything for repayment of debts due to him? asks Mahatma Gandhi.

He adds that he will follow the methods he has adopted throughout his life. For example, "in South Africa," he proceeds, "immediately I found that General Smuts meant well I capitulated, but I did so after taking a written assurance from him."

No declarations, fresh promises, or sweet words can remove this suspicion and

mistrust. Only straightforward and adequate action in fulfilment of promises can do so. Least of all can threats like that contained in the following extract from the Bengal Governor's speech produce the desired result:

"Whilst ready to regard generously any orderly and legitimate expression of political feeling, they (the Government) must also be prepared to meet any emergency which in any way threatens to disturb or interfere with the performance of the peaceful avocations of the inhabitants of this Presidency."

We do not like that word "generously." However mighty the British Government and its representatives may be, India does not crave any generosity from them but only justice. The words "orderly and legitimate expression of political feeling" coming from British bureaucrats excite the risibility of politically-minded Indians. Such expressions are practically meaningless. For, it is not a third, impartial and neutral, party which decides what is orderly and legitimate, but Britishers and their servants, and that according to laws made by themselves.

The Governor's threat is also superfluous. For the executive authorities do not usually show any forbearance and refrain from setting the penal machinery in motion whenever British interests of any kind require it. The threat is also bound to be futile. For, as soon as a feasible plan of civil disobedience has been worked out and when such non-violent direct action is required, men will not be wanting to come forward to suffer the consequence. Threats will not deter them.

His Excellency does not stand alone in his desire that the inhabitants of Bengal should go on performing their peaceful avocations. We, the people of Bengal, particularly want it. But the pity is, there are not enough such avocations to go round. There is extensive unemployment, both among the literate few and the illiterate many. Agriculture alone and that of a rather primitive type, cannot feed so many mouths. The indigenous industries of Bengal are moribund or dead. New ones have not taken their place. Bengal's trade and industries, such as there are, are in the hands mainly of outsiders. The education given in schools, colleges, and universities to only a fraction of the population mainly produces quill-drivers and tongue-waggers and increases the acuteness of the problem of unemploy-

ment. A radical change is required in the governance of the province and its educational and economic arrangements. If the Government does not itself make this change, it is no use threatening those who want to do so themselves.

Initiative of Conference with Viceroy

The Statesman (Dec. 21) writes with respect to the Viceroy's conference with five leaders, that "the initiative for the conference, it is understood, emanated not from the Viceroy but from the leaders, and it is noteworthy that these leaders were prominently connected with the boycott of the Simon Commission." If this is true, the leaders or those among them who solicited an interview with the Viceroy have lowered themselves and India in world-public opinion. It was given out in the papers some time ago that Mahatma Gandhi was unwilling to meet the Viceroy and had to be persuaded to do so. From whom did the initiative then come?

Debate on Mr. Brockway's Motion

The debate on Mr. Fenner Brockway's motion in the House of Commons was conducted with decorum and the tone of the speeches was polite and friendly—different from the Birkenhead tone. But we do not think it is convincing and wholly satisfactory. If anybody says that Mr. Fenner Brockway and Mr. Wedgwood Benn meant well and were sincere, we have no quarrel with him. But good intentions are of no use to us until they bear fruit in appropriate and adequate action and sincerity is proved beyond doubt by exactly the same thing.

Mr. Fenner Brockway's motion was in these terms:

The House welcomes the evidence of co-operation of the Indian representatives in the settlement of the constitutional question and relies on the Government of India to encourage goodwill by sympathetic conduct of its administrative and executive functions, particularly in relation to expressions of political opinion.

The terms of the motion do not contain any "evidence of co-operation of the [British] representatives in the settlement of the Constitutional question" along the lines desired by Indians. It merely says in effect:

"You Indian representatives are very good boys in that you want to co-operate with us." But it does not say: "We British representatives want to co-operate with you." There is a good deal of difference between the two attitudes. British bureaucrats in India have always wanted our co-operation in carrying out *their* policy. But what we want is that Parliament should co-operate with *us* in giving effect to the unanimous desire of all Indian parties except the Independence-wallas, for Dominion Status as the minimum. We use the word 'unanimous' advisedly. The differences among Indians are about details. But all parties want a Dominion form of Government. Of course, we exclude the Independentists as above, not because they are an unimportant factor—that they are not—but because they do not want anything from the British Parliament; they want to work out their own salvation.

The motion does not contain any indication that the House of Commons will co-operate with India in framing a Dominion constitution for it.

In the next place, the motion says that the House relies on the Government of India to do a thing which that Government has hitherto shown itself unwilling or incompetent to perform. There has been, in fact, great persecution of political opinion under Lord Irwin's Government, and it is that Government which is to be *relied upon* to reverse its action.

Mr. Brockway was of opinion that the three essentials of whole-hearted co-operation were

(1) Indian representation at the round table conference should be really reflective of Indian opinion;

(2) The Bill to be discussed at the conference should embody the principle of Dominion status though he did not suggest that transition to it would be possible in a few months or a year but it should be a progressive and automatic advance rendering further commissions of enquiry unnecessary, and

(3) The political persecution carried on during the last two years should be definitely ended.

Mr. Brockway urged the limitation of prosecution to cases of violence or incitement to violence and a review of cases now imprisoned.

The first "essential" is too vaguely worded to give satisfaction. It would be quite easy for Government to make "Indian representation" such that the prevailing Indian opinion at the round table conference would not at all reflect the predominant and prevailing Indian opinion.

As regards the second point, Mr. Wedg-

wood Benn said in his speech that there would be no Bill before the Conference. Here is the passage:

"Someone asked whether they would consider the Bill. They will not consider it. They will not even consider the draft proposals. They will meet absolutely free. The Conference will permit every section of opinion to come forward and express itself and support its views with whatever argument may appear to the speaker to be most impressive."

That is to say, the immediate outcome of the conference may not possibly be a Bill *not* embodying the principle of Dominion status.

Mr. Fenner Brockway's second demand gives away the whole case for full Dominion status as the next constitutional development wanted by Indian nationalists. He in effect substitutes the words, "progressive realization of Dominion status," for the well-worn words, "progressive realization of responsible government." Only the progress is to be automatic. But the automatic process may occupy an indefinitely long period of time.

The third 'essential' is good, but it is to be left to the law-and-order men on the spot to see that it is carried out.

The principle laid down for the limitation of prosecution is good. It has been hitherto flagrantly violated. We support the principle of releasing political prisoners. But as those who were merely fined were not guilty of more heinous offences than those who were imprisoned, the fines inflicted on political offenders and paid by them, should be returned, if the prisoners obtain amnesty.

When Major Graham Pole, who is an active friend of India, declared that "there had been a complete change of feeling in India following the Viceroy's statement," he made an exaggerated and inaccurate statement. It is not suggested that the misrepresentation was intentional.

parties are agreed that British interests are to be promoted in India—by the sacrifice of Indian interests, if need be. Is that sort of unity going to continue?

As for messages of goodwill, we have had a surfeit of them. Good actions are now wanted.

Speech of Mr. Wedgwood Benn

In the course of his long speech Mr. Benn, the Secretary of State, said:

The honourable member for East Leyton and the honourable member who seconded the motion made reference to cases of political prosecution in India and to cases in general.

In the case on which he laid stress—the case of Mr. Chatterjee who was proceeded against in connexion with a book called 'India in Bondage'—the character of the book is the subject of inquiry by the High Court and therefore he will forgive me if I make no comment upon it or upon the Meerut proceedings. As regards the other cases he mentioned and the recommendation of the Bengal Gaol Committee and two other cases, I would say, as I am bound in any case to do, that I will go most carefully into the matter if he will give me precise details of what he has in mind.

We also had much to say on the "India in Bondage" cases and the Meerut proceedings, but cannot, because they are *sub judice*.

Regarding the Trade Union movement in India Mr. Benn made a very just observation:

"It is no good attributing, as some people do, the riots and disorders in Bombay entirely to the wickedness of the Communists. Those who know sufficient, those who know the conditions under which labour lives and works in India, know that one has to go a good deal deeper, even than the unwholesome activity of Communists to find the real causes and the real cure."

Eagerness to establish profitable trade relations with Russia might or might not have something to do with the Labour Ministry's awaking to the fact that the communists are not the authors of all mischief.

Mr. Benn must have said the following both to reassure the die-hards and to moderate the enthusiasm of 'agitators' in India:

My honourable friend and I are in agreement, and also in agreement with Indian opinion on two things at least. First of all we are working for one definite, ascertained and advertised goal: that is to say that the difficult task of government is not merely a harsh and barren negative. We have the comfort of an active and responsive policy.

The second point is this—neither he nor I, nor thoughtful Indian opinion desires this

Government or any Government to weaken in the maintenance of peace. Especially at a time like the present, when Constitutional changes of the greatest magnitude are being considered, it is essential that public order should be maintained. I believe that that statement will find a welcome and widespread agreement among Indians as well as ourselves.

Of course! So long as Britain has or wishes to have her grip on India, no Indian thinks any British political party will lose "the tiger qualities of the race" so necessary to maintain "law and order." What Mr. Benn said as to the real basis of order is quite true, though too often ignored by British bureaucrats in India:

The real basis of order is not police. The real basis of order is public goodwill. It is not the uniformed constable who keeps order but every citizen in mufti who keeps order and Government is maintained on a basis of co-operation and goodwill of the people. I believe that we are moving towards this state of affairs in India also.

The "moving" is not perceptible to us yet. It is good news that the Viceroy is not going to re-enact the Public Safety Ordinance.

"Freedom of Expression of Opinion"

On the subject of the freedom of expression of opinion Mr. Benn delivered himself as follows:

As regards the freedom of expression of opinion, my friend is very jealous of the principle and so am I. It is not only desirable that we should have the freest expression of opinion in India but at the present time it is a most helpful thing. We need it for our assistance in the task which we have before us, but we will look at these political campaigns as they would appear to realists, and to realists I would say this today—the winning card is argument and the losing card is non-co-operation.

Mr. Benn may be in favour of the freest expression of opinion in India, but there is no such thing here. Opinion, when unpalatable to the Government, though demonstrably true and without the remotest suggestion of violence, is persecuted and suppressed in India.

Mr. Benn may hold that the winning card is argument; but we will make a present of the fact to him that for decades and generations Indians have been arguing but have not won. Moreover, for us to argue with the British Government and people is not possible. Britishers can blacken us, our country, our religion, our social systems,

our customs, our ancestors, our women, our mothers, our public and private characters—in fact, everything relating to India—with lies and half-truths; but we cannot say even perfectly true things relating only to those Britishers who are connected with the administration and exploitation of India to the extent that it is necessary to say to them to make our argument convincing; nay, we cannot even reproduce true indictments of British rule from the speeches and writings of responsible British members of parliament, cabinet ministers, historians and others.

It may be that personally Mr. Benn is willing to listen to our arguments. But if private letters are intercepted and pamphlets and books are suppressed, how are our arguments going to reach the British public?

Mr. Benn may be a realist, but he does not know the reality of the situation in India. So far as India is concerned, we are greater realists, as we know where really the shoe pinches.

As India's case cannot be stated plainly and fully, non-co-operation may begin when argument fails, as it did previously.

Mr. Benn may say, there is free speech in England, and he may ask all who want to place their argument before him to proceed to England. But the journey is expensive. Government will meet the expenses of only their nominees. If others are financially in a position to go, some of them may not get passports. And there are others who hate to be to be suppliants.

—

"Dominion Status in Action"

It would seem from a section of Mr. Benn's speech that we had been enjoying Dominion status for a decade without knowing it. "Where ignorance is bliss, it is folly to be wise?"

So, British statesmen have been for these ten long years "doing good by stealth," but have not yet had the good fortune to "blush to find it fame," for not only Indians but even Britishers like Lord Reading did not know that India had been the possessor of Dominion status, in many things though not in name.

Some of his illustrations to prove Dominion status in action may be disposed of by the following passage from *The Statesman*:

In the concept of Dominion status within the Empire there are two parts: the first concerns the relations of a Dominion with foreign countries; the second concerns its relationship to the Government of Great Britain. As regards the first, India has already attained Dominion status. For the signing and ratification of treaties and of international instruments it has its own representatives—a High Commissioner and a Trade Commissioner—in London, and its own agent in South Africa. We freely admit that even this first aspect of Dominion status is superficial, because it is London and not India that controls the choice of these representatives, and it is the Secretary of State or his nominee who signs international instruments and had Mr. Benn called attention to this important limitation he would have escaped some of the irritation which the Indian Press manifests at any suggestion that this country has got Dominion status already.

It is unnecessary to examine all his illustrations one by one. None of them would wholly stand the test if examined in detail. But one or two may be briefly noticed.

Now let us pass for a moment from these domestic and economic questions to try and answer the question put by my hon. and gallant friend as to whether we can show Dominion status in action. India, as everyone knows, has in London, as have the other Dominions, an Indian acting as High Commissioner.

India has Indians in every part of the world finding the Government of India a valiant champion of their interests as British citizens, and recently the Government of India sent out to South Africa to negotiate in regard to Indians in South Africa one of the most distinguished members of their Government, Sir Muhammed Habibullah.

It is common knowledge that the Indian High Commissioner has been treated differently from other High Commissioners in the past. And he is a servant of Britain, not of India.

The Government of India is so valiant a champion of Indians in every part of the world that, not to speak of non-British territory, they are sought to be hounded out of all British Colonies without receiving adequate help from the British Government. In America the representative of the British Government does not move a finger to help Indians.

"India will be represented by her own delegation" at "the Five-Power Naval Conference." It would not be India's delegation, but her British master's delegation. Moreover, for a country without a navy to send a delegation to a Naval Conference is like a headless man having headache, as the Bengali adage goes.

Mr. Fenner Brockway's interposition at this stage, may also be noted.

Mr. Fenner Brockway said that these representatives of India were at present all appointed by the Viceroy in Council. Could the Secretary of State for India try to secure more adequate representation of India itself by giving the Indian Legislative Assembly some power in the appointment of these representatives?

Mr. Benn: That is a suggestion that I will certainly note, and I am much obliged to my hon. friend for raising it.

Mr. Benn has not shown the other side of the medal of Dominion status in action which he ought to have done. This side has such minor and insignificant items as martial law in the Punjab, the Jalliauwalla Bagh massacre, the Guruka Bagh incidents, the 25,000 thousand non-co-operators in prison, and the like.

Custom and Tradition as Builder of Status

"In the meantime do not let us miss the moral of what I am saying, that just as in the history of every Dominion it has not been a matter of legislative change but of the use of custom and tradition which have built up these powers. The same procedure is proceeding rapidly in the case of India to-day, and, therefore, I think I can say—I and I am not speaking of our own administration but of other administrations as well—that in deeds as well as in words we have tried to prove the sincerity of our faith when we say we desire to see India reach Dominion status."

The first sentence in the above extract is not historically true. Did Canada and South Africa, for example, get their status without legislation? Legislation must build up the substantial frame-work. Other things may come afterwards by means of custom and tradition. In the case of India, some Dominion rights may be or have been exercised in her name, but it is not *her* men who have done it freely, but British men and their Indian servants have done so using India's name.

About the Round Table Conference

Mr. Wedgwood Benn said much about the functions of the Round Table Conference. We shall reproduce here a few of his paragraphs.

"We desire to see the Conference called at the earliest possible moment. There is much matter to be received and to be considered. There is the report of the Rt. Hon. gentleman the member for Spenn Valley, Sir John Simon and his Commission. There are the opinions of the Government of India. There are the views of the Provincial Governments. All these matters must be duly considered, and the Conference must meet clothed with full knowledge.

"Let me make one thing clear about the Conference. It is partly in reply to the same question put by the Rt. Hon. gentleman opposite. The Conference is to be fully and fairly representative not of one section but of all sections so that we may have there a real representation of political opinion as it finds itself in India which the Government will meet with free hands.

"There is one concluding word. There are many difficulties to be faced, and there are great differences of opinion, wide gulfs and divergences not here but in India.

"We regret these. They are obstacles on the path which we wish to pursue. We cannot solve them, and I express the devout hope that when the time comes for the Conference it may have been found possible amongst Indians themselves to compose their differences so that we may have gentlemen coming here speaking with authority and speaking with unity. It is only in that way that we may get the maximum assistance and guidance for this House in its difficult task.

After all is said and done, India is not to have self-determination, nor is the voice of the Legislative Assembly created by Government itself to be respected. The Assembly carried motions embodying the national demand long ago. The Government constituted that body as representing India. Why has not its opinion been accepted as Indian opinion?

It has been said repeatedly that the Conference is to be representative of all sections. What are these sections? May not they and their representatives be so chosen as to make it impossible for them to arrive at a unanimous conclusion?

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report argued at length excellently against communal representation and ended by providing for it in India's constitution. The recognition of sectional interests has strengthened sectionalism, and now it is thrown in our teeth that there are great differences, wide gulfs and divergences among us. The British authorities recognize them and encourage them in various ways and then call upon us to speak with unity. Fine statesmanship!

Never did Hindus and Moslems burn and persecute one another and legislate against one another as Roman Catholics and Protestants did against one another in Britain and as both did against the Jews. Yet in England there was never any recognition of separate sectional interests of these three communities and legislation to safeguard the same by communal representation.

In India the existence of the different political interests of different religious

communities is almost a myth, if not entirely so.

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Bombay "Untouchables" Bill

It is gratifying to find that Dr. Ambedkar, M. L. C., of Bombay, has drafted the following bill for the removal of "untouchability," which he intends to introduce in the next session of the Bombay Legislative Council :

Whereas it is known that by usage and custom prevalent in the Hindu community certain castes of Hindus are held to be, by reason of such usage and custom, untouchables and unfit for association and whereas this imputed impurity imposes serious disabilities on these castes of Hindus and deprives them of their right, i. e., the benefit of institutions, services and foundations dedicated to or maintained for public use whereas many Hindus believe that this imputation of impurity, although it is in accordance with established custom, is not in accordance with a true interpretation of the precepts of their religion and desire that the disabilities of these castes should be removed, and whereas it is just to relieve all such Hindus from such incapacity of which they complain and whereas the removal of this invidious discrimination among persons of the same faith intend to the promotion of good morals and to the public welfare in general and of the Hindus in particular it is enacted as follows :—

"This Act may be called the Hindu Untouchable Castes (Removal of Disabilities Act, 193—). It extends to the whole of British India, including British Baluchistan and Santhal Parganas. No person shall be deemed to be unfit or incapable by reason of his caste of sharing the benefit of a religious or charitable trust created for persons of his or her faith or of sharing the benefit of a utility or convenience dedicated to or maintained or licensed for the use of the general public, any custom and any interpretation of law to the contrary notwithstanding.

All-India "Untouchables" Bill

It is still more satisfactory that Mr. M. R. Jayakar, M. L. A., has a bill ready for the whole of British India for the removal of the disabilities affecting the untouchable castes of the Hindu community. He will introduce it at the next session of the Legislative Assembly. Its text is printed below.

Whereas by usage and custom prevalent in the Hindu community, certain castes of Hindus are regarded as untouchables and unfit for association ; and whereas this imputed impurity imposes serious disabilities on such castes, injures their self-respect and general well-being and deprives them of the benefit of institutions, foundations, conveniences and

services dedicated to or maintained for public use ; and whereas many Hindus believe that such imputed impurity is not in accordance with the true interpretation of the precepts of Hinduism and desire that the said disabilities should be removed ; and whereas it is just and proper to relieve all such castes from the said disabilities, in order that such relief may tend to the promotion of the public welfare and the solidarity of the Hindu community it is enacted as follows :

1. This Act may be called the Hindu Untouchable Castes (Removal of Disabilities Act of 193—)

2. It extends to the whole of British India.

3. It should come into force on the first day of— 193—.

4. No person belonging to the Hindu community shall be deemed to be incapable, by reason of his caste, of sharing the benefit of a religious or charitable trust created for the general benefit of persons professing the Hindu religion, or of sharing the benefit of a convenience, utility or service, dedicated to or maintained or licensed to the use of the general public, any custom or interpretation of the law to the contrary notwithstanding.

The following is the statement of objects and reasons of Mr. Jayakar's Bill

This bill is intended to remove the disabilities too various to be detailed here from which castes known as 'untouchable' in Hindu society suffer. These disabilities mostly arise from custom. The preamble of the bill states the grounds which have made its provisions necessary. To these grounds may be added the significant circumstances that the British Indian education, respectful as it often is of Hindu usages, has tended to confirm the customs, which have had the effect of excluding the untouchable classes from participation in the benefits of endowments in which it is but just that they, as members of the Hindu community, should participate. One ruling of the Privy Council, Sankarlinga Nadan and others (appellants) and Raja Rajeswaru Dorai and others (Respondents) reported in 35, Indian Appeals, page 176, has gone the length of laying down, with all the authority of that august tribunal, and the eminent Judges, who formed the bench on that occasion, a rule, which in effect provides that the duty of the Trustees of a Hindu religious endowment is to follow the ancient custom ; it is not for them to vary it, however unreasonable or antiquated it may be. If they endeavour to alter it, they may be guilty of a breach of trust.

The result of these rulings consequently is that it is difficult to obtain, through the medium of adjudication, a variation of the customs which prejudicially affect the untouchable classes, injure their self-respect, and deprive them of the benefits of association with other sections of the Hindu community. This has resulted in a disruption of the Hindu society, the extent of which tends to increase causing irritation and embitterment. It is, therefore, thought desirable to have recourse to legislation and with its aid to abolish all such objectionable customs to the extent mentioned in the Bill. The bill affects, only, those cases in which the bar against the untouchable classes arises by reason of custom and the endowment is a public one. The bill will not affect private endowment nor those where by the express terms of their

constitution the benefits are confined to particular sections of the Hindu community or of the general public.

Both these bills ought to receive a full measure of support.

Mr. Whitley on the Ahmedabad Mill Industry

In the course of an interview

Comparing the Ahmedabad textile industry with that of Bombay, Mr. Whitley said that there existed good relationship between the owners and the workers in the former place. Whenever there was a dispute, the matter was referred to arbitration. Gandhiji was a piece of fortune to the Ahmedabad textile industry. He wielded an immense influence with both the workers and the owners. Gandhiji's interference was welcomed by both the parties and his decisions were accepted by the contending parties. Hence, there were few strikes and the industry was prospering.

This is a well-deserved tribute to Mahatma Gandhi and the mill-owners and mill-workers of Ahmedabad alike.

Mrs. Whitley on Mass Education

Mrs. Whitley also was interviewed.

"Send your young men, who have had the benefit of Cambridge and Oxford education to the villages," repeated Mrs. Whitley a number of times, in the course of the interview. "Mass education is the only remedy to make your villagers and workers read the morning paper as young men in England are doing. In England every worker reads the morning paper and that is why they are earning more. When every one of India's vast population learns to read and write there can be no nation in the world so much advanced as she will be," observed Mrs. Whitley.

The illiteracy of the Indian workers pained Mrs. Whitley much. She opined that mass education was India's salvation.

We have undoubtedly to do our part, but nobody seems to have told Mrs. Whitley that there is a party called Government who can do most.

Mrs. Whitley was very much impressed with India's hospitality. "India is a very wonderful country and her people are wonderfully patient and good-tempered," she stated.

Is that why Britishers do not get off our backs, as Mahatma Gandhi told them to?

Mrs. Whitley paid a glorious tribute to Indian womanhood, who in her opinion, were adorable. Indian women were very gentle, sweet and capable. Comparatively Indian women were unselfish and clean in their habits. The labouring classes, though

they lived in dingy chawls, had their floors well-swept and things well-arranged, whereas in the English worker's house, everything was in confusion.

It is a pleasure to read this, as it has been said that our people do not know how to keep things in their proper places.

Mrs. Whitley, summing up her impressions of India, said that the country's prospects would improve, if efforts were taken to educate the masses.

Mrs. Whitley paid a tribute to Gandhiji for having awakened the consciousness of the masses.

The All-India Trade Union Congress

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, president of the last Nagpur session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, has issued a statement to the Press as to the split among Unionists there. In the course of it he says :

On one side there was the youthful enthusiasm of some members of the left wing who wanted to go ahead regardless of consequences, on the other hand, there was deliberate attempt to push them on so as to widen the breach and thus get additional reasons for seceding.

As for the strength of the two parties, the following is Mr. Nehru's statement :

Credentials were accepted at the Congress on behalf of 51 Unions, representing 1,89,136 organized workers. According to the constitution, in a division voting takes place by unions, and each delegate represents 200 members of a union. There was thus a total voting strength of 938. One union with memberships of 1,900 was ultimately not represented. This reduced the voting strength to 934. The seceders from the Congress represented 30 unions with memberships of 96,639 and a voting strength of 478. Those that attended the Congress represented 20 unions with memberships of 91,797 and a voting strength of 457. Thus it is clear that the seceders had a majority and could, if they so chose, vote down any and every resolution. But they preferred to keep away.

Mr. B. Shiva Rao has given his impressions of this Congress in *New India*. He begins his article thus

"Why are you angry with me, Maya?" asked Jotin in a broken voice. "I am equally unfortunate with you, I am suffering far more. Fate is adverse, what can a mere mortal do? I have not come here to harass you in any way. I want to ask you a question. The wealth I am enjoying now, belongs rightfully to you. May I make you an allowance every month? You won't have to work then."

"I don't want it," said the girl, firmly. "The wealth of your house is a curse to mine. We won't touch it. You have sold yourself for it. God created no obstacle between us. You are not really my brother. This money, you greed for it, is the real obstacle. Go away, don't try to see me again."

"It shall be as you wish", said Jotin. "I am going away to-morrow. I won't see you again."

It was Saturday. The steamer for Calcutta was leaving the wharf. The passengers stood on the deck waving farewell to friends and relatives, who crowded the jetty.

Jotin stood on the deck staring down at the crowd. His heart felt dry and bare like a desert. A storm seemed to have passed over his life.

Suddenly he seemed to see Maya, standing in the midst of the crowd. He bent forward eagerly, but could not see her any more.

The steamer gathered speed slowly. The shores of Burma gradually vanished from sight.

Music In Bengal

By DINENDRANATH TAGORE

FIFTY years ago, in Bengal, parents of music-loving boys and girls tried to throttle their desire for learning music and made it very clear to them that such a piece of insolence would not be tolerated in decent homes. Music and cigarettes were in the same category of offensive things. The victims of the former were gagged into silence and of the latter left traces of indulgence in their vice in private nooks and corners.

Previous to this, *Jatra* performances were the favourite pastime of young and old. Songs were composed and made to fit in with the drama which accepted for its theme mythological stories. The audience consisting of emotional and religiously-minded men, and women went in raptures over these songs, and *Kirtan* held its sway in the home of the *Vaishnavas*, and the temples dedicated to the goddess *Kali* were resonant with songs composed by *Tantric* saints.

A passing mendicant singing *Baul* (folk) songs would attract eager faces to the iron-barred windows of houses overlooking the streets and his bowl would groan under the weight of copper coins. He would be

allowed to continue his interrupted morning round after having promised to repeat his visit the next day.

Then came the era of public theatres. The dazzling lights, jingling anklets and the rococo tunes wedded to words seething with vulgar suggestions captured the imagination of the public mind craving for something new and romantic. *Kirtan* and *Baul* songs were tabooed. Amateur theatrical parties cropped up in every lane bringing in its wake the attendant corrupting influence. Gradually this influence spread its tentacles and penetrated into the heart of remote villages where they played havoc in the lives of contented villagers.

No wonder the parents took up arms against this unwelcome trespasser.

Classical music had its devotees but did not go beyond a few professionals. Some of these musicians performed musical acrobatics and tried to drown the eloquent appeal of a real artist by the deafening roar of their thundering voice. The audience kept themselves at a safe distance, for, the instrument of accompaniment (*Tampooras*) was not infrequently hurled against a rival. These

proletariat." The mistake of settling industrial disputes by means of conciliation and arbitration, particularly in co-operation with "reformists" of the type of Mr. Joshi, was not to be repeated. The Trade Union Congress was to be affiliated not only to the League against Imperialism, but also to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. The scheme of an Asiatic Labour Congress was to be thwarted on the ground (this was tactlessly admitted in one of the speeches at Nagpur) that the new organization would prove "a rival to the Red International." The Congress was to demand the establishment of a Socialist Independent Republic. All might have gone on well had not the origin of the mes- sage, which was broadcasted through the official magazine of the G.I.P. Railway Union, been disclosed on the eve of the Congress.

For our part we have never liked any of our organizations to be affiliated—which in the case of a subject and unorganized country like India means subordinated—to any foreign organizations. Let the country win freedom first and then we can think of foreign connections—we mean of course those of a political or quasi-political character. We are trying to get away from the leading strings of the British people, whom we know to some extent. Why should we seek to be in the leading strings of other foreigners whom we do not know even as much?

"Remember"

The following is the first editorial in the Congress number of *Prohibition* :

Leaders sitting to draw up the new Constitution should remember that at the All-Parties Convention held at Calcutta, the following was adopted as a fundamental article declaring the right of the people of India to freedom from state-organized temptations:—

Art. IV Clause 18.

It shall be the duty of the Commonwealth to save its citizens from the evils and temptations of alcoholic liquors and intoxicating drugs, and to this end it shall, as soon as possible after the establishment of the Commonwealth Government, make laws for the total prohibition of the manufacture, import, possession or sale of alcoholic liquors and intoxicating drugs except for medicinal or industrial purposes.

India's Drink Bill

Prohibition Congress number has a diagrammatic representation of India's drink bill compared with other items, of which the following is a rendering in plain language :

INDIA'S DRINK BILL JUST COMPARED

	Rs.	100 crores
Liquor and drugs bill	35	"
Expenditure for Army	37	"
Land Revenue	37	"
Cost of General Administration	23	"
all provinces	17	"
Income tax	13	"
Education	12	"
Police	7½	"
Justice		

Alleged Attempt on Viceroy's Life

Arriving at Lahore this morning I find a long report on an alleged attempt to blow up the train which carried the Viceroy to New Delhi. I must await further and fuller details before commenting on this event

The Civil and Military Gazette's news columns contain the sentence:—"Nothing less than full statement from the leaders dissociating themselves from the outrage will remove the harmful effects." This is an insult to the leaders. No one but a fool and an enemy of the Indian people can make any such demand. As if any man worthy of the name of leader can have anything to do with such things. Such things are done either by or at the instigation of *agents provocateurs* or by brainless terrorists.

The following sentence from the *C. M. Gazette's* leader on the subject gives an indication that the outrage may be the work of those who do not want that political prisoners should have amnesty :

"This outrage might well be regarded as an adequate answer to those who would urge the grant of an amnesty for the political prisoners on the eve of the publication of the Simon Commission report."

Lahore, 24 Dec., 1929.

Report of Indian Central Committee

The Report of the Indian Central Committee has been published. I have not yet seen it, nor have I had the time to go through even any elaborate summary. The retention of dyarchy in the Central Government is unjustifiable. The report discriminates against Bengal in some particulars. This means creating trouble for Bengal and the Bengal Government, which would undoubtedly have repercussions elsewhere.

The Committee recommend the separation of Sind from Bombay, though they admit

that some of the members think that the financial question is a definite bar to making it a separate province. Under the circumstances, the recommendation loses its force.

The Committee do not recommend the separation of Burma. This is right.

The abolition of communal representation, so far as it goes, is satisfactory.

There are several notes of dissent and a memorandum signed by the chairman and two other members lengthier than the main report itself.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Presidential Address

By the courtesy of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I have been able to read the typescript of his presidential address in the English version in the Punjab mail train on the 23rd December. If I get a printed copy early enough I may be able to present the reader with extracts with brief comments.

It is a noble and courageous utterance, possessing high literary quality. It is statesmanlike and free from any bluff. It is pre-eminently the pronouncement of a man who means what he says. It is worthy of the free man that Mr. Nehru is. He does not indulge in any circumlocution but speaks straight from the heart. I felt on going through it that, it *should* make all Indians reading it feel proud that they are the countrymen of Jawaharlal Nehru. I differ in some minor particulars which I may indicate hereafter.

I like his opening paragraph in which he pays tributes with mingled dignity and modesty to his predecessors and other past workers, and the young martyrs to the causes of freedom, and his last paragraph in which he says that the days of secret conspiracies are over and calls upon all to join the Open Conspiracy of the Congress to win freedom for India.

The Address

As I am writing this note on the evening of the 25th December I have to use the future tense. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will deliver his presidential address in Hindustani, and an English version has been supplied to the Press. My extracts are made from a typewritten copy.

There is a story of a child who, getting on the shoulders of his father, declared, "How taller I am than papa." The talk of many among us about previous political workers may have reminded Mr. Nehru of this child when he wrote the opening paragraph of his address in which he says:

For four and forty years this National Congress has laboured for the freedom of India. During this period it has somewhat slowly, but surely, awakened national consciousness from its long stupor and built up the national movement. If today we are gathered here at a crisis of our destiny, conscious of our strength as well as of our weakness, and looking with hope and apprehension to the future, it is well that we give first thought to those who have gone before us, who spent out their lives with little hope of reward so that those that followed them may have the joy of achievement. Many of the giants of old are not with us and we of a later day, standing on an eminence of their creation, may often decry their efforts. That is the way of the world. But none of you can forget them or the great work they did in laying the foundations of a free India.

He then goes on to pay a well-deserved tribute to our political sufferers and martyrs.

And none of us can ever forget that glorious band of men and women who, without recking the consequences, have laid down their young lives or spent their bright youth in suffering and torment in utter protest against a foreign domination. Many of their names even are not known to us. They laboured and suffered in silence without any expectation of public applause, and by their heart's blood they nursed the tender plant of India's freedom. While many of us temporized and compromised, they stood up and proclaimed a people's right to freedom and declared to the world that India, even in her degradation, had the spark of life in her, because she refused to submit to tyranny and serfdom. Brick by brick has our national movement been built up, and often on the prostrate bodies of her martyred sons has India advanced. The giants of old may not be with us but the courage of old is with us still, and India can yet produce martyrs like Jatin Das and Vinaya.

Mr. Nehru says, the age of faith is past, but he himself declares:

We appear to be in a dissolving period of history when the world is in labour and out of her travail will give birth to a new order.

When he says, "out of her travail, the world will give birth to a new order," is that not faith? So faith persists, though its form may change.

Speaking of the past, present and future relations of Europe and Asia, Mr. Nehru observes:

Europe has ceased to be the centre of activity and interest. The future lies with America and

Asia. Owing to false and incomplete history many of us have been led to think that Europe has always dominated over the rest of the world, and Asia has always let the legions of the West thunder past and has plunged in thought again. We have forgotten that for millennia the legions of Asia overrun Europe, and modern Europe itself largely consists of the descendants of these invaders from Asia. We have forgotten that it was India that finally broke the military power of Alexander. Thought has undoubtedly been the glory of Asia and specially of India, but in the field of action the record of Asia has been equally great. But none of us desires that the legions of Asia or Europe should overrun the continents again. We have all had enough of them.

He goes on to state and explain the wonderful stability of India's social structure, and observes that India's downfall and loss of freedom is due to her having built her social structure on inequality. Therefore, "the most vital question is that of social and economic equality."

THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM

Mr. Nehru then deals with the problems of minorities and communal fear and suspicion. He exhorts the Hindus to be generous. That is no doubt an all-India generosity. But in Moslem majority provinces, must not the Moslems also be generous? Mr. Nehru is silent on that point. He has also not dealt with the causes of distrust of Moslems, in Bengal for example. They are not wholly or mainly political. As we understand the matter, they are at present mainly due to the Moslem attitude towards Hindu women. In Mr. Nehru's observations on a few more or less seats in legislatures, etc., and in his conclusion that in a free India Hindus cannot be powerless, I agree.

He is right in observing:

I find it difficult to appreciate why political or economic rights should depend on the membership of a religious group or community.

He expects that our future struggles will be not communal, but economic. That is probable.

THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM

Pandit Jawaharlal's discussion of the Viceroy's announcement, the leaders' manifesto, the first debate in the House of Commons and the later and recent debate on Mr. Fenner Brockway's motion, is very fair and sensible and his conclusion that the Congress will have to declare in favour of independence

and devise sanctions to achieve it follows quite logically.

In his opinion, much importance need not be attached to the words Dominion status and independence. The real thing is conquest of power, and that we must achieve.

He subjects Mr Wedgwood Benn's analysis and presentation of Dominion status in action to scathing and well-deserved criticism.

"Dominion status in action, to which he has drawn attention has been a snare for us and has certainly not reduced the exploitation of India. The burdens on the Indian masses are even greater to-day because of this 'Dominion Status in action' and the so-called constitutional reforms of ten years ago. High Commissioners in London, and representatives on the League of Nations, and the purchase of stores, and Indian Governors and high officials are no parts of our demand. We want to put an end to the exploitation of India's poor and to get the reality of power and not merely the livery of office.

As to what the Congress will do, he asks:

What will this Congress do? The conditions for co-operation remain unfulfilled. Can we co-operate so long as there is no guarantee that real freedom will come to us? Can we co-operate when our comrades lie in prison and repression continues? Can we co-operate until we are assured that real peace is sought after and not merely a tactical advantage over us? Peace cannot come at the point of the bayonet, and if we are to continue to be dominated over by an alien people, let us at least be no consenting parties to it.

He is not enamoured of the word independence. But the thing is necessary in order that India may afterwards freely enter a world federation as an equal member, and then she may voluntarily part with some of her independence. The British Empire is not such a group and Dominion status in it cannot mean equality so long as that Empire is based on imperialism and the exploitation of the weak.

"We shall declare, I hope, that India submits no longer to any foreign domination."

He confesses that he is a Socialist, a republican, and does not believe in the order which produces the modern kings of industry. The many must not be sacrificed to the few either in industry or in agriculture. We agree. But neither must the few be sacrificed to the many.

Regarding the Indian States he makes just and sensible observations.

THE LABOURER AND THE PEASANT

As for the problem of labour and the peasantry he says :

We can only gain them to our side by our espousing their cause, which is really the country's cause. The Congress has often expressed its good will towards them but beyond that it has not gone. The Congress, it is said, must hold the balance fairly between capital and labour and zamindar and tenant. But the balance has been and is terribly weighted on one side and to maintain the *status quo* is to maintain injustice and exploitation. The only way to right it is to do away with the domination of any one class over another.

I hope it is understood that "the dictatorship of the proletariat" is also the domination of one class over another.

Mr. Nehru admits that

It is not possible for this Congress at its annual session to draw up any detailed economic programme. It can only lay down some general principles and call upon the All-India Congress Committee to fill in the details in co-operation with the representatives of the Trade Union Congress and other organizations which are vitally interested in this matter. Indeed I hope that the co-operation between this Congress and the Trade Union Congress will grow and the two organizations will fight side by side in future struggles.

All these are pious hopes till we gain power, and the real problem therefore before us is the conquest of power.

The words italicized above represent our contention all along. We cannot effect any radical reform till we are masters in our own household, and we cannot gain power if we engage in class war in the meantime. So in the meantime we should try to effect only such reforms as would enable our labourers and peasantry to lead healthy lives.

THE METHOD

As regards methods of violence and peaceful and legitimate methods, Mr. Nehru is on moral and practical grounds for the avoidance of violence. He adds :

The great majority of us, I take it, judge the issue not on moral but on practical grounds, and if we reject the way of violence it is because it promises no substantial results. But if this Congress or the nation at any future time comes to the conclusion that methods of violence will rid us of slavery then I have no doubt that it will adopt them. Violence is bad but slavery is far worse.

Contemporaneous attempts at sporadic violence can only distract attention and weaken it.

We have to choose and strictly to abide by our choice. What the choice of the Congress is likely

to be I have no doubt. It can only choose a peaceful mass movement.

As for the triple boycott, the President thinks it will be unwise to declare a boycott of the courts and schools at this stage. He is in favour of the boycott of legislative councils. As regards the constructive programme, he advocates the boycott of foreign cloth and of British goods.

He concludes his address with the following words :

We play for high stakes ; and if we seek to achieve great things it can only be through great dangers. Whether we succeed soon or late, none but ourselves can stop us from high endeavour and from writing a noble page in our country's long and splendid history.

We have conspiracy cases going on in various parts of the country. They are ever with us. But the time has gone for secret conspiracy. We have now an open conspiracy to free this country from foreign rule and you, comrades, and all our countrymen and countrywomen are invited to join it. But the rewards that are in store for you are suffering and prison and it may be death. But you shall also have the satisfaction that you have done your little bit for India, the ancient, but ever young, and have helped a little in the liberation of humanity from its present bondage.

Viceroy's Conference with the Leaders

The following is a brief official report of the Conference :

The Viceroy met Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Patel, Sir T. B. Sapru and Mr. Jinnah at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, this afternoon. The discussion was limited to the function of the proposed Conference in London. It was pointed out that any member of the Conference would be free to advocate any proposals and that any measure of unanimity at the Conference would necessarily carry weight with British opinion.

On behalf of the Congress Party the view was expressed that unless previous assurances were given by His Majesty's Government that the purpose of the Conference was to draft a scheme for Dominion status which His Majesty's Government would undertake to support, there would be grave difficulty about the Congress participation.

His Excellency made it plain that the Conference was designed to elicit the greatest possible measure of agreement for final proposals which it would be the duty of His Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament and that it was impossible for him or for His Majesty's Government in any way to prejudge the action of the Conference or to restrict the liberty of Parliament.

The conversation then concluded. (A.P.J.)

It is also said :

Mahatma Gandhi told Lord Irwin that he had made a pledge to the Indian nation that if Dominion

status was granted by the 31st December he would accept it, otherwise he would join the ranks of Independence-wallahs. The immediate grant of full Dominion status must be conceded fully and the Viceroy should give a guarantee that whatever form of constitution was prepared by India whenever that be, it should be accepted by the British Government and ratified into law without any alteration. Pandit Motilal is reported to have urged that if any difficulties were found in achieving full Dominion status at once, these could be solved by granting Dominion status and not by withholding or postponing it.

The Viceroy said he could not agree to what he regarded as an extreme and unacceptable demand of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru.

Under the circumstances it seems very probable that the Congress will declare in favour of independence as the political goal of India. Lahore, Dec. 25, 1929.

Arabs and Jews in Palestine

The *Times* of Nov. 28, 1929 published the following report from Haifu, dated Nov. 27th :

"Nine Arabs were sentenced to death and two to 15 years' imprisonment here to-day on the charge of having murdered a Jewish family at Safed during the disturbances."

On the same day the *Times* published the following interesting report of a lecture by Col. Wedgwood, the foremost advocate of the "Seventh Dominion" in Palestine.

Colonel Wedgwood, M.P., speaking at the Anglo-Palestine Club last night, referred to the recent rising in Palestine and said that the first thing was to prevent the murders from happening again. This required a trustworthy Police Force, and that the settlers should be allowed arms, as settlers did in other dangerous lands amid unfriendly natives. To secure a trustworthy Police Force there must evidently be in the Administration the will and determination to protect the Jews and to help peaceful settlers. From the evidence the present Administration would seem to have been neutral as between murdered and murderers, and even to take a pride in this neutrality. When they disarmed the Jews in face of murder they went rather beyond neutrality. The defence of this official attitude seemed to be that if it were not for the Government the Jews would oppress the Arabs. For the Arab workers at least the advent of Jewish capital, Jewish methods of agriculture, and Jewish or Western civilization had been an unmixed blessing. The state of the Egyptian fellahen close by was a contrast. The Arab landlords were getting very high prices for land, and the Jews were turning it into fertile farms. *Real hostility came from the Arab intelligentsia who hated us and the Jews, and wanted to get rid of the West so that they might retain an Oriental rule over a helpless Arab proletariat.* (Italics are ours)

The Colonel may be right in his assertion that the Arab intelligentsia hated the British. The same thing has been told about the Indian and Chinese intelligentsia. It seems that the intelligent people in all countries in the Orient feel that they have the right to be free from foreign rule, and this new attitude is a source of trouble for the British imperialists of all brands.

Regarding the "Oriental rule over a helpless Arab proletariat," one may say that British Socialists and Labour leaders should not forget that the *British nation perpetuated human slavery for centuries and imported the abominable practice of slave trade in America. Lady Simon tells us that there is slavery under the British rule in Africa and other parts of the world. In "Merry England" the condition of the workers under the rule of the intelligentsia of the West has not been so wonderful. Col. Wedgwood and others should know that although we are opposed to religious fanaticism and murderous acts, we cannot agree with the assertion that Arab workers are not hostile to the Jews because they have a better condition under their foreign masters—be they Jews or British. Handful of Arab intelligentsia could not have started the opposition and revolt against the Jews, in Palestine without popular support.*

T. D.

"The Labour Magazine"

Through the courtesy of Major Graham Pole, M.P., we have received some copies of the December number of the *Labour Magazine*. Among other interesting features, this issue contains an article by Major Pole on "India and Dominion Status," some passages from which have been quoted elsewhere on these pages. The *Labour Magazine* being the official organ of the Labour Party, gives authoritative expression to the point of view of the Labour Party and Labour Government. Those of our readers who may be interested in Major Pole's article or in the magazine, may have copies of the December number from the Manager, *The Modern Review*. The price is six annas a copy.



Mahatma Gandhi

A CORRECTION

Since writing the note on the sandstone head on page 26 above, I have been to the Indian Museum in the Christmas week.

The head is now mounted at the gate

leading into the Eastern gallery and bears a label stating that it was found at the famous site of *Samkisa* (U. P.) The date is given as 1st century A.D. which is, of course, tentative.

K. P. JAYASWAL

and irradiated by intelligence, by the graces of culture, by a beautiful soul,—that is surely worthy the effort of any woman.

Rightly understood, beauty is also a worthy object of man's desire. A fine form, an erect carriage, a noble bearing, a well-developed physique, a modulated voice, a face expressive of intelligence, gentleness, courage and strength,—surely these are not to be lightly regarded by any man.

I think that any of us who are parents ought to teach our children not to despise beauty, but to put high store upon it, and to strive to attain it. However, let us not make the mistake of fostering in them the shallow notion that it is a thing merely of the skin and the hair and the physical features, much less of the fashion plate. Such so-called beauty is as thin as every other kind of veneer. It profanes the high thought of beauty to see in it nothing beyond these surface things.

Beauty is of two distinctly different kinds. One is the beauty that can be put on and put off; the other is the beauty that is a part of ourselves.

Doubtless the beauty which can be put on and put off has its place. I would be the last to speak disparagingly of it. There is such a thing as beautiful clothing. There is such a thing as beautiful adornment of the person. The reasonable use of these is not to be despised. I would not be willing to say that the most exquisite handiwork of men, or the most precious treasures of the mine or the sea, can find any more fitting service than that of lending added charm to the human person.

But there is another kind of beauty that rises as much higher than any mere externality, as the mind rises above matter. It is the beauty that is in us and of us. Stopford Brooke hints at it when he says: "The outward form takes its glory or its baseness from the inward spirit."

The difference between the two kinds of beauty may perhaps be illustrated in this way: Here is a tree. That form of beauty which is superficial and external comes to the tree and attaches to it externally, artificial foliage, wreathes, garlands, Chinese lanterns, wax fruits, and such like things, and thus makes a spectacle, which for the moment may be very attractive. But there is in it all no life; and it is deceptive and transitory.

That form of beauty which is internal and

natural comes to the tree through rain and sun and proper soil and renewal of life from within. As a result we soon see the inward life of the tree manifesting itself outwardly; buds swell on every twig; flowers burst into bloom, forming a robe for the tree more gorgeous than Solomon's; then follows the dress of green, exquisitely wrought; and in the autumn luscious fruit loads its boughs. Thus we have a beauty that lasts the whole season through, and advances from grace to grace and from glory to glory. And the next season it does the same; and the next, and the next, on continuously. And why? Because it is of the tree. It is the coming forth to expression of what is in the tree, as its deepest life.

In the same way, the beauty which should be most prized by us in connection with ourselves and other human beings, is not that which is attached to us, at one particular time or another, as dress, or adornings; it is that which is of us,—the spontaneous and necessary expression of the life that is in us. Such beauty will endure, and will grow richer with the years.

The process of reaching out and getting beauty of some external kind and attaching it to ourselves can never be more than to a limited degree satisfactory. It has to be done over and over, and for ever over and over. It is costly too. Few men could afford to own trees if they had to go to the expense of keeping them decked with leaves and flowers and fruit brought from the outside and hung upon their branches. It is not less expensive to be obliged to depend for personal beauty upon that which we must buy and attach to ourselves, instead of having a well-spring of beauty within us.

Worst of all, any externally beautiful things that we can get and attach to our persons, as clothing or ornaments, fail utterly to make us, ourselves, beautiful. If we, in our real selves of mind and spirit, were unbeautiful before we obtained the adornments, we are just as unbeautiful after. Fine clothing or ornaments may draw attention for the time being away from our unbeautifleness, but it remains just the same; and all who come near us know it, and we know it, and God knows it.

We ought to desire more than a diversion of eyes from our ugliness. We ought to want real beauty,—beauty so true and

deep that it will stand the test of time, of our neighbours, of our own eyes, and of the scrutiny of Him who cannot be deceived.

How can we all become really beautiful ?

Human beauty has a threefold basis,—physical, intellectual, and moral. Growth in beauty must be based upon threefold culture,—of the body, to give it health and symmetry ; of the intellect, to give it knowledge and alertness ; of the moral nature, to give it strength and grace. Let us see what these involve.

That beauty has a physical basis will be generally confessed. It will not be quite so generally confessed that that physical basis is a purely natural one, lying wholly in good health and a perfect development of the body. In the past there has been wide-spread dependence placed upon the artificial as a producer of physical beauty, as for example, artificial smallness of the feet ; artificial slenderness of the waist ; artificial whiteness of the skin ; cosmetics, etc.

There have been times when the idea widely prevailed that a pale cheek, a languid air, a condition of semi-invalidism, are signs of beauty in women. In our times we are getting the truer thought that the elastic step, the glow of health on the cheek, the ability to walk and ride and swim, and drive a horse or an automobile, and climb mountains, and bear a part in the world's work are far more beautiful. It is coming to be seen that the best cosmetics are fresh air, sunshine, exercise, nutritious food, regular sleep taken between ten o'clock at night and seven in the morning, regular work done every day, worthy objects to live for, and a quiet, regular, active, natural and useful life.

Wrote Dr. Dudley A. Sargent, Physical Director at Harvard University :

"Women have begun to realize that the surest road to beauty of face and figure, as well as health of body, lies through the path of physical culture. Outdoor games, such as tennis, golf and horse-back riding, have served to make the college and society girl stronger, while her sister of the shops and factories finds recreation and muscle-nourishment in the factory gymnasium and public gymnasium. By these modern changes, woman is gradually coming into her own. Her sex is becoming strong and well developed. While man has had the advantages of centuries of training along this line, woman's ambition was latent ; but now that she has started towards the intended goal, her development and progress will

be rapid. Perhaps she will yet overtake man in a field which he has been wont to claim as all his own."

The first direction, then, in which we who care for beauty in man or woman must learn to look for it, is not to the fashion plate, or to the drug store, but to the bath, to the proper ventilation of our sleeping apartments, to the number of hours we spend each day in the fresh air and the sunshine, to the provisions we make for our physical health and development as human beings.

And the first direction in which we who care for the beauty of our children must learn to look for that, is, to their habits,—to see that these are regular and natural ; to their sleep, to see that it is plentiful and at timely hours ; to their work and study, to see that these are done under conditions of health ; to their play, to see that it is not cut off ; to their conditions of life generally, to see that they are simple and rational.

It has been said that if the laws of God which pertain to the health of the body were perfectly obeyed by even a single generation, the next generation would be physically beautiful. This is an over-statement, but-it is certainly in the direction of the truth.

The ancient Greeks were doubtless the most beautiful race physically that the world has ever seen. Why ? Not simply because they were wise enough to cultivate physical beauty, but because they were wise enough to cultivate it in the only way in which it is possible to cultivate it successfully, namely, by so training their youth as to develop to the very utmost their physical vigour, activity, strength, endurance, bodily symmetry, health. They knew that the true way to make either trees or human beings beautiful is to fill them with abounding life.

This brings me to the second source of beauty, the intellectual.

Human beauty must have more than a mere physical basis, else would a wax figure be as beautiful as a live person.

It is well known that peoples in low states of civilization are seldom fine-looking,—are seldom possessed of anything that we would call beauty. Why ? The principal reason seems to be the stolidity, the dullness of mind of these peoples, which makes them unattractive whatever may be their physical features. There is no mind-beauty to shine

through the physical, to light it up. So, too, in civilized lands, persons who live low down in the senses are never beautiful with any kind of beauty except the lowest, the coarsest, the most transitory.

How much mind has to do with beauty, we see every day. We all know persons whose skin is fair, whose features are symmetrical, who, judged by physical standards alone, should be pronounced fine-looking. Yet they are not. Why? The trouble is, there is no irradiation of the countenance by a fine intelligence behind it and speaking through it. The eyes are dull. The face is hard and heavy, if not coarse and sensual.

On the other hand, we all know very plain and ordinary faces, distinctly homely faces, if judged simply by physical standards, that somehow we never think of as homely. Indeed, we have the distinct impression that they are beautiful faces. What is the explanation? When we meet them their eyes are lighted with thought, their countenances beam with intelligence, the spiritual so transforms the physical that the plainness of the features disappears, and beauty sits in its place.

Said one lady, of another: "She is accounted very plain; but I have seen her so absolutely beautiful as to draw everybody in the room to her. When she is happy, and speaking with animation, her face kindles with a perfect radiance."

Ruskin, in the second volume of his *Modern Painters*, where he discusses the principles of beauty, puts great stress upon the importance of the intellectual element,—the importance of the mind upon the body; "the operation of the mind upon the features, in the intellectual powers upon the features, and the fine cutting and chiselling of them, and the removal from them of signs of sensuality and sloth by which they are blunted and deadened, and the substitution of energy and intensity for vacancy and insipidity." By reason of the lack of these mental qualities, he declares, "the faces of many fair women are utterly spoiled." The mind, he urges, gives "keenness to the eye and fine moulding and development to the brow."

Many a young lady of twenty dreads to grow older for fear her beauty will wane, and thus she will become less attractive. Alas, the fact that she thinks of beauty as only physical shows that probably she will grow less attractive as she grows older. What a pity it is that she does not understand that the finest beauty is of the soul, and that this beauty she may have and keep

and get more abundantly, and thus be more attractive at forty than at twenty, and preserve her charm right on in spite of the years! Beauty that draws its chief life from the active mind and the noble spirit is almost independent of years; indeed, it is likely to rise to its perfection only with considerable fulness of years.

It has long been known that the most attractive women of history have not generally been young women. It seems also to be true that they have not usually been women of great physical beauty. Their power has oftenest been mental. Their fascination was of the mind.

Closely connected with the intellect as a source of beauty, stands the moral nature. It is not simply the intellect that speaks through the face; the whole character does so.

Says Amiel :

"Why are we ugly? Because we are not in the angelic state; because we are evil, morose, unhappy. Heroism, ecstasy, prayer, love, enthusiasm, leave a halo around the brow, for they are a setting free of the soul, which through them gains force to make its envelope transparent and shine through upon all around it. Beauty is, then, a phenomenon belonging to the spiritualization of matter. Intense life and supreme joy can make the most simple mortal dazzlingly beautiful."

We have an old proverb, "Handsome is who handsome does." This is more than a neat way of saying that a good deed makes us forget whether the doer is handsome or ugly. There is something in the habitual doing of good deeds, at least there is something in the doing of good deeds coupled with habitual thinking of good thoughts from which good deeds spring, which tends to make the face grow kindlier, more refined, more spiritually attractive, and therefore more beautiful. I am sure that this is so.

Many a person longs to be beautiful. Oh, with such a passionate longing! Many a young woman feels her life blighted because she is not beautiful. But it is the shallow beauty of the external that she thinks of. The deeper beauty which comes from intelligence, and especially the deepest, highest, most captivating, most enduring beauty of all, that comes from the graces of the spirit, she forgets. Yet this highest beauty waits all the while to be hers if she will have it.

Nobody likes wrinkles. We usually think of wrinkles as signs either of ugliness or old age, or both. How may they be

musical performances were held for the delectation of the chosen few and the public had no access to them.

At this critical moment, when our music was threatened with total extinction, creative artists belonging to the new religious movement in Bengal came to rescue her from the throes of neo-classicalism and depraved romanticism. It was a musical renaissance. Poets animated by religious zeal and fervour started composing songs. These compositions, rich in thought and pure in diction, were wedded to equally pure and rich classical tunes. These songs revolutionized the thought movement and aesthetic sense of the rising generation in Bengal. It was a precursor to the present-day upheaval when shackles of convention forged on the anvil of bigotry and ignorance have been rent asunder and creative energy has made itself felt in all our activities.

In ancient times art was segregated within the boundaries of a narrow limited area. Only the privileged few regarded works of art as their personal property, scrupulously excluding the starving multitude clamouring for participation in the enjoyment of life. The mediaeval saints saved the situation. Songs poured forth in torrents, and thirsting souls, irrespective of caste or creed, race or nationality, flocked to their modest habitations to quench their age-long thirst with the nectar of inimitable songs.

The musical legacy bequeathed to us is rich and sublime. The epic grandeur of the classical style and form, the variegated colouring and intellectual and emotional appeal are facts known to all lovers of music. Its pristine purity has been preserved by its zealous adherents through centuries. The new musical movement in Bengal has assimilated the classical style, but the mode of expression is different. The influence of *baul* (folk) tunes on the present-day music of Bengal is very marked. It has given rise to a new mode of expression which may be safely called *baul*-ed classical expression. The ring of homely appeal in this music is quite in keeping with its surroundings.

Classical music has sent its representative from the throne of Delhi. He has cast off his gorgeous attire and is now wandering in the green meadows in ochre-coloured vesture playing on the bamboo flute.

His heart was yearning to be united to one who would share his joys and sorrows. He has not sought in vain. Sublime poetry has become his partner in life, they have been inseparably united.

Music has become a living thing with us now. Bengal has contributed her note to the world-symphony of self-expression in music. The value of music as a synthetical force has been appreciated, and its universal appeal has made itself felt all over the world.

Excavations at Besnagar

By PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M. A.

BESNAGAR is two miles north-west of Bhilsa, the headquarters of the district of the same name, in Gwalior State, and an important station on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. The old town is situated in the fork between the converging rivers, Betwa and Bes. Its ruins, however, are not confined to these boundaries, but have spread at least two-thirds of a mile north of the river Bes. The Bes no doubt corresponds to the ancient name Vidisa, immortalized by Kalidasa in his *Meghaduta*. It is also referred to under the name Vedisā or Vedisaka in the inscriptions connected with the Bharaut and Sanchi Stupas, most of which

belong to the Sunga period (B. C. 150-50). Sir Alexander Cunningham first visited the place in 1873, but made a complete survey of the ruined city two years after. He also found that most of the ruins belonged to the Sunga period, though some were of the time of the Guptas. But the most curious and novel discovery he ever made was that of a standing pillar called Kham Baba, half a mile to the north of the *ghat* where the high road crosses the Bes river. The pillar is looked upon as a divinity, and people come here to make vows, particularly for obtaining a son. The *pujari* of this place is a Gosain of the Saiva sect.

prevented? By preventing the causes, which are generally mental or moral, not physical. Wrinkles begin inside. Though they seem to be located on the surface, their roots are really in the brain. There are as many different kinds of wrinkles as there are different sorts of character. Most wrinkles are simply creases in the skin made by habitual or fixed expressions of countenance; and expressions of countenance are created by thoughts and feelings. The way to prevent ugly wrinkles, therefore, is to prevent ugly thoughts. There is no other way. Skilful massage of the face may do something, but not much. The massage which is effective is of the mind,—that which drives out ill nature, impatience, worry, anger, bitterness, envy, irritation; and gives peace, content, the forward instead of the backward look, kind feelings, hope, faith; for there was—

"Never thought but left its stiffened trace,
Its fossil footprints in the plastic face."

Said a certain lady: "I would as soon think of leaving my room in the morning before putting on my dress, as before putting on my face." How may an attractive face be put on? Not primarily by the aid of the looking glass. That way lies failure. There must be something deeper. Begin the day by summoning kindly feelings to the heart, and sunny and brave thoughts to the mind, and your face will not lack charm. Fill your heart with sunshine, and soon enough you will have a face to match it.

Frances Willard, one of the queens among the women of America, has told us in the story of her life, how in her childhood she longed to be beautiful, and it was a great trouble to her that her features were plain, until a wise older friend changed the whole course of her thoughts by showing her that beauty of mind was worth far more than were any graces of the body; and from that time it was her constant longing and prayer to be made beautiful within. With this aim before her she grew up into one of the noblest women of the world and one of the most winsome.

Sometimes beauty comes to human beings by paths of which they little dream. Persons cry out selfishly for beauty; but alas! God gives them duty instead. Bye-and-bye they learn to forget themselves and to bend lovingly to their tasks. Then out

of their self-forgetting, out of their love, out of their duty-doing, a higher beauty is born for them, infinitely higher, a beauty which all men love, a beauty which awakens envy in nobody, a beauty which endures, a beauty which makes them akin to the angels and to God.

Says Schopenhauer:

"The face of a man gives us fuller and more interesting information than his tongue; for his face is the one record of all he has thought and endeavoured."

Says Thoreau:

"We are all sculptors and painters, and our material is our own flesh and blood and bones. Any nobleness begins at once to refine a man's features, and meanness or sensuality to embrate them."

Writes Ruskin:

"On all the beautiful features of men and women, throughout the ages, are written the solemnities and majesty of the law they knew, with the charity and meekness of their obedience; and on all unbeautiful features are written either ignorance of the law, or the malice and insolence of disobedience."

Says Emerson:

"Beauty is the mark that God sets upon virtue."

Again Emerson:

"You shall not tell me by languages and titles a catalogue of the volumes you have read. You shall make me feel what periods you have lived. A man shall walk, as the poets have described that goddess, in a robe painted all over with wonderful events and experiences;—his own form and features by their exalted intelligence shall be that variegated vest."

There are no such records as those inscribed upon the human body but especially upon the human countenance, were we only skilled to read them.

What tragedies look out of human eyes! What reminiscences of joy lurk in the curves that circle about human lips! What stories of toil, of endurance, of sorrow, of suffering, of defeat, of victory, of loves and hates, of ecstasies and des-pairs, are written in the lines that deepen and deepen with the years on human foreheads and cheeks!

Great qualities of mind and heart often shine through the features and make even the plainest face seem dignified and attractive. We have a marked illustration of this in Abraham Lincoln, whose face was plain and homely to an extraordinary degree, and yet who to those that knew him well came to seem almost beautiful. Socrates was a

notable illustration of the same in the ancient world. Thousands of others might be found, both men and women.

In cases of men of noble character even the furrows on their brow are not lines of ugliness which repel, but of daring, tenderness, strength and greatness which charm and win.

Writes an American poet:

"They are grand old men whose faces hang on my study wall.

I have done with the old beauty, of the flawless marble face, unscarred by thought or struggle or experience.

I want a new and nobler beauty:

I want the tragic beauty of countenance that tells of the conflicts and triumphs of life:

The palimpsest on which we may decipher all that is best in human history;

The beautiful lines and curves laboriously wrought by persevering love;

The face on which great souls have been trying for years to stamp themselves, and which grow more beautiful to the end—

Such are the faces of my grand old men.

"Men create themselves—it is only babes that God creates.

A new idea harboured and entertained will remake a man.

A great idea will make a little man great, it will write itself upon his blank face and transform its meanness and pettiness.

Let us open our doors to the spirit that made the grand old men."

There is no other such sculptor of the face, as the human spirit within. The mind toils all its earthly years to carve and mould a body after its likeness; and nobody and nothing can defeat its purpose. As a vacant mind makes a vacant face, so a sensual disposition carves its sensuality on the countenance; a cold heart creates a hard and steely look; cruelty in the heart writes its cruelty on the features; moral badness within soon finds a tell-tale outside—just as scrofula in the blood breaks out in sores on the skin.

On the other hand, nothing carves the lines of serenity and dignity on the countenance so surely as great and noble thoughts and deeds. Let a high purpose or a splendid enthusiasm burn habitually in the soul, and how certainly the face will become glorified by it! Let kindness be in the heart, and no power can keep the face from revealing its sweet presence.

We sometimes imagine that pain and sorrow destroy beauty. Yes, sometimes they do. If they are borne complainingly, and with a bitter spirit, they only too soon make the fairest faces look lined and old and ugly.

But if they are met bravely uncomplainingly and sweetly, they give to the human face a deeper and diviner beauty than perhaps it ever otherwise obtains.

I have known a woman who for seven years never walked a step, but lay in her bed weak and suffering, or at best sat up and was wheeled about in an invalid's chair; but all the while she was the centre, the delight and the inspiration of a large circle of friends. Though well-educated in earlier years and passionately fond of literature, she was not able to read much; but what she did read was of the best, and others gladly read to her; so that her mind was always well and freshly stored with the best thoughts of the best writers; and all this intellectual treasure she gave so freely and with such charm to others, that her room became a sort of literary *salon*, attractive in the highest degree to all who came within its influence.

She never spoke of her sufferings, indeed she seldom spoke of herself at all, so interested was she in others. Her radiant spirit made all who approached her feel that they were in the presence of health, not illness.

Many who were in sorrow sought her, because nowhere else could they find such tender sympathy and such reinforcement of hope. She took pains to find out and to remember all who were sick within the circle of her acquaintance, made daily inquiries concerning them, and planned to get their wants looked after, or, if nothing else was needed, to have a handful of flowers sent to each.

Her bedside was the brightest spot in the neighbourhood. Few entered her presence without getting from her some high and inspiring thought, and nobody left it without carrying away something of her courage and cheer. Children danced with joy at being allowed to visit her, her greeting was always so bright, and she was so sure to have a flower or bit of confection, an orange or a story for them.

I always think of her as possessed of great beauty. Now, after twenty years, I ask why, and I know the true answer is. Her beauty was of the mind and heart. True, she had luxuriant hair and fine eyes, and features of pleasing outline; but in these respects hundreds of others were her equals. Her superiority was of the soul. The grace

and charm within, shining out, refined, ennobled and glorified her face, and made everybody think of her as extraordinarily beautiful.

It has been said that loveliness is only the outside of love. Certain it is that love in the heart has a magic power to make the face lovely. Where is the boy or the man who loves his mother as a son should, who does not think her beautiful? I suppose the real reason why we always picture the angels in heaven as beautiful, is because we think of them as loving and good.

True religion is a great beautifier of the face, because it creates love and trust in the soul. False religion makes faces hard, gloomy, ugly, because it creates fear in the soul.

Pity and kindness are great beautifiers. Hope is a magical beautifier. Courage tends to mould the features into lines of high dignity and charm. Faith, trust and reverence are all wonderful transformers of the countenance, because they transform the soul. Do not all those who really live near to God, have shining faces?

Sometimes you go to a photographer and sit for a picture. You want it to be a representation not of your ugliest but of your most attractive self. What does the photographer do? Does he make a negative and

then print impressions immediately from that? Not so. He does what he calls "touching up" the negative, before he prints from it. Very likely in this process he may take out strength lines, character lines, if he be a bad artist. But if he is a good artist—a true artist—he takes out only ugliness lines. He notes these lines and wrinkles and expressions that have been put into your face by passion, by worry, by anxiety, by selfishness, by unkindness, by indulgence of your lower appetites; and these he rubs out—as much as he can—thus giving you as far as possible a picture of your better self—of your face unmarred by your soul's deformities.

But how very serious is the thought that your soul is all the while writing its character and its history on the very flesh and bones of your face! The artist can touch up his negative: can he touch up your character? It is something to get the physical marks of passion, greed, worry, impatience, uncharitableness out of your photograph. But how much better if you can keep the ugly passions themselves out of your souls.

This is the great matter of human concern in this world. Here is the supreme task of human life. We must create for ourselves Beautiful Souls.

Value of Cultural Propaganda in International Relations

BY DR. TARAK NATH DAS, PH. D.

SOME time ago the *Times* and the French papers in general, gave prominence to the news item that Dr. Stresemann, the late German Foreign Minister, had asked for 21,000,000 marks (£1,050,000) for "cultural propaganda" in connection with the Foreign Office. In defending the programme of "cultural expansion policy" Dr. Stresemann remarked "that it must not be forgotten that foreign policy to-day must very rightly be a policy of culture in a much greater degree than before the war." Dr. Stresemann further pointed out that "as a young Deputy he had supported the view that the German Reich must do more in the way of a 'cultural propaganda' in the East—for instance in Turkey. Whoever liked the culture, the

language and the science of a country would feel closer to that country politically."

All nations, specially Great Britain and France, are actively engaged in 'cultural propaganda' for their benefit in international politics. But these nations with their characteristic shrewdness carry on this work of "cultural propaganda" secretly or through private institutions, morally and financially supported by the Government or far-sighted statesmen and businessmen. The outstanding example of a very far-sighted project of carrying on cultural propaganda to promote British interests in international politics is the "Rhodes Scholarship Scheme" maintained by the Cecil Rhodes Foundation. If any one carefully studies the life of Cecil

Rhodes, specially his will, he will be convinced that the vast project of selecting about one hundred most intelligent American University men annually to be trained in the Oxford University was conceived for the purpose of cementing closer relation between the United States of America and Great Britain. The ultimate object of this scheme of Anglo-American solidarity is to promote British interests in the form of world domination through the utilization of American power.

In this connection it must be noted with all fairness that Cecil Rhodes was one of the greatest men of the world. He was undoubtedly the most far-sighted British statesman with a constructive programme for British political and cultural supremacy. He used his vast fortune not for personal aggrandizement but to make the British people great. It will not be out of place to quote a portion of the speech of Viscount Grey, the present Chancellor of Oxford University, delivered on May 8, 1929, on the occasion of the opening of the Rhodes House. The *Times* of May 11th reports:

"The Chancellor, Lord Grey of Falldon, on behalf of the University, expressed thanks for the gift of the library. It would, as had been said, help to relieve some of the difficulty of congestion from which the Bodleian, in common with its great colleague, the British Museum, suffered. There was a real and urgent problem, and though this gift might not solve it, it would be a step towards solution. It would contain a collection dealing with past history and present progress from which those whose ambition it was to serve the British Commonwealth of Nations or the great American Republic would be able to draw inspiration and get information. The collection under that roof must do something to further the spirit of enterprise and patriotism which Cecil Rhodes had so much at heart. He trusted it would be remembered by all who used the building that but for the life and work of Cecil Rhodes it would not have come into existence.

Cecil Rhodes possessed certain qualities which he trusted people would always bear in mind in connection with that building. In the first place, he set before himself a great object in life. Making a great fortune had not for a moment distracted him from his goal. He had regarded it as a means to something greater and of more value to mankind than any individual fortune. He had a great imagination, but always realized that it must be kept within the bounds of practical effort. He had cared for personal success, prestige, and renown only so far as they contributed towards his great object. He also had the great quality that he could stand adversity. He had had his period of that at the time of the Matabele rising, when his prestige was clouded and his power diminished, but his spirit was never quenched and his grip on the object he had in view never relaxed.

Full of patriotic feeling and with a great belief in the destiny and qualities of the British race, his was no narrow nationalism, and he believed that if the British race was to do what it was qualified to do it must be done in association with other great nations.

However great the call of public affairs or the events in which a man might be involved he needed some centres of private affection. Rhodes had found his in his college and university, for which he had a deep affection. It was fitting therefore, that there should be a memorial to him at Oxford, and he thanked the Rhodes Trustees for the magnificent building erected."

British statesmen are not unmindful of promoting cultural relations with other countries. For instance, the British Institute in France has raised a fund of more than £75,000 and established several scholarships and a British library. In Italy, British Institutes at Rome, Florence and other cultural centres are doing splendid work. To bring Latin America and Spain into closer cultural relations with Great Britain special professorships of Spanish literature have been established in various British University centres.

In Egypt, British educational institutions are doing their work to promote British interests. The University of Hongkong and the St. Johns University at Shanghai and other British institutions have done splendid work to promote British influence among the Chinese people. The British statesmen have agreed to spend several millions of pounds sterling due from the Chinese Government on account of the Boxer Indemnity, to educate Chinese scholars in British Universities. Only the other day, the British people, through the Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin and the Rt. Hon. Ramsay MacDonald presented an English library to the Japanese people to promote cultural relations between the two nations.

The only place where the British people do not see any necessity of promoting cultural relations is India which is kept under subjection for the benefit of the British people in general and British commercial interests in particular.

In the field of promoting cultural relations, the United States of America through her distinguished citizens of immense fortune, her scholars and Government, has done most wonderful work towards better understanding among nations and to spread American influence in all parts of the world. It is enough to mention that there are various American institutions in Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and other European countries

which are doing very good work. It is necessary to mention that possibly no other institutions have done as much for the awakening of the people of the Near East as the Robert College at Constantinople, and the American University at Beirut.

Individual Americans as the Hon. Charles E. Crane of Chicago and others, and American institutions are spreading American cultural influence all over the Near East and Persia. American people have done more for India culturally than the British who for centuries have derived vast fortunes from India. America's cultural work in China is being carried on a very large scale. It was the American Government which first took the initiative to utilize the Boxer Indemnity money due to the United States for educating the Chinese in the United States and to establish the famous and up-to-date Tchung Hua College (now practically a University of American type) near Peking. Literally thousands of Chinese students, during the last two decades, have enjoyed the opportunity of receiving higher education in American universities. The present Foreign Minister of China Hon. C. T. Wang, the Minister of Communications, Mr. Sun Fo (son of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen), the present Chinese Minister to Great Britain Dr. Sze and scores of other Chinese statesmen are America-trained and pro-American.

The work of the Rockefeller Foundation in the field of medical research, establishment of a first class medical College and hospital in China at the expense of millions of dollars is possibly a very potent factor in spreading American cultural influence. The anti-opium work carried on by American medical missionaries, and American educational institutions as the Yale in China, the Canton Christian College and others have done great service to China and to America in cultural fields.

American cultural influence in Japan is so tremendous that in spite of disagreements between two Governments on various political questions, American-Japanese relations remain cordial. During the early days of the Meiji era it was the Americans who aided in organizing the Japanese educational institutions and thousands of Japanese have been educated in American Universities. Practically all Japanese universities and colleges in American history and government is being taught while in America in all important educational institutions special attention is

given to the study of Japanese history and government.

For some time America neglected the work of cultivating cultural relations with the South American countries, but now steps are being taken to promote this work, because closer cultural relations between the United States and the Latin American countries will result in friendlier relation and will counteract various sorts of anti-American propaganda carried on by European powers (especially the British) interested in undermining American influence. The first indication of this policy is an announcement made in New York that an Argentine American Institute will be established to supplement the work of the already existing Argentine-American Institute at Buenos Aires established in 1927. Plans are being matured so that larger number of Latin American students will go to American universities than ever before. American universities are encouraging study of Spanish language as well as the history and economics of Spanish-American countries. American professors with the aid of the Carnegie Foundation and other similar institutions are visiting the Latin-American countries to come into personal contact with the cultural leaders of these lands.

During the recent years France's efforts to spread her cultural influence among other peoples have been somewhat unique. Practically in every important city in the world to-day there exists at least a small organization to spread French language and thus French influence. To encourage the study of French language in Great Britain, the United States, and other countries the French authorities offer special recognition to students who have specialized in French language. With the object of making Paris the cultural centre of the world the French Government recently donated land free to various Governments, which wished to establish special quarters for their students in Paris.

Fascist Italy has inaugurated special courses in Italian history and culture for foreigners in connection with various Italian universities. These courses are given during the summer when even the tourists can take advantage of the opportunity if they want to do so. Fascist Italy under the direction of Signor Mussolini conceived the idea of establishing *Casa Italiana* (Italian House), in connection with Columbia University of

New York as Italian cultural centre in North America. Italy's example has been followed by other nations. Italian professors are being sent to various parts of the world, especially in those countries where there is a large number of Italians. Italy did not ignore India in her programme of cultural propaganda and sent her best scholars to India and presented a library of Italian literature to the Visva Bharati, although India has not adequately reciprocated this offer of cultural co-operation.

It should be noted that of all the peoples of Asia the Japanese are doing some systematic work in the field of spreading their own culture. Although Japan once learned many things from China, yet during the last quarter of a century more than 50,000 Chinese students have studied in Japanese institutions. In Shanghai, the Japanese have established a college which is a credit to any country. In every important western capital there is a Japan Society or Japanese Association. In Paris, the Japanese have built their own house to provide accommodation for Japanese students and in Berlin through Japanese initiative a Japan institute has been established.

During recent years the crust of cultural isolation of India has broken down to a great extent. It has taken more than a century to have this re-awakening. Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, Swami Vivekananda, Sir. J. C. Bose, Rabindranath Tagore, Dr. Brojendranath Seal, Prof. Raman, Prof. Shah, Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai, the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa, Sastri, Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Prof. Radha Krishnan, Prof. Das-Gupta and others have contributed their shares. It must be said that India has done very little for cultural expansion during the last few centuries although Indian culture once spread in Europe, Africa, all over Asia and possibly in the South American continent. The Indian people have not done their share to aid those Indians, mostly workers, who during the recent years ventured to foreign shores to make their living; and at the same time possibly unconsciously laid the foundation of a new and future Greater India. No systematic work has been done by Indian political or cultural bodies to aid the millions of Indians who are struggling against serious odds. India even failed to send teachers, doctors, worthy business men to elevate these pioneers of Indian colonies. The Greater India Society started by the

enthusiastic and able Dr. Kalidas Nag and others are doing splendid work in giving a new consciousness about the Greater India of the past—India's national heritage in the field of universal culture. Let us hope that the activities of this Society will result in laying a firm foundation for nurturing the weak and somewhat helpless Greater India of to-day, so that there will be a glorious Greater India of the future.

In the field of cultural expansion, quality counts for more than quantity. So a Jagadis Bose, a Raman, a Rabindranath, a Gandhi are worth more than millions of Indians. Similarly, Indian students, educators and intellectuals and business men in foreign lands are more valuable cultural assets for India than mere emigrants. But to be honest one must recognize that India's cultural assets in foreign lands are not adequate. Indian professors, even the best of them, are quite content in staying at home and writing some text-books. They do not do their duty to themselves and the nation that maintain them, when they live as isolationists and do not go abroad to establish newer and closer contact with the rest of the civilized world. Indian universities have lower standards than Universities of Great Britain, France, Germany, United States and Japan, because India's educational leaders are in most cases isolated culturally and they lack courage to demand for such measures and work for such improvements which will make Indian universities culture centres of the world.

Indian professors should go abroad; and steps should be taken to establish exchange professorships in Indian universities. Let the cultural world of India work with a programme that in every first class University in all lands there will be at least one Indian professor and scores of Indian scholars.

Indian students in foreign lands are cultural ambassadors of the nation and they can and should act as national agents for cultural expansion. Organized effort amongst Indian students can accomplish a great deal; and the best example of it is the activities of the Hindustan Association of America. Indian students in America are poor and fewer in number than Indian students in England, but they have done much to demonstrate by their educational achievement and personal life that India's claims for nationhood should be respected. They have done more to discredit such anti-Indian propaganda as carried on by Miss Mayo

than others. This association of Indian students was organized about twenty years ago by half a dozen Indian students and has grown into an institution, an asset to the cause of cultural expansion of India. Similar cultural organization of Indians should be set up in every civilized country of the world.

The majority of Indian politicians do not fully recognize the value of cultural propaganda and thus prove their shortsightedness. Indian universities and Colleges should give special scholarships to worthy young men and women from Indian colonies. Indian universities should send their best scholars and professors to foreign educational centres. Indian universities should establish special

chairs to teach the history and civilization of other peoples; and they should do their best so that responsible Indian scholars may have the opportunity of teaching Indian history and civilization in important foreign universities. Cultural co-operation is undoubtedly a more solid foundation for international co-operation than mere business relations or political associations. Thus farsighted Indian leaders and scholars should take the necessary steps to establish India's international relations on a cultural basis. They should utilize Indians abroad in an effective fashion for this purpose and protect their legitimate rights as India's most valuable assets.

With Sastri in South Africa

By P. KODANDA RAO

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

“WE leave Capetown pleased with our labours and if Indians in South Africa will play the game, the future is full of hope.” This was the gist of an unpremeditated speech made by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on the spur of the moment in response to the persistent call for a speech from him at the farewell reception given to the Indian delegation by the Indians of Capetown. The proceedings of the Round Table Conference were kept a dead secret. Even the cunning cross-examination of the pertinacious press-reporters failed to ferret out any hint from the members of the Conference. The Indian farewell reception was to be a silent spectacle, except for the discussion of the weather, the tea and the cakes, and the midsummer X'mas that had just passed. Nevertheless, despite undertakings to the contrary, Dr. Abdur-Rehman manoeuvred a speech from the leader of the Indian delegation, Sir Muhammad Habibullah, who severely confined it to returning thanks to the hosts. Then arose an insistent demand from the disappointed audience for a speech from Mr. Sastri. Mr. Sastri was well on the move towards the

exit door in company with Colonel Creswell, the Minister of Defence, when he was persuaded to halt for a brief while. And then he made that *impromptu* speech referred to above. The speech was received with wild cheering for the message of hope that it contained. In another hour or two, thanks to Reuters, the tense anxiety with which the results of the Conference were awaited in India, England, the Union of South Africa was relieved and congratulations came pouring in from all quarters. Indians in the Union experienced the joy that a man under a suspended sentence of death feels when he obtains a discharge. The vow of silence was broken, and that was a breach of discipline! Would the “indiscretion” embarrass the Union Government and imperil the agreement? The fears proved in the event unfounded. On the other hand, the speech was necessary and justified in every way. But it required the unerring political instinct of a master mind to make just that speech, and say no more and no less. Mr. Sastri became the beloved of the peoples of the Union, both Indian and European.

In India the public reception of the Capetown Agreement would turn largely on the

opinion of Mahatma Gandhi, who, more than any other Indian, understood the conflicting interests in South Africa and could appraise it in proper perspective. If he approved of the Agreement generally and gave a lead to that effect in good time, much amateurish, captious and arm-chair criticism would be choked off. It was necessary that Mr. Gandhi's opinion should be published simultaneously with the Agreement. Mr. Sastri travelled down to meet Mr. Gandhi who was then touring in the Central Provinces. In the brief intervals between the latter's numerous engagements crowded into a few hours the Mahatma had to cut out a meal also to steal some time! Mr. Sastri explained the situation. Mr. Gandhi's favourable opinion was published simultaneously with the Agreement on the 21st February, 1927.

The old repatriation scheme demanded of the Indian a specific and irrevocable surrender of his South African domicile, and that stung the sense of self-respect of India. The assisted emigration scheme obviates this humiliation. Domicile need no longer be surrendered, and can be resumed within three years.—just like a European emigrant. The upliftment section of the Agreement is a unique achievement, which now constitutes the Magna Carta not only of the Indians but also of the Bantus of South Africa. The publication of the conclusions containing a summary of the conclusions arrived at by the Conference was a wise procedure: it would minimize, if not obviate, disputes about private understandings and interpretations. All these bear the impress of far-seeing statesmanship.

THE AGENT ARRIVES IN SOUTH AFRICA

For a member of the "Servants of India Society," and its President at that, it is one thing to accept a place on the Round Table Conference with freedom of thought and action, and quite another to become a regular servant of the Government of India, subject to its discipline and orders. Mr. Sastri's health was causing grave anxiety. The place of the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa was no bed of roses: it would severely tax even the most robust health. But Mr. Gandhi's insistence that Mr. Sastri must be the first Agent was echoed both in India and in South Africa. Mr. Gandhi and the Government of India, whom he had solemnly promised to displace on account of

'its "Satania" nature, sat hand in hand and cheek by jowl in this matter! Reluctantly Mr. Sastri bowed to the unanimous will of the people and resigned himself to the life of an exile, personal as well as political.

When he arrived in South Africa the situation was anything but encouraging. True, the Agreement went through the Union Parliament unscathed; true, the Union Government had promptly passed legislation to implement these sections of the Agreement which promoted assisted emigration and restricted further immigration of Indians. But no action had been taken with regard to the section of "upliftment" of Indians. Eight-tenths of our nationals in the Union are concentrated in Natal, and therefore, the main burden of uplift falls on that province. The sympathy and support of the Natal Provincial Government and of the Durban Corporation are essential for the purpose. Unfortunately, they were not forthcoming at the time. Natal felt many grievances against the Union Government. Natal is almost entirely British and the Union Government was Dutch; Natal owes allegiance to the South African Party led by General Smuts, while the Union Government is of the Nationalist persuasion and is led by General Hertzog. In Natal the Indian population is about equal to the European population—a potent cause for the violent anti-Indian feeling in that province. The white people of Natal felt that, without their express consent being sought and obtained, the Union Government had been generous with their promises of Indian upliftment at the expense of the Natal. The Natal Provincial Council had formally repudiated the Agreement by a majority of seventeen to three! Under these circumstances, the Union Government felt it impolitic and useless to put pressure on the Natal Government. It wisely kept silent.

In certain quarters there were suspicious and doubts as to why, instead of sending a junior member of the civil service for the comparatively minor post of the Agent of the Government of India, the Indian Government, backed for a wonder by Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian people, sent out so eminent an Indian as Mr. Sastri. Had Mr. Sastri any ambitious instructions up his sleeve?

The Indian community was divided into two hostile camps. The South African Indian Congress had tentatively and cautiously accepted the Agreement, while the Transvaal

British Indian Association had repudiated it and the Congress as well. And all the earnest efforts of Mr. C. F. Andrews to bring the Association into line with the Congress proved futile.

As for Mr. Sastri himself, though, thanks to the efforts of the Commissioner of Asiatic Affairs, the Grand Hotel of Pretoria agreed to accommodate Mr. Sastri and his Indian Private Secretary, not all the persuasion of the Commissioner would induce any hotel in Johannesburg or Durban or Pietermaritzburg to follow suit.

THE CONVERSION OF NATAL

After taking stock of the situation in Pretoria, the seat of the Union Government, Mr. Sastri entered Natal in the middle of July 1927, a fortnight after his arrival in the Union. The Indian Congress had arranged a grand reception in the local Town Hall which was attended by a large number of Europeans also. It was presided over, in the absence of the Mayor on other duty, by the Deputy Mayor, Mrs. Seidle, who struck the first welcome note when she said that Durban would stand by the Agreement faithfully (though later events belied that promise as far as the Durban Corporation was concerned). At this reception Mr. Sastri made his first great speech in which he set out his policy. Whatever his personal opinions, he would not, as Agent of the Government of India, travel beyond the four corners of the Agreement, and the agreement contained no reference to the political franchise. If occasionally young Indians spoke of the franchise, he pleaded with the whites to exercise some little toleration and forbearance, for it was only natural that the South African Indian should feel inspired by the recent attainment of full Dominion status by South Africa and by the development of responsible institutions in India. He would stand by the Agreement, the whole of it and nothing beyond it. With solemn and impressive eloquence he adjured the Natal whites, who are more British than the British themselves, not to forget and betray the honour of the Union Jack and its traditions of chivalry, fair play and freedom of oppressed nationalities while they remembered its might and majesty and the political gains and advantages it brought to them. With the Indians he pleaded that they should get the utmost advantage out of the Agreement, that they should utilize to the full such facilities for education as then existed and as

might in the near future be made available, and that they should exercise some measure of self-help. The speech was electrical in its effects. His good faith was at once acknowledged and he won the confidence and trust of Natal.

His Royal Highness the Earl of Athlone, the Governor General of the Union, is not a mere figure-head. His great and unique, though unobtrusive, services towards the reconciliation of the two contending factions over the flag controversy which very nearly developed into a civil war, were publicly acknowledged by General Smuts and the Prime Minister in Parliament. Happily His Royal Highness was in Durban when Mr. Sastri newly arrived there. Soon Mr. Sastri had an opportunity of meeting the Administrator of Natal, His Honour Sir George Plowman. Subsequently Mr. Sastri was given special facilities to meet the Executive, and later the Provincial, Council of Natal and of expounding to them the nature and contents of the Agreement and the obligations under it. Mr. Sastri visited almost every centre in Natal where Indians are to be found in numbers and explained the Agreement to large, and in several cases record, audiences of Europeans and Indians. Many a European, who had hitherto been fed exclusively on anti-Indian propaganda, learnt for the first time that there was another side to the question and that the Indian had a case, and that the Agreement was a fair compromise and not a one-sided surrender to the Indians. In little over two months Mr. Sastri had the gratification of realizing the first fruits of his labours. On the 22nd of September, which was his birthday, he was authorized to announce that the Natal Administration had, in pursuance of the Agreement, decided to appoint the Education Commission adumbrated in it. No birthday present was more welcome to Mr. Sastri. His hope and faith that Natal "may travel from repudiation to tolerance and so through to complete consent" had come true. In the normal course of things the task properly belonged to the Union Ministers: it was for the Government that concluded the Agreement to defend it in public and get their people to accept it. But in this case, the job had to be done by Mr. Sastri. So deep had the anti-Indian prejudice sunk into the minds of the white people and so contrary was the avowed policy of the present Government when it came to power in 1924 that no responsible

minister yet finds it safe and prudent to go to the country and publicly defend the uplift of the Indians and is, therefore, content to emphasize the success (from the European point of view) of assisted emigration.

THE TRANSVAAL

The task of reconciling the whites of the Transvaal to the Agreement was even more difficult. The Britishers in Natal were susceptible to appeals to their Empire sentiment. They were thrilled to be reminded of their mighty and glorious heritage, and they paused to listen and dwell on the obligations that were part and parcel of that heritage. It was a potent instrument, this appeal to their Empire sentiment, in reconciling them to the uplift of the Indians amongst them, and Mr. Sastri knew how to use it to good purpose. The whites in the Transvaal are Dutch and to them the Empire was an anathema. It was difficult to find a responsive chord among them. The Dutch people and the Dutch press have on the whole bestowed only sullen acquiescence and frigid toleration. If they did not repudiate the Agreement, it was because it was their leaders who now form the Government that concluded it. Though no serious frontal attack against the Agreement has yet developed, a more or less continuous anti-Indian snipping has been kept up in that province. And again and again Mr. Sastri had to hurry up there and intercede in order to stave off an impending danger.

THE AGREEMENT AND PARTY POLITICS

Although Mr. Sastri's exposition of the Capetown Agreement helped largely to dispel the misconceptions regarding it, and as a consequence made it less unacceptable to the dominant community, still it was not safe from party politics and party controversy. The South African Party were not represented at the Round Table Conference: which seemed to justify their taking a purely party attitude towards its results and of opposing them and of denouncing them when they came to power. Natal, the stronghold of the S. A. P., was, as has already been indicated, opposed to the Agreement and was chafing under it. Though happily it encountered no serious opposition or challenge in Parliament General Smuts, the leader of the S. A. P., sat a silent spectator, inscrutable as the sphinx. The S. A. P. were not of one mind in the matter, and there was no

small danger of the anti-Indians weighing down the scale in the balance.

There was yet another and graver danger. The Government of General Hertzog had, in putting their seal to the upliftment section of the Agreement, reversed their former policy towards Indians and gone back on their election promises. From the purely party point of view, apart from the merits of the Agreement, it was a sore temptation to the S. A. P. to show up the Government for their change of front. Once the Agreement was dragged into party controversy, the discussion would not be confined to the inconsistency of the Government, but would extend to the merits of the Agreement; and the embers of the anti-Indian agitation which Mr. Sastri's labours has helped to still, would soon be fanned into a blaze. The general elections were looming ahead, and anything is possible at election time.

These two dangers to the Agreement could be staved off if the leading members of the two political parties could be prevailed upon to give the Agreement not merely gingerly toleration but cordial support. Mr. Sastri celebrated the first anniversary of the publication of the Agreement with a dinner at which were present the leading members of the Cabinet and of the Opposition, except General Smuts. While Dr. D. F. Malan, the Minister-in-charge, was rather cautious and timorous, General Hertzog, the Prime Minister and Mr. Patrick Duncan, the chief lieutenant of General Smuts, gave it their hearty blessing. The English press in the whole Union followed the better example. It was a welcome chorus, and most heartening.

The absence of General Smuts at the anniversary dinner was significant and was a portent that the Agreement was not wholly secure from party criticism and exploitation. In October 1928 he made a public attack on the Agreement; rather he pilloried the Nationalist Government for having fallen an easy prey to the diplomacy of Mr. Sastri, and given away more rights to the Indians! Next morning the *Cape Times*, the leading British journal in the Union and in sympathy with the political party of General Smuts, came out with a slashing attack on him for his mischievous action, and protested that, if the Nationalists had done one good thing during their regime, it was the Capetown Agreement. This was no isolated instance. On numerous occasions leaders of political thought, members of Parlia-

ment and the English press have sworn to and sworn by the Agreement. Speaking at the farewell meeting organized by the Indians in Durban in honour of Mr. Sastri, Senator Sir Charles Smith, Chairman of the South African Party in Natal, said publicly that it was unthinkable that any party in South Africa would ever think of going back upon the Cape Town Agreement.

CHANGE OF HEART

Nevertheless, the South African Party at its last annual conference held in Bloemfontein, passed, at the insistent pressure of its Natal members, a resolution on the Indian question in the following terms:—"The South African Party favours the maintenance of restrictions on Asiatic immigration and of Government assistance for permanent repatriation." There is no mention of uplift! Strange are the exigencies of politics. If the position of Indians in the Union is not to slide back but to improve, something more than the Government's signature to a bond is necessary—a change of heart among the European citizens. That is the only permanent security.

Having known the Indians amidst them principally as either coolies or petty traders who undercut them, the Europeans had formed a low and contemptuous opinion of Indians as a community, unworthy of their appreciation and respect. The higher aspects of Indian civilization and culture were a sealed book to them. Mr. Sastri opened their eyes to these treasures of the East. In numerous addresses to crowded audiences at schools and colleges and universities, at city halls and church gatherings, even from the pulpits of European churches Mr. Sastri expounded, with a clarity and eloquence all his own, the philosophy and the literature of India, and described her peoples and her institutions. He was no apologist, no propagandist, for India. If Mr. Sastri admired the British Empire, he was no less proud of the rich heritage of India. His fair and impartial statements, his balanced judgments and his persuasive eloquence captivated the intellectual aristocracy of the land, and won its willing homage. His own character and personality gave concreteness to what his words conjured up. His was an unprecedented triumph of personality over race prejudice, of culture over politics. Doors which were closed to him when he arrived

in the country were now open and those who barred his entrance felt proud if he entered. The Bishop of Johannesburg, that uncompromising champion of Christian relations between the races, had anticipated this, and had Mr. Sastri as the guest of himself and his wife. The first hotels in the land competed for his patronage. When it was feared that Mr. Sastri would not consent to prolong his stay in the Union beyond the year he had stipulated for, the press joined the Indians in persuading him to change his mind. When he toured in the country the mayors of each town he visited received him with civic honours and presided over his meetings, and in some cases entertained him at lunches and, in one instance, made him the guest of the City. Even the Dutch Reformed Church, conservative in its race prejudice, fell under his spell and prevailed upon him to speak to a large public meeting on Christianity as he saw it. When at Klerksdorp in the Transvaal the Deputy Mayor attempted unsuccessfully to break up his meeting, the indignant condemnation of his conduct testified to the enthusiastic appreciation of Mr. Sastri's services not only to the Indian cause but to South Africa as well. The citizens of Cape Town raised funds by public subscription for a bust of Mr. Sastri executed by a talented European sculptor. And when finally, after eighteen months of strenuous service, he left the country to return to India, numerous and remarkable tributes were paid to his popularity, his hold on the affections of the peoples of South Africa and his great services to the country.

This was in the main a triumph of personality. But it was not without a favourable reaction on the Indians as a whole. The Lord Bishop of Natal was not speaking only for himself when in his address to his clergy and laity at the Diocesan Synod, he said, "We, English people, cannot—can we?—afford to despise any longer a people out of whom has come one whom many of us have had the privilege of meeting, the present Agent in South Africa of the Indian Government," and when he exhorted the churchmen that in case of need they "must stand by him and give him the help and the encouragement which he will look for and welcome from us for his people's sake." When the South African Indian Congress held its annual sessions in Kimberley and in

Durban, representatives of the European press attended; and the proceedings received wide publicity and notice. In response to invitations, several Departments of Government were represented at the meetings, and they offered explanations, or took notes for submission to higher authorities. For the first time meetings organized by Europeans in honour of Mr. Sastri were thrown open to Indians. When the Indo-European Council of Johannesburg gave a farewell dinner to Mr. Sastri, more than a score of local

cheerfully and thankfully acknowledged on all hands that there has been a change of heart in large sections of thinking people. This is perhaps the most valuable part of Mr. Sastri's services. Whether this improvement will last will depend on the continuity of cultural contact between South Africa and India and the facilities that the Europeans are provided with for such contact. Since returning to India Mr. Sastri has pleaded for some of our first-rate men and women of culture to visit South Africa, where they are assured of a cordial welcome.



The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri

Indians dined at the Carlton Hotel which once had refused to open its doors to Mr. Sastri himself. At his instance, the Orient Club, the splendid country club of the Indians of Durban, made it a feature of its activities to invite prominent Europeans to its Sunday lunches. Its invitations were readily and eagerly accepted. Mr. Sastri was able to entertain local Indian friends at European hotels in Capetown and in Natal. The word "coolie" is no longer the synonym for the Indian, and paragraphs of wanton offence to the Indians have ceased to be the delight of the leading newspapers. It was

JOINT COUNCILS

As the local Indians are denied the political franchise and social intercourse with Europeans, their point of view has very little chance of reaching and influencing the enfranchised class. In the time of Mr. Gandhi the Indian cause had many friends among Europeans, some of whom had so far identified themselves with it that they suffered imprisonment for it. Unluckily, however, when the anti-Indian agitation was at its worst in the first half of this decade there was hardly a European in South Africa who would interpose a kindly word for the Indian. And in South Africa a word of defence or remonstrance from a European carries greater influence with the politically dominant class than the anguished cry of the injured Indian or the Native. A group of Europeans who were willing to meet the Indians and understand their point of view, and if convinced, publicly espouse their cause and in turn, explain to the Indians the view point of the Europeans and prevent unfounded misconceptions would be an invaluable asset to the Indians. The Native has such friends in the Joint Councils of Europeans and Bantus. A parallel organization to bring together the Indians and the Europeans was conceived very soon after Mr. Sastri's arrival in Durban, but the time was not ripe for launching it. It was, therefore, left on the simmer. In about a year the situation had so far improved that some Europeans themselves felt the need for such an organization and sought Mr. Sastri's assistance to form one, which was readily forthcoming. Two Indo-European Councils have been formed, one in Johannesburg and another in Durban, which have already justified themselves by their excellent work. For instance, the Indo-European Council of

Johannesburg under the chairmanship of Prof. J. M. Watt of the local University, interceded publicly and effectively in rescuing the Indian waiters and barmen from a law that proposed to deprive them of their means of living; and the Bishop of

Johannesburg, another member of the Council, went so far as to administer a public rebuke to the Government for contemplating this grave injustice to the Indian waiters.

To be concluded.)

The Aristocrats

By SITA DEVI

ANANTA Guha was born at the time when fickle Dame Fortune was already beginning to desert the Guha family. At one time this family had been famous in the countryside for its wealth and its pedigree alike. But Ananta's grandfather had gone in for various kinds of business, thereby decreasing the family fortunes considerably. His son Adinath became inordinately close-fisted. He would never spend a rupee, if he could manage with eight annas. But this did not improve matters much. When Ananta grew up, he found that his family fortunes consisted of a huge dilapidated building, some landed property and a colossal pride of family.

Ananta's mother was cast down at this adversity. The house had once been full of attendants and servants, but now it had become mute as the grave. She had to do all the housework besides looking after the child. Her mind lost all peace. She did her best to make her husband share this feeling of disquiet, but he was not a person to be easily perturbed. He would only laugh and answer, "My dear, though you grumble now to carry this child about, you will be glad afterwards. This very child will bring back Dame Fortune to our house. Have not you seen his horoscope? If we could but bring him up properly, all our troubles would be over."

They tried their best to bring Ananta up properly. His mother sold her few remaining ornaments, the father mortgaged the house and thus raised some money. With this Ananta was sent to the town, to continue his studies. He knew very well from the beginning, what was expected of him. He

would have to replace the crumbling ruins with a brand new house, and for her few ornaments he must pay back to his mother just as much as she could possibly wear. His brain seethed with ideas of making money. He never wasted any time. During the vacations, whenever he came home, mother and son would talk only about this.

"As soon as you have graduated," his mother would say, "I shall arrange your marriage. You will see what kind of a girl I choose. The person, who can give a houseful of furniture, a boxful of jewellery and a sackful of money, can have my son as his daughter's husband. None else should dare to look at him."

The son assumed a humble pose. "Oh go on, mother," he would say, "who is going to pay so much for your son? A graduate is nothing rare nowadays. In every lane in Calcutta, you will find dozens of them."

"That may be," the mother would answer. "But none of such good family as you! In this family one son is equal to ten thousand rupees. No daughter-in-law came in here with a smaller dowry. Do you know how my father became ruined? Just on account of my marriage. But nobody ever heard him grumbling. He had done something worth doing."

Ananta had faith in his mother's words. So gradually he came to regard himself as a valuable property.

He graduated in good time. His mother at once engaged professional matchmakers to find out a suitable match for him. They were instructed to find out first of all, whether the bride's father was rich, then to enquire after other things.

There is no famine of bride in Bengal any time. Whatever you might look for you are sure to find sooner or later. So rich fathers too were found in many places.

Negotiations were opened in a certain quarter. The girl was not bad looking, and was about fourteen years of age. "If they admit to her being fourteen," said Ananta's mother Mahalakshmi, "she must at least be sixteen or seventeen. Why, she is quite a woman! I wonder whether she would submit to discipline. She may bring on an estrangement between our boy and ourselves."

"No fear," said Adinath. "In our family, no one ever went by women's advice. If they agree to our terms, I won't object to the girl's age."

The girl's father agreed to the terms. Mahalakshmi nearly went wild with joy. The day appointed for the wedding seemed too far off, she wanted to drag it nearer by main force. As she could not do that, she began to indulge in day dreams to her heart's content. She made a list of all the ornaments she would order as soon as she had got the marriage dowry in hand. Her husband had spoken truly. Her son was really going to revive the family fortunes. The bride's father had agreed to pay them five thousand rupees cash and jewels and other presents worth another five thousand. The girl was his only daughter, so they could look forward reasonably to costly gifts every year at festival times.

But man proposes, God disposes. Things did not work out quite in the way Mahalakshmi had been dreaming of. Adinath started on the appointed day for the bride's house with his son, a crowd of friends and relatives, and a brass band which rent the very heavens with clamour. Mahalakshmi remained behind, talking to the assembled ladies of the neighbourhood and making arrangements for the reception of the bride. She wanted to show all the jealous old cats of the village that they could still manage a reception worthy of their name.

Ananta was due to return with his bride today. The house was chokeful of relatives and guests. Mahalakshmi kept a sharp look upon all the arrangements, and her voice rose gradually to an astonishing pitch. Her excitement knew no bounds. A band had been stationed at the main gate. Their instruments gave out shrill notes every now and then and fell silent again. They waited

for the arrival of the wedding party to play with full vigour.

Of Mahalakshmi's own people, only her brother's wife had come with her child. She was received very cordially. The two sisters-in-law sat talking. "I say, sister," the new-comer asked, "is it true that the bride is not good-looking?"

Mahalakshmi flared up at once. "Who has been telling you such lies?" she asked. "Has she gone and seen the bride with her own eyes?"

"Rumours are always noised about," said her sister-in-law. "You need not get angry over that. They must have heard that Ananta is getting quite a round sum, so they have conjectured that something must be wrong with the bride."

But this served to increase Mahalakshmi's temper. "Why should they dare to conjecture any such thing?" She cried out with asperity. "Is my son so worthless that nobody can pay five thousand for him? Is there such another family in the whole countryside? Girls, beautiful as goddesses have been married into this family and brought dowries worthy of princesses, too. Did not the old cats look then? They are dying of jealousy, that's what's the matter with them."

At this juncture, the band struck up with great enthusiasm, putting an end to all arguments. Everyone ran to have a sight of the bride.

During the clamour and confusion of receiving the bride according to orthodox rites, Mahalakshmi had no opportunity of asking her husband anything. The bride could not be called beautiful, but neither was she ugly. Ananta's face looked very gloomy. Mahalakshmi thought that he must have been disappointed in the bride's looks. She laughed to herself. How long could a woman keep her good looks after all! Once she became a mother, beauty would vanish like a dream. Take her own case, for instance.

After the neighbours and guests had departed, Mahalakshmi found herself at leisure. She entered her bedroom and found her husband lying down with an ominous frown on his face. Her heart gave an uneasy leap, in anticipation of some impending calamity. She went hastily to the side of her husband and asked, "What's the matter? Why are you lying like that?"

"I hope, you won't shriek and storm, when I tell you," said Adinath. "In my opinion it's no use publishing one's own folly to the neighbours. Let's keep it to ourselves."

Mahalakshmi's anxiety knew no bounds. "First tell me, what has happened," she urged.

"I did not get the dowry money," said Adinath.

Mahalakshmi's brain seemed to catch fire. "Then why have you brought over that scarecrow of a bride?" she shouted. "Could not you have brought your son back alone?"

"No, I could not," said Adinath. "The bride's father was ill, he wept, taking me by the hand, and promised to pay me in full within three months. If he could not, he bound himself to take back his daughter. We would be free to marry our son again. After such talk, what else could I do but consent? To come away, would have been too heartless and mean. We have our family tradition to consider. In other respects, they have kept their word. The presents and jewels are all right."

This did not pacify Mahalakshmi by any means. "What do I care, if they are?" she cried. "It won't gladden my eyes much to look at your son's wife glittering with jewels. I sold all my jewels to educate my son, and hoped he would amply recompense me. But, what a fool you are! I feel like hanging myself. I shall kick out that swindler's daughter, first thing in the morning."

Adinath got fed up with his wife's display of temper. "What's the hurry?" he asked. "If they don't pay up after three months, you may do whatever you like. Since I have given my word, I shall keep it."

"Have they kept theirs?" asked Mahalakshmi angrily.

"Other people have always learnt manners from us," Adinath said, "we never learnt from others."

Mahalakshmi raged and stormed but she could do nothing against her husband's wish. The bride's reception passed off somehow. The girl understood her position clearly enough, but she could only depend on destiny. She wrote piteous letters to her father's house, requesting them to fulfil their word, else untold sufferings lay in store for her.

But suffering is the birthright of most

Bengali girls, and the new bride Lalita did not escape it. Ananta was not very loving in his treatment of her, but neither was he wantonly cruel. He would even caress her sometimes when the mood took him. So on the whole, Lalita had no great faults to find with him. But her mother-in-law was the real source of danger. Her sharp and cruel words seemed to pierce the poor girl's heart through. She could only weep. She had nothing to do with her father-in-law, she never saw him. The gentleman was sore against the girl, because she had entered their noble family through fraud, without paying adequately for this high privilege. He did not really recognize her as his son's wife in his heart of hearts. So he remained supremely indifferent and disdainful in his attitude.

But matters did not rest there. After the three months had passed the money was not forthcoming. Instead, news came that Lalita's father was dying. He promised to pay them fully, next year, if he was spared. Now he wanted them to send Lalita to him as he was very anxious to see his child.

Needless to say, this grievous news did not give rise to a tempest of sorrow in this noble family.

"The liar, the swindler!" cried out Mahalakshmi. "Let them take away their girl, for ever." She was ready enough to chase her daughter-in-law out with a broomstick, only her husband's zeal about aristocratic deportment kept her from doing it. Ananta did not say either yes or no. He was a good son, and he could never contradict his parents. When his wife actually left, shedding tears of anguish, his heart ached for a time. But he was himself soon, hardening his heart with the thought of his father-in-law's perfidy.

Ananta did not have to suffer from the pangs of separation for a long time. A second bride soon made her appearance and drove away all darkness from his hearth and heart. Her name was Meghamala. She was much better looking than Lalita. Ananta's price had gone down somewhat in the marriage market as he was no longer a bachelor, still his noble family stood him in good stead and he fetched a fairly good price. His second father-in-law was a man of means too, and he did not create any trouble at the time of paying down all he had promised. Mahalakshmi bought ornaments

to her heart's content. From the first she took a liking to Meghamala. Though the girl came of quite an ordinary family, her training had been good. She regarded her mother-in-law with veneration like a goddess. So the days passed on quite smoothly. Ananta secured a good job in a bank through the recommendation of his father's friends. He was a thrifty man and soon began to lay by money. He could not bring over his wife to Calcutta as his parents were still living. He went home on week ends and enjoyed the society of his young wife. The rest of the week, he spent in a hostel.

Nobody enquired after Lalita and she too remained silent. They heard through people that her father was dead. Sometimes a mild young face, and a pair of dark, tearful eyes would intrude themselves into Ananta's mind but not for long.

His second wife Meghamala had really brought him luck. The fortunes of the family continued to flourish more and more. Mahalakshmi got a boxful of jewels and the old house, which had been falling into ruins was thoroughly repaired and repainted and became quite new in appearance. The host of servants returned again. Mahalakshmi had nothing left to do, but criticize her neighbours and their affairs. Everyone feared her sharp tongue and her unbounded leisure.

Ananta always found his mother holding a court of social justice, whenever he came home. It seemed not to matter at all to the dispensers of justice that the culprits were all absent. They went on condemning right and left and felt thoroughly satisfied with themselves.

Ananta never liked to see time or money wasted. But he hesitated to say anything to his mother, lest she should take offence.

But this sight proved too irritating for him at last. "Mother," he said, "haven't these old women anything to do? I see them wasting your time with their endless gossip, everytime I come here."

Mahalakshmi yawned long and loud and said, "I have nothing to do, my dear boy. I have not even a grandchild to play with and carry about. You are my only son and have been married these three years. But there is no sign of a baby yet."

Ananta himself had been feeling rather troubled on this matter. His mother's words served to increase the perturbation

of his spirits. Meghamala tried her best, but could not remove the gloom from her husband's countenance that evening.

Ananta returned to Calcutta, but could not forget his mother's remarks. She had spoken truly. Was he never going to become a father at all? That would be a terrible calamity. The noble family would end with him. Was this a punishment meted out to him, because he had driven out his innocent first wife? If Meghamala really turned out to be barren, he might have to marry again. Poor Meghamala! How unfortunate these women were! They seemed to be born for suffering, though in most cases, the fault was not theirs.

But Meghamala was young as yet, he could afford to wait a few years more. If he could get his parents' consent, he would bring his wife over and consult a specialist. If they advised any kind of treatment, he would stand for it. Could not he bring Lalita back again? But his second wife would hardly consent to live with a rival. Still there was a chance of a rival appearing, even if she did not consent. So an old one was better than a new one. He must find out whether Lalita was alive and where she was.

These thoughts he kept to himself. But Meghamala was an intelligent girl, and she could see very well that something was preying on her husband's mind. It was not difficult to conjecture what that thing was, because though Ananta remained silent, not so his mother. Her disappointment was becoming more and more stormy in its outbursts and she collected all the amulets, medicines and charms she had heard about and loaded the poor girl with them. Meghamala began to get more and more depressed.

Suddenly Adinath fell ill. For a few days Meghamala got a respite. Nobody had any attention to spare for her. Ananta secured a month's leave and came home to look after his father, for there was no other man in the house.

Their village was a fairly large and modern one. It had a school, a charitable hospital and a competent medical practitioner. He was called in. Adinath grew better at first, then he relapsed again and then again gained a bit. Matters went on thus for the first week.

One morning, the doctor called Ananta aside and said, "Look here. Ananta Babu,

I want to say something to you. Your father is an old man and he is getting weaker every day. I don't even suggest that he would not recover if he stayed on here. But in the case of old people, it is no harm being extra careful. If you want to take him to Calcutta, do it now. For, if you delay long, it may become impossible to remove him."

Ananta felt his heart sinking. Though the doctor did his best to hide his real meaning, Ananta understood well enough that his father's condition was becoming serious. The doctor was not feeling sure of himself. Ananta at once wired to one of his friends in Calcutta to engage a house for him. Himself, he started for the railway station to arrange for a reserved compartment for himself and the family. Everyone had to go. Mahalakshmi insisted on accompanying her husband and as Meghmalala could not be left behind alone, she too got ready to go. Her services were sure to be required for the invalid.

Fortunately, Ananta was successful in securing both the house and the reserved compartment. They started for the railway station, the invalid in a palanquin, and the womenfolk in a hackney coach. Their luggage was brought over in a bullock cart. Even now, Ananta could not help thinking of the enormous expenditure he was being put to.

They reached Calcutta safely and Adinath was given the best medical treatment available. But his end had come. A few days later, he passed off, leaving all ties and pride of family behind. Before his death, he was heard to bewail his hard luck, in not being able to see the face of a grandchild. Meghmalala's heart became heavy with premonitions of disaster.

Mahalakshmi's wails of sorrow filled the whole house. There was no consolation for her anywhere in this terrible bereavement. The world became dark to her.

"Let's go back to the village, mother," said Ananta. "What's the use of tarrying here longer?"

Mahalakshmi objected vigorously. I won't look at that house again," she wailed. "The jealous old cats have got their heart's desire now. Their eyes burnt with envy when they saw me covered with jewels. Now they will be satisfied to see me a widow. I don't want to give them that satisfaction."

"But the house will fall into ruins, mother," said Ananta. "Please don't be so unreasonable. We are unlucky to lose father but still we

must carry on. It would never do to let everything go to the dogs."

Mahalakshmi became somewhat calm and said, "You are my all, my darling. I don't want any other property. If you live, I am satisfied. For whom shall I go and look after the property? You have no children. When we are all gone, those rascally relatives will come into everything. We need not take care of the house and lands for them. Let everything fall into ruins."

Ananta seemed to receive a blow right on his heart. True it was, what his mother said. For whom was he amassing wealth and building up a fortune? Their home has remained a desert without children.

"What have you decided?" asked Meghmalala at night. "Shall we return or stay on here?"

"I don't know what to do," said Ananta. "Mother is wholly opposed to the idea of going back. But go we must, at least for the purpose of celebrating the *shradh* ceremony. Then if she insists on coming back, we shall come back. It would be good in one way. I wanted to keep you here for some time in order to consult some specialists."

"What for?" asked Meghmalala with a sad smile. "Because I have no child?"

"It's no laughing matter," said Ananta gravely. "I am the only child of my parents. If I don't leave any child behind, the family would disappear. That would be a calamity. Our family is the noblest and the most ancient in our country."

"What can a specialist do for me?" said his wife. "I don't think I shall ever be a mother. You had better marry again."

She had spoken half in jest and half in earnest. She wanted to know what Ananta intended doing. But as soon as she had spoken, she repented. The expression on Ananta's face boded little good for her.

"If fate ordains it," said Ananta, "I might have to do it yet." Meghmalala had no reply to this.

Ananta's heart was full of care. After his father's death, a messenger had been sent to Lalita to acquaint her with the news. But the messenger came back with the information that the family had left that village. Their house had fallen into ruins. The old folks were dead. The sons had gone away to other places in search of employment. Nobody knew where Lalita was or whether she was still alive.

Ananta felt very much depressed. It would have been much to his advantage if he could have brought Lalita back. If he married again, it would mean much censure and calumny in society. Nobody would understand his necessity, but everyone would condemn loudly. It would be difficult too, to secure a good bride. Nobody would wax enthusiastic over a bridegroom, who had already two wives living. His noble blood would not help him much. He would only get a girl, whom no one else would accept. And it would be no easy job for him to live with a totally unsuited wife after having lived with such a wife as Meghamala. Besides, what would happen to poor Meghamala? She might do something very rash in her sorrow and disappointment. If he could have brought Lalita back, all his difficulties would have been solved at once. His own conscience would have been satisfied and he would have received praise from all quarters instead of censure. Even Meghamala would have preferred this to his marrying again, for Lalita's claim was prior to her own. Meghamala's parents had given her in marriage, knowing of the existence of Lalita, so they too could not have objected much. Lalita was a very charming and sweet girl, though she was not a beauty. He might even have persuaded his two wives to live together. But no trace of Lalita could be found. Once she had been driven away with insults, but now her husband's house opened its door wide in welcome to her. Still she did not return. Among the teeming millions of India, she seemed to be lost for ever.

Ananta paid a visit to his village in order to perform his father's *Shradh* ceremony, then he returned to Calcutta with his wife and mother. The days passed on. Ananta did not grudge any expense for Meghamala's treatment. Mahalakshmi too was indefatigable in her search for charm and amulets, which would remove the curse of barrenness from her son's wife. But Meghamala herself felt more and more hopeless every day.

Still she was very young as yet, so Ananta tried to keep up hope. He was ready to wait a couple of years or so, then he must make Meghamala see reason and permit him to marry again. He would never neglect her one single bit. She would remain the real mistress of his home. The new wife would occupy quite a subordinate place.

Mahalakshmi too was in falling health. She was suffering from various complicated diseases, but stubbornly refused to be treated by any doctor. So matters went on for some time.

Suddenly, one day she took a turn very much for the worse. Ananta had gone to his bank and the servant too had gone out and was not likely to return before the evening. The only persons in the house besides the invalid, were the old maidservant and her frightened young mistress.

Meghamala was trembling with fear at her mother-in-law's condition. "Please call some one," she requested the maidservant, "so that I can send to the bank for my husband."

"Whom shall I call?" asked the old woman. "I don't think I shall find anybody at home now. Everyone has gone out to work."

"What shall we do then?" asked Meghamala in perplexity.

"Look here," said the maidservant. "There's a lady doctor living at the corner of the street. She enjoys a very good practice. Shall I go and call her?"

Meghamala breathed with relief. "All right," she said. "Run for her. I shall send her her fees, as soon as your master returns."

The old woman hurried out as fast as she could. She returned within half an hour, accompanied by a young lady, who was very tastefully yet soberly dressed. The maidservant carried a small handbag.

When she saw Meghamala the lady doctor asked, "Who is ill? Your servant could explain nothing clearly."

"Come into this room, please," said Meghamala. "My mother-in-law is ill."

The lady doctor went in. Mahalakshmi raised no objection to her, because she was a woman and quite a young one at that. She looked very amiable and good-natured. She examined the old lady deftly and asked her a few questions. Then she sent the old maidservant to her house, and had the necessary things and medicines brought over. She stayed for nearly an hour, and left after Mahalakshmi was feeling somewhat better. She instructed Meghamala to send for her again, if the old lady became worse. Even if she were not at home, there were a couple of nurses living with her who would come and help.

Meghamala told her that as soon as Ananta returned, she would send the doctor her fees.

The young lady laughed and said, "You need not worry about that. It can wait." She left, as if in a hurry.

Meghamala returned to her mother-in-law. The old lady had become extremely restless. "When will Ananta return?" she asked continuously.

Fortunately, Ananta came back rather early that day. Meghamala ran to him saying, "It's a mercy that you have returned early today. I was in such a state! Mother was about to collapse and was saved purely through the grace of God. The maidservant called in a lady doctor, who helped us a lot. Come and see mother, she is very restless. I have not paid the lady doctor her fees yet."

Ananta had come back as he was feeling very unwell himself. But he forgot about his own indisposition now and ran to see his mother.

"So you have come at last?" said Mahalakshmi. But you are looking very unwell."

"Never mind about me. I hear that you have been very ill. Now, do you realize the effect of leaving diseases untreated?"

"I am old, my dear," said Mahalakshmi, and cannot last for ever. I would count myself fortunate, if I could go before you."

"Let this lady doctor treat you," said Ananta. "Since you won't allow anybody else to come near you. She lives near by, and will be able to come whenever needed."

"Very well," said his mother. "The girl seemed a good one. She reminded me of someone."

Ananta came out of his mother's room. "I won't take anything now," he said to Meghamala. "I am feeling very feverish. I shall go and lie down for a bit."

"Good God," said Meghamala, "misfortune never comes alone. Now, both of you are taken ill. How am I to look after you both?"

"It's no use grumbling against fate," said Ananta. "People don't get ill intentionally for the fun of it. You will have to manage somehow."

His temperature rose steadily, and did not show any signs of going down the next day. Poor Meghamala was at her wit's end. She did not know whom to attend. She was extremely unwilling to leave her husband, yet if she left her mother-in-law entirely in

the charge of the maidservant, the old lady became furious.

Ananta noticed her plight and said, "We must not think of economy now. Call your lady doctor and ask her to get a nurse for mother. The maidservant is useless and I don't blame mother for getting angry with her."

Meghamala sent for the lady doctor, Miss Mitra. When she came, she requested her to get a nurse for the old lady, and then ran back to her husband. Ananta never liked to be left alone.

The lady doctor went and sat down by Mahalakshmi's bed. "Come, my dear," said the old lady. "I liked you at first sight. What's your name? I cannot call you doctor, can I?"

"My name is Latika Mitra," said the young lady.

"Are you married?" asked her patient. "No? You are too busy, I suppose, with your practice? Why have you put on glasses at this age? Is your eyesight very bad?"

"Yes, it is rather," said the girl. "How are you today?" she asked, giving Mahalakshmi no chance to gossip further.

Meghamala came in again. "How is Ananta now?" asked Mahalakshmi.

"The temperature has risen again," said Meghamala sadly.

"Is he running a high temperature every day?" asked the lady doctor.

"Yes," said Meghamala. "He is taking lots of medicine, but nothing seems to do him any good."

"Go away for a long change of air," advised the lady doctor. "That is the best treatment for these cases. He ought not to live in a town." She turned to Mahalakshmi and said, "It would do you good too."

"My health does not matter a bit, my dear," said the old lady. "Ever since I heard of my boy's illness, my blood has turned into water. I would be fortunate if I could go before him. He is the only child I have got."

The old maidservant came in and said to Miss Mitra, "A small boy is asking for you."

The lady doctor got up in a hurry and said, "I must go now, I shall send the nurse, next morning."

"Who is the boy?" asked Mahalakshmi. "You said, you are not married."

The young lady looked rather embarrassed

as she answered. "Oh, that one is a boy I brought up." She left in a hurry.

"Never trust these hussies," said Mahalakshmi, with a wry face. "You never know, what they really are."

Ananta showed no signs of improvement. His doctor too advised him to go away for a long change.

Ananta's heart was broken. He knew perfectly well what his disease was and that there was no chance of recovery. Even the fear of approaching death could not make him forget the disappointment of dying childless.

As he lay thinking, Meghamala came in and said, "Mother was asking me to take you to her room. That room is much better ventilated than this one. She can go about now, but you are confined to your bed."

Ananta had ceased to object to anything. "Very well," he said.

Coolies were called in and the exchange of rooms was soon effected. Next morning Meghamala was busy preparing food for Ananta. Ananta lay alone, thinking of the few days he had left on this earth. Who was going to look after his invalid mother and his young wife?

Suddenly, he looked up at the sound of footsteps. Was this a spectre he was looking at?

A girl had come in. She too started violently at the sight of the figure on the bed. "Was not your mother here yesterday?" she asked.

"Yes," said Ananta. "But we have exchanged rooms last evening. But who are you? Are you Lalita? Or is this a hallucination?"

The girl took off the coloured glasses that covered her eyes. "Yes, I was called Lalita once," she said. "But now I am Latika

Mitra, a lady doctor. Tell me where your mother is. I must go and see her."

"It is strange that mother did not recognize you," said Ananta. "She had been seeing you everyday."

"How could she?" asked Lalita. "Did she ever look at my face in those old days? Only once, perhaps she looked, when I entered your house. Then she got busy abusing me. My face was always veiled. Besides, it's nearly ten years now. People's appearance changes a lot. Then there are these glasses."

Suddenly, a small boy rushed into the room. "Mother, how absent-minded you are!" he cried. "Look, you left your bag at home!"

Lalita snatched the bag from his hand. "You are a little busybody," she said, "who asked you to come here? Go away now."

"Let him remain," cried Ananta eagerly. "I want to look at him well. Lalita, whose child is this?"

Lalita looked out of the window at the street outside, but made no reply.

Ananta tottered up from the bed and approached her. "Why have you hidden him so long?" he asked. "Do you know, my whole life has become futile for want of a child? I cannot die even with an easy mind."

"But you never thought twice before rendering another life futile," said Lalita.

"I am amply punished for that sin," said Ananta. "Be merciful now and come back. Give me my child."

Lalita's face hardened up suddenly. "Who said he is your child?" she cried. "He is an orphan whom I brought up out of charity."

"You are lying," shouted Ananta in a broken voice.

"Maybe I am," said Lalita. "But how are you going to prove it?"

She walked out of the room with firm steps, holding her boy by the hand.

behind it. As the pillar was a Garuda column, the temple of Vasudeva must have been in the close vicinity, and the form of the letters and the mention of Antialkidas in the inscription showed that the structure was of about 140 B. C. An indication of such a definite nature was unfortunately lacking elsewhere among the ruins of Besnagar. A lot of excavation had been done by Mr. Lake here, but promiscuously because without any indication of this kind; and the result was that most of the mounds dug into by him proved barren. Such was not the case with the site on which Heliodoros' column stood. There was every likelihood of our finding here the remains of what might prove to be the earliest structure of Vasudeva cult, and also some materials of the Sunga age, about which our knowledge was then so scanty.

The pillar, as it stands, rises from a platform 3' 2" high (Fig. 2). It tapers towards the top, and consists of two parts, namely, the shaft and the capital, each of which is a monolith. The shaft is octagonal at the base, sixteen-sided in the middle, and thirty-two-sided at the top, with an ornamental garland dividing the upper and middle portions. The capital consists of a bell-shaped structure surmounted by an abacus. The latter ends in a projecting tenon tapering at the top, on which was no doubt originally fixed a Garuda figure, which has now disappeared.

Thanks to Sir John Marshall who was able not only to prevail upon the late Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior to allow the Archaeological Department to excavate the place but also to liberally finance the operations, I was placed in charge of this work which kept me occupied for two consecutive cold seasons of 1913-14 and 1914-15. The site round about the Kham Baba covered an area of three acres

approximately. Trenches were sunk here and there and everywhere, and it was not till the first season was nearly over and some important structural remains were exhumed that the excavation could yield some intelligible story of the past here. In the close proximity of the pillar is the house of the modern *pujari* called Babajee, perched on a high mound. In fact, it was the only mound



Fig. 2.—Kham Baba Pillar

on this site. There was hardly any doubt as to its being the original site of the shrine of Vasudeva referred to in the inscription. But just because Babajee's house was standing on it, we could not excavate it quite to our satisfaction. We sunk trenches, however,

source of information for Maratha affairs in Northern India during the second half of the eighteenth century, a subject on which the records preserved in Maharashtra throw only scanty and often borrowed light. It should, however, be remembered that no history of Mahadji Sindhia would be even half complete unless one uses the copious MS. materials in Persian and the contemporary English documents in the Imperial Record Office (only a fraction of which has been printed).

§ 4. PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE MARATHAS WHERE PRESERVED NOW.

These are the most important and extensive collections of Marathi historical papers in private hands. As for public records, Sindhia, Holkar, Gaikwad and the chief of Dhar have practically none earlier than the nineteenth century relating to their States in their *own* possession; nothing of the eighteenth century has survived from the State-papers of the Bhonslés of Nagpur. The Government archives of the Peshwas were taken over by the English at the conquest of 1817. These are very copious and valuable in respect of several incidents and periods of Maratha history, but their contents are of the most miscellaneous and diverse kind and utterly barren of information regarding the reigns of Shivaji and his sons (1650-1701), which was only to be expected from the nature and origin of this body of records. Of this immense mass of papers filling 13,000 bundles each with a thousand to two thousand separate sheets, only a very small fraction consists of historical documents or State-papers proper.

The Peshwas' daftar, anciently stored in the Shanwar palace in Poona City, was dispersed among the residences of certain persons after the fire which destroyed the palace in the reign of Bajji Rao II. and was collected from these private houses by Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1817 in a state of great disorder but tolerably complete. It formed about 13,000 bundles, and consisted of the records of the Peshwas for 88 years, from 1729 to 1817, with a blank of seven years (1757-1763), the records of which were burnt when Poona was taken by the Nizam's army.

§ 5. OTHER CLASSES OF RECORDS IN THE ALIENATION OFFICE, POONA

The subsequent accretions to this nucleus of Peshwas' papers in British hands at Poona were principally :

(2) The records of the British Resident at the Peshwa's Court in Poona, from 1785 to 1818. (Mostly in English and Persian).

(3) The Deccan Commissioner's records (1818-1826), 171 bundles. This section contains many reports from news-writers (*akhbar-navis*), the other papers relating mostly to religious and social matters, grants, etc.

(4) The records of the Agent for the Sardars, who replaced the Deccan Commissioner, on the abolition of the latter office in 1826, and used to decide suits between sardars (1827-1856), 76 bundles, (mostly useless for public history).

(5) The daftar of the Angria family of Kolaba (1790-1840), 761 bundles. The records of this State previous to 1790 were burnt in a fire at Alibag in 1792. The State lapsed in 1839. These records form classes similar to those of the Peshwas' daftar; there are besides certain special accounts relating to the provisions department (*Modikhana*), the fleet (*Armar*) and several forts.

(6) The Konkan daftar from Ratnagiri (1754-1818). (Mostly useless.)

(7) The Satara Rajahs' daftar

(a) 1703-1818 in 56 bundles

(b) 1818-1848 in 3,471 bundles and 39 bags,

(c) The records of the British Resident at Satara (1818-1848).

(8) The Jamao daftar or papers collected from private owners by the Inam Commission, 8,535 bundles and four bags.

(9) The papers relating to the Inam Commission Inquiry, (1813-1863) in 2,370 bundles.

(10) The records of the Haqq Commission Inquiry, (1849-56), 103 bundles.

(11) Land Alienation registers of certain districts in Maharashtra and Gujrat, in 198 bundles.

(12) Records anterior to British rule collected from the districts, 153 bundles. (Mostly village revenue accounts, etc.)

In this way the number of bundles has grown from 13,000 to 35,629,—out of which 8,559 are in English and 27,015 are in Marathi and 25 in Persian. (These figures are approximate, as the bags were

subsequently divided and several bundles rearranged).

§6. CLASSES AND CHARACTER OF THE CONTENTS OF THE PESHWAS' DAFTAR

The Peshwas' daftar consists of the following classes of papers:

(a) Diary (wrongly so-called), 780 bundles, sub-divided into (i) *Pota* or day-books of cash accounts at headquarters, (ii) *Raua-sudgi* or day-books of bills and orders for payment issued to the treasuries and stores, away from the headquarters, in favour of Government pensioners and creditors of all kinds, and (iii) *Dafata* or day-books in which the orders of the Government on important matters were recorded as they were given; these orders related mostly to grants and resumptions of *inams* and farms and to the appointment of revenue officers, but orders of other kinds and of greater historical interest also occur now and then. Thus, the documents are popularly known as the "Peshwas' Diary" are not diaries in any sense of the term, and would disappoint readers who would study them in the hope of finding in them chronicles of Court events or political journals like those of Hanoverian England. They form only a great account roll in three sections, though a few political matters are interposed (in the briefest form) in the third of these sections.

(b) *Ghadnis* or ledgers, 1,806 bundles. These merely duplicate the contents of the so-called Diary, but arrange them very conveniently in the ledger form under different heads, so that all the transactions and orders of the year on each subject (such as temples, equipment of captains etc.) are brought together month by month in a separate book (*khata*). Each of the three parts of the Diary has its corresponding *Ghadni* for easy reference.

(c) *Prant ajmas* or revenue demands of the districts, 5,227 bundles. The portion of the territory directly governed by the Peshwas (as distinct from the States paying tribute) was divided into Districts (*prant*) and Divisions (*sar-sabhadari*). For each district a separate budget estimate (*Ajmas*) was prepared, showing the gross demand, the deductions for alienations in the district, and the gross balance. From this balance various items of expenditure were deducted and the arrears to be collected were added, so as to yield the net cash balance. (d, c) *Taltebands*,

tarjamas and other revenue papers may be passed over. (f, g) The *Paga* or stable accounts and the *Pathaké lashkar* or cavalry accounts, forming 900 bundles, possess no interest except on questions of wages in former times. (h) The *Chitnisi* papers or correspondence received and filed in the Peshwas' secretariat, 283 bundles, contain the most valuable historical material in the entire body of the Peshwas' daftar, all the other classes giving mere accounts or "Gazette orders."

The Satara Rajahs' daftar—popularly called the Shahu daftar—comprises documents analogous to the Peshwas' daftar, i.e. Diaries or rather day-books of accounts (9 bundles), ledgers of fiefs and inam grants (2 bundles), orders about and copies of sanads (5 bundles), miscellaneous official correspondence (6 bundles), etc. Diary, bundle No. 1, contains the accounts and orders of 1703-24 A.D., bundle No. 2, of 1725-27, bundle No. 3, of 1728-29, and so on.

These are the two extant sources of public records of the Maratha State. The largest single addition to them, is the *Jamao* daftar, 8,535 bundles, composed of private or local administrative documents (mostly referring to land).

§ 7. INAMSF MASS OF PRIVATE PAPERS COLLECTED BY INAM COMMISSION

In 1843 Government appointed a Committee to investigate the validity of the rent-free land alienations (*inam*) enjoyed in the South Maratha country. In 1852 this work was extended to all the Deccan and placed under the Inam Commission, which worked till the Mutiny. The inquiries of the Commission brought to light the ancient revenue accounts which had been systematically concealed from the British authorities by the hereditary district and village officers.

Letters, sanads and other papers were also produced by parties in their own interests. The agents of the Inam Commission are described in popular tradition as having combed the country almost exhaustively of old papers, (indeed, of every scrap of writing and waste paper, if we are to judge by the contents of several of the bundles which represent their acquisitions), found in any private person's possession anywhere. The result is a vast mass of documents (8,535 bundles) of the most mixed description and of the widest variety of value or uselessness. A

detailed search for any paper of real importance to the political history of the Maratha State (as distinct from petty localities or individual officers) in this huge mass would be like searching for a needle in a bushel of straw. An experimental search showed that the papers relating to political and central history present in this section were often not one in a thousand.

§ 8. PERSIAN AND ENGLISH RECORDS IN THE POONA OFFICE

The Persian records, forming some 25 bundles, have been formed by separation from the Jamao daftar and the Residency records. They contain some important private documents of early times and a large body of news-letters (*akhbarat*) sent to the Resident at Poona (1796-1817), buried in a mass of useless papers, accounts and private letters.

The English portion of the Residency records has been typed almost in its entirety, and throws much interesting light on the society administration and manners of the later Peshwa period. The biographer of Elphinstone and the student of the Maratha system of government and village organization in their actual working cannot afford to neglect this source. The political information it contains will enable several minute corrections to be made in the accepted narrative of Baji Rao II.'s reign, but none of a sensational character.

§ 9. RESEARCH NOW GOING ON AND ITS FIRST FRUITS

No document bearing on political or military history from these archives has

hitherto been printed, though Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis had picked out for future editing and printing some thousands of documents including several relating to political history or campaigns.

In the middle of 1929 an expert historian, Mr. Govind Sakharam Sardesai, B. A., was for the first time employed, with a small staff of assistants trained in methods of research under him, to explore the Poona records for historical materials.

Owing to the limited time and assistance at his disposal, he has up to now explored only a fraction of these records. But his sampling has been fairly exhaustive and judiciously planned, with the result that papers of real value to the historian have been discovered, which light up many a dark corner of Maratha history,—such as the doings of the first two Peshwas, Tara Bai's exertions after her fall from power, pre-Panipat campaigns, etc.

The first volume of selections from the Poona records now being undertaken by the Government Press, Bombay, has been designed to give the public typical examples of the different classes of historical papers contained in the Poona Record Office and to illustrate their value. It is the interest of all who love and admire the Maratha race to see that this work of exploration is now pushed to completion and the historical documents of primary importance which are being so copiously yielded by Mr. Sardesai's strenuous search are made available to the wide world of scholarship by publication.

Vedantists in America

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH.D.

I

MODERN India, in its hurly-burly of politics, often forgets those noble souls who are spreading the light of the Vedanta in America. Any one with half an eye can see that the message of these consecrated men has been beneficial not only to America, but to India as well. On the one hand they have placed before

America, torn and distracted by hundreds of Christian sects, an ennobling ideal of universal religion, and on the other, they have helped to build a bridge of better understanding and appreciation between India and the New World. Their services in multiplying points of rational contact between these two countries are invaluable. They have at least made a magnificent beginning in bridging a gulf between the two great

religion, but gives parallel thoughts from the thinkers of Asia and Europe, and also from the great world scriptures. The importance of the magazine is recognized by many public libraries and prominent universities of America, which keep it on their permanent files.

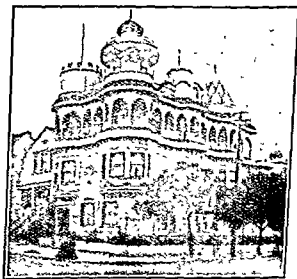


Swami Akhilananda

Paramananda has proved himself well fitted to present Eastern teachings to the Western public. He is as clear as he is eloquent. An interesting extension of his recent activities has been several series of half-hour talks over various radio stations of Los Angeles and Glendale. While in England a few years ago, he was invited to speak at the Shakespearean Festival at Stratford-on-Avon. The "T. P.'s Weekly" commenting on the lecture said: "As the Swami spoke, one seemed to be drawn closer to that spirit of the East, which is so much more native to us than the hot-headed philosophies of the West." This, I believe, is typical of other

Swamis in America. They have the talent of using a language which moves mankind.

In the Ananda Ashrama, Swami Paramananda has consecrated the "Temple of the Universal Spirit." In it there is a series of niches to serve as shrines to all the great religions of the world: Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Taoism, Shintoism, Muhammadanism, Judaism. The last niche is dedicated to "The One God." The windows contain special medallions in stained glass, depicting the pagoda of Buddhism, the Temple of Heaven of Confucianism, the Cathedral of Chartres for Christianity, a Shinto shrine at Nikko, the



Hindu Temple of the San Francisco Vedanta Society

Muhammadan mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, the Egyptian temple of Edfu, the Grecian temple of Poseidon, a Hindu temple dedicated to Sri Krishna, and the imposing gate tower of the great temple at Madura. The temple of the Universal Spirit embodies in eloquent silence the love and tolerance which characterized Swami Paramananda's work during the long years he has been in America.

V

There is in the United States a babel of religious views; but the leaders of the Vedanta movement are not concerned with any particular creed. They preach a universal religion of truth, justice, and love. "Vedanta is antagonistic to no religions or philosophies," observes Swami Bodhananda of New York, "but is in perfect harmony with them all. What humanity is to mankind,

what life is to living being—that, the Vedanta is to religions. It is their inner unity—common essence, and as such has no quarrel with them. The whole can have no quarrel with the parts. Vedanta has room for all religions. Nay, it embraces them all."

Swami Vivekananda propounded his doctrine that religion means realization, that is, that action is a path to worship as well as rational argument, devotion, and introspection. This theory is a spiritual counterpart to Professor William James's Pragmatism: that a thing to be good must be good for something.

In a way, Swami Vivekananda unearthed long hidden truths of the Vedanta, which had been neglected, thereby giving rise to the charge of passivity in Hinduism. It was a new application of an ancient religion to aggressive materialism.



A Swami is holding an outdoor service at Shanti Ashrama connected with the San Francisco Hindu Temple

of religion. There is still another group of people who are scientifically-minded. They want a scientific religion. These three types of people do not and cannot get the help they need from any of the organized religions of America. For them the teachings of Vedanta offer a refuge.

Swami Vivekananda noted that this is pre-eminently the age of action. He combined the analysis of the scientist with the sympathies and aspirations of a great lover of mankind. His *Karmayoga* (path of action) supported by the teachings of Gita solves the problems of the great majority of the Western people.

Swami Akhilananda of the Providence Vedanta Centre interprets Vivekananda's *Karmayoga* in this wise:

"Religion of the knowledge of God is not only for the devotional type of persons, but for the

active person as well. Action is transformed into worship. Indeed, all actions performed without selfish motive and without caring for their result will lead men to God. A person can become truly spiritual in the midst of ordinary activities. The western people must change their outlook of life and spiritualize all their actions. This is the only remedy to avoid the evils of modern machine-made civilization. Vedanta meets science on the rational basis of religion.

"We emphasize on the Vedantic conception of the Oneness of life and existence. The more the people realize this idea, the greater the happiness



Some American Women Vedantists

There are many in America who are not satisfied with the present system of Christian religion with its theology. Its God is the blood-thirsty Jehova of the Old Testament, hostile to strangers, full of fury and bombast. Enlightened Americans are disgusted with it. They want rational explanation of life and existence. Then there is another class of Americans who believe in religion, just "religion," and want to know the practical aspects

there will be in their every-day life. This outlook of life will make folks less selfish and thereby teach them to avoid the evil effects of stark materialism.

"We do not advise any one not to take advantage of scientific achievement, but we ask them to change the outlook of life and spiritualize their action. In other words, we ask them to work in the spirit of service. Moreover, we give them some lessons on practice of religion. We firmly believe that the teachings of Vedanta, as expounded by Sri Ramkrishna and Swami Vivekananda, will harmonize the so-called conflict between religion and science."



Swamis Dayananda and Madhavananda with a few of their Students at San Francisco

The Swamis are of the opinion that Vedanta is intensely practical. It puts faith in one's own self by emphasizing that all power and perfection is already within the individual. The difference between the perfected man and the ordinary man is not qualitative but quantitative, not in essence but in the degree of manifestation.

VI

Christian missionaries in India, with a few exceptions, breed ill-will, hatred and hot antagonism. During my last visit to India, I heard this view explained by scores of men. They told me that these uninvited guests abuse the hospitality of the nation. The proselyters are among the sharpest critics of Indian national aspirations, and not infrequently seek to influence the bureaucracy and even to control legislation. Whether just or unjust, these are among the most important causes of the existing dislike against Christian missionaries.

Now, the Indian missionaries never meddle with American political and social problems. They confine themselves exclusively to the field of religion, or to be more

accurate, the message of Vedanta. They try to interest Americans through lectures, interviews, discussion classes, talks over the radio, and informal social intercourse. In addition they all hold regular Sunday services. Needless to say that all Americans are not interested in religion. Only those who have learned to think for themselves, and are looking for a rational way of life feel drawn towards the Vedanta.

The task of the Swamis is by no means easy. Most Americans are brought up on mass-emotion and seldom think rationally. From mere inertia of habit they swallow such puerile dogmas as: "Man is born in sin and iniquity"; "the world was created in seven days"; "Christianity is the 'only true religion'"; "this is our only chance, after death we shall remain buried in the grave until the Day of Judgment, when there will be a bodily resurrection and we shall go to eternal heaven or eternal hell." Only people who have "grown up" and are not simply grown grey-haired can turn away from such nonsense, and listen to the appeals of reason.

The intellectual presentation of Vedanta is not always pleasant to American "sermon tasters." The Swamis, so far as I know, keep Vedanta in its original purity and majesty, and never stoop to adulterate it with healing and mystery-mongering. Moreover, they do not seek to make converts. "Vedanta does not as yet appeal to mass minds in America," confided to me Swami Prabhavananda of Portland. "It gains ground slowly, but surely. The ideal of universality and the logical explanations of the religion of Vedanta appeal to the reflective minds of this country. The Vedanta work helps to remove the existing prejudices and create a love for India among intelligent Americans."

VII

The Vedantic societies are all financially self-supporting. Their sources of income are membership dues, collection of free-will offerings, donations, and sales of books. With the exception of those at Portland and Providence, the societies have their own permanent homes. These are substantial buildings with modern appointments.

The prospects for Vedanta work in this country, according to those who are in close touch with it, are bright. The demand for Vedanta societies is creasing rapidly. The

people with whom the Swamis come into contact are mostly sympathetic towards India and Indian philosophy. One must not forget, however, that they have to work against many handicaps: foreign customs, foreign tongue, opposition of Christian churches, and inherited inertia. Besides, the American mass mind craves for entertainments and emotionalism. Where the masses find these things, they flock by hundreds. The Swamis avoid all sensationalism as pestilence, and yet they get a good hearing.

"It is the few sincere people," reports Swami Dayananda of San Francisco, "that stick to our society in spite of all adverse conditions."

"There are many who are floaters. They come to the society for a while, and then move away from the city. And yet thousands of them have been benefited by our thoughts. The demand for Vedanta teaching is increasing day by day. Our students say that Vedanta is the solace of their life. Wherever the Swamis go, people urge them to start new centres. We really cannot supply

Swamis enough for the demand, otherwise there would have been a Vedanta centre in every State by this time. Vedantism has a great future in America."

The Eastern thought as developed in Asia, particularly in India, seems to be coming again to rescue the Western world from materialism. "The East", asks Mrs. Adams Beck in her *Story of Oriental Philosophy*, "baughty, aristocratic, spiritual and other-worldly, leisured, tolerant of all faiths and philosophies, moving on vast spiritual orbits about the central sun: the West, eager, hurried, worldly, absorbed in practical and temporary affairs, opinionated, contemptuous of other peoples and faiths, money-loving less for money's sake than its pursuit, younger, infinitely younger in tastes and psychic development than the East—what point of fusion can there be between the philosophies of these two divergent branches of the same great root?" That question is being answered by the Vedantists in America.



Members of the Vivekananda Society of Portland

The Crux in Political Science and Art

By SHRI BHAGAVAN DAS, D. Litt.

THE Spirit is eternal, and eternally young. It never ages. But its bodies, subtle and gross, are always aging, and being cast off, and renewed. India's *manomaya-kosha*, mental-body, has obviously become very old. And, it seems, under the decree of Providence, it has to renovate and rejuvenate itself by taking birth afresh from its own progeny, which offsprang from it in the distant past, viz., the European mind-body. The great-grandfather has to be born again as his own great-grandson. The intellect of India has to be renewed by transfusion of European scientific intellectual blood—but the danger, latterly threatened, has to be avoided, of complete loss of identity by loss of memory of the past.

The crucial problem in political theory and political practice may, therefore, be brought into relief, for us, by a few quotations from Western writers, and then an attempt made to find out what ancient Eastern thinkers have to say on it.

How to reconcile representative institutions with good government has become the great political problem of the day. The natural disposition of every assembly is to cultivate its opportunities on every assembly so far as conditions will allow private account so far as conditions will allow choice, (p. 117). Representative institutions allow choice, but the grounds of choice may admit all the folly, wickedness and perversity of which human nature is capable (p. 153). Unless means are provided for insuring an active disposition to use opportunity on public account, it will most certainly be employed for private advantage, and representative institutions will tend to become a vast system of plunder (p. 199). The waste and profusion of which an assembly is capable exceeds that of a despot (p. 201). Representatives of the people should have no access to official patronage or to the public treasury. They must be placed under such conditions that they will be personally disinterested in such matters (p. 202). Mill took strong ground against money payment, pointing out that it tends to make politics a profession carried on with a view chiefly to its pecuniary returns and under the demoralizing influences of an occupation essentially precarious. Seats in the representative assembly then become objects of desire to adventurers, necessarily bidding to attract or retain the suffrages of the electors, by promising all things, honest or dishonest, possible or impossible, and rivaling each other in pandering to the meanest feelings and most ignorant prejudices of the vulgar part of the crowd; under no despotism has there been such

an organized system of tillage for raising a rich crop of vicious courtiership (p. 201). The ancient tradition that representatives are paid in honour and not in money, was badly ruptured in 1911 when it was decided to give members of the House of Commons a salary of £100 a year (p. 205). Salary payment cannot fail to sap the independence of the assembly. Some observers note a new spirit of submissiveness in Parliament since salaries were introduced. It is certain that paid service to the public cannot compare in dignity and independence with unpaid service (p. 206). In all legislative assemblies, the greater the number composing them may be, the fewer will be the men who will in fact direct their proceedings (p. 218). It is impossible to legislate properly on any part without having the whole present to the mind. (Mill quoted at p. 228).

These quotations are taken from H. Ford's *Representative Government*, (published 1925).

"Outrageous profiteering" (p. 213); "the monstrous pay-roll of an American legislative assembly" (p. 214); "log-rolling" (p. 215); "a noisy humbug and a costly sham" (p. 220). "Furtive manipulation for which American procedure allows scandalous opportunities" (p. 231). "Distribution of personal favours." "The same miserable situation exists in most countries having parliamentary institutions." "blackmailing use of powers" (p. 233); "passing the buck" (234); "abominable abuse" (236); "extorting personal favours" (238); "systematic traffic in legislation"; "collection and sale of political election of representatives is deeply corrupted" (239); "members have been squared by private negotiations" (242); "dangerous exactions"; "individual arrogance"; "men often oppose a thing, merely because they have had no agency in planning it, or because it may have been planned by those they dislike" (244); "often great interests of society are sacrificed to the vanity, to the conceit, and to the obstinacy of individuals" (245); "Heavy burden of election expenses—English experience (of its) demoralizing effects upon people" (251); "Nursing a constituency" (p. 252); etc.

Such are some of the expressions scattered broadcast over the pages of the book with reference to the U.S. American legislatures, and, in some instances, the English and others.

Mr. Ford is not alone in his indictment. He is only typical. Sir Sivaswami Iyer, in his recently published book on *Indian Constitutional Problems*, has quoted largely from Prof. Hearnshaw, to much the same

effect. Lord Bryce, in his work on *Modern Democracies* (pub. 1921), written when he was about eighty years of age, and had spent many decades in dealing with practical politics as a high officer of State, describes and discusses conditions in many self-governing countries, and points out, in fine language, similar grave defects in all, in some more acute, in others less. He records how he once asked a prominent U. S. American, in one of the States, "What sort of a legislature have you got," and received the prompt reply, "As good as money can buy". Gettel, in his *Introduction to Political Science* (Edn. of 1922), a recognized text-book, says, "At the present time the former confidence in legislative bodies is somewhat declining" (p. 253) in all countries.

Miss Follett, in her *The New State*, a book which was thought highly of by Deshabandhu C. R. Das, and which he referred to in his Congress Presidential address at Gaya (1922), says pithily, "Representative Government has failed" (p. 5, Edn. of 1926).

Bryce lays special stress on the fearful mischief caused by the prostitution of the public press to false propaganda (II. 505). The Press, the greatest blessing of modern times, the most extensive and intensive illuminator of the human mind, a true "light-bringer," is becoming the greatest curse, the worst darkener and deceiver. Lucifer, "light-bringer," the greatest and highest of the archangels, is "shooting beyond mark," and over-reaching himself, and falling, and being transformed into the Prince of Evil and Darkness "Electioneering claptrap" has become a byword. Professors of political science, journalists, men of affairs, lawyers, officials, platform-speakers, even novelists, all are inveighing against the corruption that pervades elections today, and against the character and conduct of the resulting personnel of the legislatures. Two questions that I usually ask of Indians returned from foreign travels and of such European travellers as I happen to meet in India, are—(1) Is any of the countries you visited satisfied with its legislature? and (2) Has any country discovered the way of ascertaining the vocational aptitudes of its youths?; and I have not yet received a satisfactory answer. Merivale and Gibbon, in their histories of Rome, repeatedly describe the

gross malpractices of the political and ecclesiastical elections that took place in the times they deal with; so Macaulay in his history of England. Lord Haldane, with ample experience of practical politics, in his *Introduction* to Miss Follett's book above referred to, says, (p. xiv),

"No Government will be successful which does not rest on the individual on his better side, and this better side is to be reached neither by sending more people to the poll, nor by sending them more frequently."

More ominous and arresting than all these quotations is the following extract from a publication more up-to-date than all these and far more intimately concerned with India, viz., the Report (pub. 1928) of the All-Parties' Committee prefixed to their Draft of the Swaraj Constitution of India

"It is notorious that even in highly democratic England, votes are given, not for matters of high policy or considerations that are really important, but for trivial matters, or even sometimes most objectionable considerations which the exigencies of election-times force to the front—men, who were to govern an empire and influence largely world-events, have been elected for reasons which make every intelligent person despair of democracy." (P. 36).

For comment upon this, consider the following quotation from George Bernard Shaw. He is perhaps the most brilliant English author of the day, has reached the venerable age of seventy-five years, has lived most of that time, and gathered mature experience of modern conditions and affairs in the busiest centres of life, in Britain, "the hub of the universe," was one of the founders of the famous Fabian Society nearly half a century ago, and has been working for social and political reform all that time. The result of all this experience he has put into a large book, published in 1928, called "*The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*." Near the end of the book pp. 454-5, he arrives at this deliberate conclusion:

"If democracy is not to ruin us we must at all costs find some trustworthy method of testing the qualifications of candidates before we allow them to seek election. When we have done that, we may have great trouble in persuading the right people to come forward. We may even be driven to compel them; for those who fully understand how heavy are the responsibilities of government and how exhausting its labour are the least likely to shoulder them voluntarily. As Plato said, the ideal candidate is the reluctant one."

Thus after a full course of modernism, Mr. Shaw begins to see good in Plato's ideal

round about it which exposed three remaining walls of an old platform on which the shrine must have been erected, facing the column and the east. Perhaps the complete demolition of Babajee's dwellings might have brought to light some vestiges of the old structure, but it is more probable that the original structure, as appears to be the case with many old sites in Bes-nagar, was almost wholly pilfered and removed to build the town of Bhilsa which came into existence about the eighth century A. D. Immediately on the south of this mound, had been exhumed by Mr. Lake the upper half of an image,

during his expedition of conquest, most probably by the same sculptor who was responsible for the image in the cave excavated in his time. And what can be more natural than that this Gupta king, who was a staunch devotee of Vishnu and came to Vidisa, should have installed an image of this god in a shrine renowned from the time of Heliodoros?

Not far from the shrine platform and towards the south were exhumed the remains of an old dwelling. It faced the north, and was approached by a flight of steps leading to an antechamber floored with concrete. There can be little doubt that this was a dwelling of some importance, probably of the *Pujari* of Vasudeva's temple, as bricks, tiles, pottery and nails were found here, in abundance along with a tank, domestic mortar and pieces of burnt clay conical pinnacles which must have been the pinnacles of the roofs.

During the excavations traces of two different kinds of railing were found. They may be designated: (1) open railing and (2) solid railing. The first is the well-known type, the most notable specimen of which was furnished by that of Sanchi. It consisted of uprights or pillars, each provided with three socket holes to receive the cross bars, and held in position by the coping stone which



Fig. 3.—Solid Railing on the North of Vasudeva Shrine

originally with four hands. About 80 feet from it I was able to discover the lower portion of this image but without its feet. The features, the crown and head-dress behind it, the peculiar earrings, the necklace, the breast ornament, and the lower dress were so exactly alike to those of the figure of Vishnu carved in the verandah of the Udayagiri cave, two miles from the site, and containing the inscription of the Gupta sovereign Chandragupta II., dated G. E. 82=A. D. 401, as to leave little doubt that both the images were not only of the same age but also chiselled by the same sculptor. It seems that this image also, picked up in two fragments, must have been of Vishnu, sculptured in the time of Chandragupta II., when he came to Malwa

surmounted it. The one unearthed on this site is, however, of the plainest description, neither the pillars being bevelled nor the cross-bars decorated with medallions as at Sanchi. The second type of railing is quite unique in design. In contradistinction to the open railing, it may be called the solid railing (Fig. 3). The pillar of the latter is of comparatively small section. Its sides have no socket holes to receive cross-bars as in the case of the open railing, but are each cut with chases for the whole length exposed above ground. Into the chases of these pillars were fitted screens or panels of stone. The foundation slabs of the solid railing were thus in one continuous line, in contrast to those of the open railing, which are found only

prince-philosopher. Another Greek, a couple of centuries older than Plato, *viz.*, Lycurgus (as reported by Plutarch), actually worked a scheme of ephors, the "best and wisest," for the Spartan senate. In other words, Mr. Shaw says that (1) electees, *i. e.*, the persons who are elected, should be possessed of certain qualifications, (2) there should be tests for ascertaining the possession of them, and (3) there should be means of persuading the possessors to undertake the onerous duties of legislation.

But Mr. Shaw makes no suggestion on these all-important points at all. Nor does any of the other persons referred to above. Ford makes only the negative suggestion "that the representatives shall be so circumstanced that they can use their authority only on public account" (p. 158); "the only real security is that obtained by establishing such conditions that whoever is elected, good or bad, will have to behave himself properly" (p. 202); and it all comes to this that representatives should have "no power to vote to their own use offices and appropriations" (p. 203). This is sound but very insufficient. It does not, by itself, ensure actively and positively wise and beneficent legislation, promotive of public welfare at all. At most, it reduces the motives for the vicious to get into the legislature. It does not abolish all unworthy motives altogether. And it provides no inducements or facilities for the worthy and unself-seeking to go in. The crux remains: How ensure that Swa-raj shall be the *raj* of the higher Swa and not of the lower, that self-government shall be government, *i. e.*, legislation by the higher self of the people, their best and wisest or most selfless or most philanthropic individuals, and not by the astute schemers and self-seekers. When Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said, on an appropriate occasion, that "good government" is no substitute for "self-government," the saying sounded very well. But it is even more true that self-government which is not also good government which is bad government, which is government by the lower self of the people, is not true self-government at all, and may be worse and less desirable than a good foreign government. How to make self-government coincide with good government is the problem—to vary the words of Ford. Legislation is the heart of government. Good or wise legislation must be secured above everything else. Efficient

and honest execution of the laws will also be provided for by such legislation.

Therefore has it been said above that the extract from the All-Parties Committee's Report is of very grave and very ominous import to us. The Committee have called up an imminent prospect of despair; and have no more offered suggestions for warding it off than Messrs. G. B. Shaw and the others. Our actual experience of elections of the modern style, in the last decade, has amply shown how unscrupulously elections are steered, how all the four devices of diplomacy, exhaustively ascertained by the ancient Indian science of politics, *viz.*, *sama*, *dana*, *danda*, *bheda*, flattery, bribery, intimidation, and division, are employed by candidates, and vast amounts of money are spent in debasing all concerned.

Do the traditions, the genius, the ancient spirit of India, offer any solution?

In what has gone before, an attempt has been made to show that Western writers themselves confess that Western self-governments have failed to solve the crucial problem of how to secure the combination of high degrees of both *intellectual* as well as *ethical* fitness in their legislators, though such combination is vitally necessary for true and successful self-government.

"Whether or not it be true that in European countries the intellectual level of legislative assemblies has been sinking, it is clear that nowhere does enough of that which is best in the character and talent of the nation, find its way into those assemblies" (II, 373). Yet "Mazzini described democracy as the progress of all through all under the leading of the *best and wisest*, (and said that) Authority is sacred only when consecrated by *Genius and Virtue*," (II, 609). "Two dangers threaten... all modern democracies. One is the tendency to allow *self-interest* to grasp the machinery of governments and turn that machinery to ignoble deeds. The other is the... dissemination by the printed word, of untruths and fallacies and incitements to violence, which we have learnt to call *propaganda* (II, 503).* "Philosophers, though they knew that a state needs *uprightness and public spirit* as well as *intellect* in the rulers, they never succeeded in showing how the possessors of those qualities are to be found and chosen." (II, 604, Bryce, *Modern Democracies*).

Have the ancient Indian philosophers succeeded in doing what, according to Bryce, Western philosophers have not?

The Veda is the sacred scripture of the Indian Aryans in theory; but, in practice, *Mam-Smriti* is the basis of their socio-

* Self-interest is obviously the opposite of Virtue and propaganda the perversion of Genius.

politico-religious polity and civilization. It deals with all departments of the people's life in the course of twelve chapters. Near the end of the twelfth chapter, it says :

"The final secret, the fundamental principle, of this Human Science, this Code of Life expounded by Manu, is this—when situations arise for which the current available laws are not helpful, and which call for new legislation, then what the honoured and trusted men of knowledge and experience, the good and wise elders, possessed of *tapasya* and *vidya*, self-denial and learning, virtue and genius, decide to be right and proper to do, that shall be the law," (xii, 104-103).

Thus is the principle of living legislation laid down by the ancient *Smriti*. And it goes on to describe the qualifications and marks of "the good and wise elders." Manu's injunctions on this point have to be supplemented by the discourses of others, Vyasa, Shukra, Yajñavalkya, etc.

Briefly, (1) the legislators should not be very many in numbers; a minimum of three, or in emergencies, even of one, is mentioned, but the one must be a thoroughly and widely trusted person, full of wisdom, i. e., knowledge of human nature plus philanthropy, *adhyatma-vit-tamah*; large numbers, "even tens of thousands," of unwise individuals cannot make good laws. (*Manu*, ch. xii; *Yajñavalkya*, i. 9). For comment on this consider the following. J. S. Mill says :

"No government of a democracy or a numerous aristocracy ever did or could rise above mediocrity, except in so far as the sovereign many have let themselves be guided, which in their best time they have always done by the counsels and influence of a more highly gifted and instructed one or few."

Though the full complements of the English House of Lords and Commons are over six hundred each, yet the quorum for the former is only three, and for the latter, forty. Also, as the published reports show, the active debaters and deliberators, the real law-makers, are to be counted on the fingers, and are almost all grey-haired, well past middle age, or even white-haired and old, i. e., possessed of mature experience. The remaining hundreds are there only for "kudos," or "sport," or the intellectual pleasure of hearing good debates or delivering brilliant talk and smart repartee and witty retort and slashing attack etc., or for high life and fine company and the delights of "the best club in the world"—or ulterior purposes and grinding axes and feathering nests, etc.—all which motives may have their

play elsewhere, but surely have no natural place in a law-making assembly, which should be composed of "grave and reverend seigneurs", large-minded and large-hearted patriarchs of the nation. Some departments of the Executive services are the proper place for the utilization of the other motives.

Manu's dictum may be illustrated by another very modern writer.

"The secret of sound administration is a knowledge of the particular facts of the general method of human behaviour' (i. e., psychology, *adhyatma-vidya*). "As Anatole France says, sovereignty resides in science, and not in the people. Foolishness repeated by thirty-six million mouths is none the less foolishness." George E. G. Cutlin, *The Science and Method of Politics*, p. 348, (pub. 1927).

(2) The law-makers should be such persons as are already widely trusted and honoured. The principle of selection and election by the people is embodied here. It is not enough for a person to be good and wise and unselfish. He must be recognized as such by the people. The rule of decision by the majority, "*Maha-jano yena gatah sa panthah*," and the rule of legislation by the few, are reconciled in this way; the majority decide which few shall make the law. In Mill's words, they "let themselves be guided by a gifted one or few." The Sanskrit word *purohita* etymologically means "he who has been put forward, placed in front, selected and elected as guide and leader, for the performance of all religio-legal actions whereby the good of the people is promoted." The ways of ascertaining the opinion of the people may have been different in the olden days, but the principle and its application in practice, in some form or other, were there. The old way was to look at a person's whole past life and work; the modern way is to look at his hundred rantings and stump orations in the course of a whirlwind campaign for a few weeks.

(3) "The king, the head of the executive, shall be ruler over the people, but *purohita*, the legislature, shall be ruler over the king."

*Prajanam tu uripah swami
Rajnah suami purohitah.*

(*Shukraniti*).

In other words, the legislature shall control the executive; and the two functions shall not be combined.

(4) The legislature and the king's counsellors shall consist of representatives of the various sciences, and of the main vocational

sections of Social Organization. (*Manu*, xii; *Mahabharata*, *Shanti-parva*, ch. 85; *Shukraniti* chas. i and ii, 166, 167; also Valmiki's *Ramayana*, *Balakanda*, ch. 7.)

Manu prominently mentions representation of the three first orders of society, *i.e.*, the student, the householder, and the publicist retired from household life (*i.e.*, the *vanaprastha*, who has ceased from competitive bread-winning and money-making, and spends his time and resources in unremunerated public work, *Yajna-s* (pious works of various kinds and self-sacrificing charities), and of the sciences. *Vyasa* lays stress on the representation of the four main vocations of society :

"Four men of learning, especially versed in medical science, human psychology and physiology, eighteen men of action, versed in the arts of executive administration and of war, twenty-one men of agriculture and trade, of business and finance of all kinds, three men of labour, and one person at least who should be specially versed in history; and all should be pure of character and of mature age."

That the West is slowly advancing towards what is being variously called "functional" or "occupational" or "vocational" representation, in place of an indiscriminate universal franchise, without any guidance to the electors whom to elect, is indicated by such statements of western writers as the following :

"At present most political issues are economic in nature, and parties represent common interests in occupations...The landed classes, the capitalists, and the labour party, the socialists, free silverites, and similar groupings, are typical." (Gettell, *Political Science*, p. 291); "Neighbourhood and occupational groups, either independently or one through the other, must both find representation in the State" (Follett, *The New State*, p. 321.)

The first three, if "the learned classes" were added to them, would obviously correspond with the four vocational classes (*varnas*) of ancient India (before the days of perversion into rigidly hereditary caste; and the others would all go as sub-divisions under the main four. It may also be noted that most of the legislatures of the West today consist of two houses, and very broadly speaking, the Upper House consists of representatives of the men of learning and the men of action (the higher clergy and the nobility in England), and the lower, of those of men of business (capitalists) and men of labour. In the technical terms of psychology, these four would be called, men and women (1) of knowledge, (2) of action, (3)

of (acquisitive) desire and (4) of undifferentiated, mostly unskilled, labour. The legislator should have done good work in any one of the multifarious walks of life, which form the sub-divisions of the above main four vocations, and should have earned a good name for uprightness, helpfulness, and philanthropic public spirit. (*Mbh.*, *Shanti*, Ch. 83). This implies that he should be fairly advanced in years. *Shukraniti* (ii. 166, 167) mentions ripe age expressly among other qualifications.

The *Taittiriya Upanishat* also supplements *Manu* on this point.

"When there is a doubt as to what is the right course, then the course proscribed and followed by the wise men who are just and impartial-minded, not actuated by any partisan-feeling, "same-sighted," gentle of nature, tolerant and not bigoted, law-abiding, *dharma*-loving, thoughtful, renowned, looked to by the people for guidance, regarded or appointed as counsellors by the people—the course advised by such shall be the lawful course."

(5) The *Smritis* say that makers of and advisers on law shall not sell it, shall not be *dharma-rikiyas*. It follows implicitly that they should not go about canvassing, begging that people should receive the law from them. It is curious that the legal practitioner is punished for touting, which is the same thing as canvassing, "Employeee," while the would-be legislator is encouraged in doing so.

On the question of payments to legislators, Plato says,

"Good men do not wish to be openly demanding payment for governing and so to get the name of hirelings, nor by secretly helping themselves out of the public revenues to get the name of thieves (*Republic*, Jowett's translation, Clarendon Press, 3rd Edn., p. 25).

On the subject of canvassing, his opinion is that

"The ruler who is good for anything ought not to beg his subjects to be ruled by him.—The pilot should not humbly beg the sailors to be commanded by him; neither are the wise to go to the doors of the rich. When a man is ill, whether he is rich or poor, to the physician he must go, and he who wants to be governed, to him who is able to govern" (p. 186).

Of course, modern conditions, with huge states, some extending over millions of square miles, are different from Plato's tiny city—states; and men nor rich in cash, representing distant parts, would find it impossible to meet the mere travelling expenses from their private purse; but while the outer conditions may be different,

human nature continues to be very much the same. Ford's views have been quoted before. Mill was strongly against money payment to legislators. Bryce says:

"Wherever rich men abound, the power of money is formidable in elections and in the press, and corruption more or less present. I will not say that wherever there is money there will be corruption, but true it is that Poverty and Purity go together. The two best administered democracies in the modern world have been the two poorest, the Orange Free State before 1899" (which seems to be a commentary on the benefits accruing to Boerland from its absorption by the British Empire) "and the Swiss Confederation.... The rise of a large class of professional politicians must be expected if large salaries are paid to representatives... Such a class grows in proportion to the work party organizations have to do, and patronage is misused for party purposes wherever lucrative posts or so-called honours are at the disposal of a party executive." *Modern Democracies*. (II, 503). "Of these faults... (1) the power of money to pervert administration or legislation, (2) the tendency to make politics a gainful profession, (3) extravagance in administration... have been observed in all governments, though the forms of all three are now different, and their consequences more serious" (II, 504).

The solution of the dilemma, suggested by the principles indicated in the *Smritis*, seems to be that *ex-officio* expenses, of travelling, housing, etc., should be paid from the public funds, but no cash salaries or allowances or personal expenses; and, finally, that, as inducement to shoulder the burden and do his best, distinctive honour should be paid to the legislator as such; power, in the sense of official authority, should be entrusted to the (mostly salaried) executive, with responsibility to the legislature; and wealth as such, should be expressly and specifically, by public law, ranked below honour, which should rank first, and power, which should rank second. It will be found on scrutiny that human instinct has always ranked these three in this order, and is doing so today; but, because the psychology of the subject has been lost sight of, therefore it is done in an utterly imperfect and ineffective manner. That which nature itself indicates as right and proper, has only to be clearly recognized and regularized, in order to influence the administration of human affairs beneficially.

If this is done, and the suggestions of the old *Smritis*, embodying the genius, the spirit, the individuality, the traditions of India, are utilized duly, it will be found that the three problems, mentioned by G. B. Shaw,

of (1) qualifications, (2) tests, (3) persuasives, are all capable of satisfactory solution. For a more systematic application of the suggestions to modern Indian conditions, the reader may refer to the text and the appendix of the *Outline Scheme of Svaraj* published by Deshabandhu C. R. Das and the undersigned in 1923.*

Unfortunately, the insane communal disputes that have been and are occupying and disturbing all minds in this unhappy country; the fetish of "practicalism" which obsesses most of the educated-minds that are engaged in the work of political reform—"practicalism" in different yet allied forms, "Let us not talk in the air", "Don't indulge in impatient idealism," "We don't want doctrinaire philosophizing", "Don't look too far ahead", "One step enough for me", "Enough for the day is the evil thereof", "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," etc.; the glamour of Western political and economic words and methods, and of legal phrases and conventional maxims, drawing unjustifiable sustenance and power from the misused realities and results of Western science—the nations which have aeroplanes and submarines and machine-guns and devastating explosives must also necessarily have sound political and economic and legal maxims and practices and arrangements—even though they have all been trying very hard to cut each other's throats very recently, and are still looking askance and growling at each other;† the feeling that enslaved India's past can have no lessons to give except by contrast, a feeling strengthened by the awful retrogressiveness, the crass narrow-mindedness, the blind self-seeking of the orthodox pandits and Maulvis and professional religio-political leaders; the lack, on the part of many, perhaps most, of the active and prominent

* The speech of the undersigned, in support of a motion of amendment, re qualifications of legislators, made on the last day of the sessions of the All Parties Convention at Calcutta, (from 22. 12. 1923 to 1. 1. 1929) and published as an appendix to the Report of the proceedings of the Convention will also supply fuller details and comments on some of the points touched on in the text above.

† By the way, this fact should suggest to British politicians, the desirability of making the Japanese (as racially neutral-) suzerain over all the countries and nations of Europe, including Britain, to keep the peace between them, as the good British are doing between Hindu and Muslim here.

political workers of the country, of deep and sympathetic study of the ancient Sanskrit literature; the consequent impatient rejection of the sound, together with the worn-out or corrupt, ideas of the East, and the hasty acceptance of and obsession by the bad, together with the good, ideas of the West; and, almost more than all else the exigencies of the rush and hustle of day-to-day politics;—these leave no inclination and no energy to our political leaders to take the trouble of thinking out a comprehensive scheme based on long as well as broad views; no wish and no time to "go to the root of the matter" and find out the solution of the political crux, and so combine active forward movement with a deeply thought-out philosophy of the movement, looking before as well as after, and aiming at a high ideal always through the daily practical.

The terrible welter of *isms* in the modern West, from individualism, through socialism, State socialism, guild socialism, collectivism, and communism of many kinds, to the culmination in Bolshevism—which, incidentally, seems to be taking new shapes and turns every year, if not every month—all this ferment is only the endeavour of the Human Oversoul to arrive at a new and better organization of society. The endeavour is not succeeding, because it persistently ignores certain deep-seated facts and laws of human psychology. It appears laughably absurd for any son of "India in Bondage" to suggest that the traditions of such a fallen India had in the past reconciled all these *isms* by taking due cognisance of those facts and laws, and embodied them in a social polity, which though it is the best practical combination of individualism and socialism, has now become the laughing-stock of the world, because of the terrible perversion of the whole system from the basis of *Larma* to that of *janma*, of elastic "spontaneous variation" to rigid hidebound "heredity," and the permeation of it by a fatuous, reasonless, idiotic "touch-me-not-ism."

If modern thinkers and reformers could again work out the theory of the old scheme and apply it to practice, with modifications suited to the new conditions, they would probably find many of their difficulties solved. History shows that the only sound "practice" is that which is based upon sound "theory." Art and craft without science behind them are shaky rule of

thumb. Medical practice without knowledge of anatomy and physiology and many other sciences is quackery. So political practice without knowledge of the psychology and philosophy of human nature is the most mischievous and dangerous charlatanism and chicanery.

Individualism and socialism are both necessary. Individual and society, "I" and "we", are both obviously indispensable to each other. To suppress either is inevitably to suppress the other also. Absolute "Equality," homogeneity, is to be found only in *pralaya*—chaos. A cosmos means heterogeneity, differentiation, inequality.

Sanyam pralayah, vaishanyan srishthih. So says ancient Sankhya. So say modern Herbert Spencer and all the evolutionists and scientists. Human beings are not equal but different in psycho-physical temperaments. As indicated before, there are four main types of these. The main functions of a socio-political organism are correspondingly four: education, protection, nourishment by wealth-production, assistance of the other three by comparatively unskilled labour. The four prizes or luxuries of life are four: main prizes or luxuries of life are four: honour, power, wealth, i. e., artistic possessions, and play and amusement. While the minimum necessities of life, food, clothing, housing, etc., should be secured to all, the four luxuries should be partitioned equitably between the four temperaments and types of workers between whom the social labour should be divided. So also each individual life should be "organized" and regularly divided into the four stages into which nature already divides it: (1) student, living and studying at the expense of parents and society at large; (2) bread-winning, competing, social-labour-sharing householder; (3) unremunerated publicist; and (4) hermit, anchorite, religious, renunciant, preparing for the larger life beyond this life, and helping society by prayer and blessing and the potent example of a well-lived life.

These general principles are of use and applicability in any and every form of government, and any and every form of social organization. The most benevolent despotism cannot help its subjects better and make them happier than by imposing some such arrangement upon them. And the most extreme form of communistic Bolshevism, which still remains helplessly the "peasants' soldiers" and (a. brain and b. muscle) workers, Soviet will also achieve the end of securing

the greatest happiness of the greatest number by utilizing these principles, and will secure equality—also, but in the sense of *equitable* partition of the *luxuries* of life, which are the only and the best and strongest *incentives* to hard and effective and high-class work. Even Bolshevik Russia requires educators and scientists, and in very large numbers. The idea of attracting the best in sufficient numbers by giving them attractively high pay—does not pay! There is not money enough. And more, those who are attracted by money are not good enough real scientists and real educators; they are only money-makers! The small cash-pay necessary for necessities must be eked out with "honour"-pay. So soldiers and captains and generals are needed, and also executive policemen and magistrates and administrators of various kinds; as in poor Japan, which cannot afford to pay high salaries, like plutocratic U. S. A. and Britain, to its public servants, they have to be satisfied with the power of *authority* besides the necessary pay. So leaders and guides and managers of wealth-production are needed; and Bolshevik Russia, too, despite vaunted equality, and abolition of private property, etc., finds itself compelled to take the help of foreign capitalist concessionaires on the terms of these latter, and let them make money. And it is doing all this with a very ill grace, a very evil grace, with a great deal of confusion and dissatisfaction and oppression of and misery to the people (even according to the most favourable reports)—*because* it does not recognize what nature, human nature, is loudly shouting in its ears; *because* it has not solved the crucial

problem of politics, governs by means of a Presidium, i.e., a clique, a cabal, a caucus, or even by a single dictator, and has not secured genius *plus* virtue, character *plus* talent, intellectual *plus* ethical fitness, goodness *plus* experienced knowledge, selflessness *plus* wisdom, for its legislature.

It is by no means impossible to utilize the solution suggested here, even when society is not regularly but only instinctively and more or less imperfectly, organized, as it is in all countries today. But in the setting of a regulated social organization, as very broadly indicated above, the crucial problem of political science and art would be solved of itself, because a sufficient number of the best type of legislators would always be available among individuals in the third stage of life, retired from competitive bread-winning or money making, looking upon the whole community with the benevolent eyes of patriarchal helpfulness (which universal kindness of feeling is not possible to one still engaged in competition), possessed of the fullest experience of some one important department of the national life, possessed of knowledge of human nature through having reared a family in the midst of other families, possessed of necessary leisure, possessed of good name and fame and the trust and confidence of a large circle of fellow-countrymen, free of dependence and dependents, which and who confuse judgment, and able to bring dispassionate and disinterested wisdom to bear on all matters of public welfare in such a way as to preserve a due balance between and give just help and promotion to all right interests.

Some Aspects of Dominion Nationalism

BRITAIN'S PROBLEM OF MARKETS

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., Ph.D.

(ALLAS JOHN J. CORNELIUS)

THE Great War brought about many radical and far-reaching changes in the old world order. It gave rise to political upheavals, social revolutions and new thought currents throughout the world. It destroyed old nations of Europe and brought new ones into existence. It turned Europe's accumulated wealth into ashes and dislocated her age-old economic organization. It painted a new map of Europe and shifted the seat of power and wealth to the United States. In short, the war ushered in a new set of political ideals, a new economic world, a new universe. And Great Britain, emerging from its awful stress and strain found herself in the midst of a strange situation: here was a new world in which new industrial nations had sprung up in the place of her old customers; and nations she slighted had entered the race for world markets as her rivals. More than that—she discovered to her great distress that the conditions under which she built up her huge economic structure had more or less vanished, and in their stead she had to face the perennial problem of unemployment, heavy taxation and greatly shrunken export market. These conditions have created for Great Britain the most perplexing problems of how to regain her lost prosperity and win back her place of leadership and supremacy in the world of commerce.

Though the most forward-looking among Britons have decided in their minds that the day of European supremacy is over, they are unwilling to admit that that means the eclipse of Great Britain as a leader among nations. They sincerely believe that Britain can still hold her own by drawing closer the far-flung Dominions and Dependencies and creating out of them a more compact economic unit. Britain must, they say, find her new life, new blood and new outlets for her industrial products by studying the British Dominions, understanding their aspirations, fostering and

protecting their development. With this end in view the "Buy Empire Goods" movement was brought into existence. Empire exhibitions such as the one at Wembley, trade deputations to Dominions such as the visit of Mr. J. H. Thomas, Lord Privy Seal, are greatly encouraged. Greater publicity is also given now to the affairs and activities of the overseas possessions in order to cultivate an empire outlook. Such are the methods Great Britain is now making use of to effect an economic solidarity between the mother country and her vast dominions with a view to utilizing their potential resources in solving her pressing problems of markets and export trade.

RESOURCES OF THE EMPIRE

The resources of the British Empire, which includes vast areas in the tropics, in the Antipodes and in the Northern hemisphere, make an impressive showing when taken in the aggregate. The empire covers 12,517,000 square miles, and has a total population of about 437,000,000. Its wheat production exceeds that of the United States, its wool output is greater than that of America and Europe combined, even in cotton its crop is more than one-third the American. Its coal production is more or less equal to that of Europe. In iron ore and steel it is less rich, producing only about one-fourth as much in each case as the United States. But the British Empire contributes nearly half the world's rubber crop, two-thirds of the world's gold production, and much more than half the cocoa and tea. Its shipping comprises about one-third and its trade is about 29 per cent of the world's total, whereas the share of the United States in 1927 was only 14.21 per cent. The meat production of the empire is greater than that of Europe and America including their colonies.

But if we isolate Great Britain from the empire, we find that she is the least self-

contained. Her livelihood and prosperity depend upon her exporting power. About four-fifths of her supply of wheat and flour, and three-fifths of the supply of meat are imported. All of the cotton she uses, nine-tenths of the wool and timber and more than one-third of the iron ore must be had from abroad. Coal is the only important raw material in which Great Britain is self-supporting. It is only by exporting manufactured goods that the incoming supplies of food and raw materials can be maintained. Britain's exports, which are of supreme importance, are about 19 per cent less now than they were in 1913, while her imports are about 14 per cent greater. Exports have risen in the last four years by 4.6 per cent, but imports have gone up 7.9 per cent. The report of the Internal Revenue Commissioners shows that in 1928 the estimated gross income of the nation was the lowest since the year 1918-19.

This situation makes it clear that Britain has not yet come through her post-war economic difficulties as happily as France or Germany. Among her many troubles the problem of unemployment has become a perennial canker. Whatever happens to deliveries in kind, it seems probable that a considerable proportion of the 1,200,000 British miners and their families never again will be able to live by local digging, since German reparations coal has cut down the Continental demand for British coal.—Britain's principal export before the war. From September 1919 to the end of 1928, France, Belgium and Italy received 84,666,000 tons of German coal. While in 1913 Great Britain sold to these three countries 24,454,000 tons of coal, she sold only 17,947,000 tons to them in the year 1928. It is this loss of European market that is causing unemployment and misery among the mining population of Great Britain.

BRITAIN AND DOMINION DIVERSITY

An imperial federation can undoubtedly solve some of Britain's difficulty, but there are certain diversities in taste and policy, even in the Dominions that are British in race and English in speech, and these differences impede any such movement for an economic unity. "If Britain is to increase her exports to Canada, certain adaptations are necessary," says the Report on Overseas Markets of the (British) Committee on Industry and Trade. "Canada will not buy from Britain on the score of quality only. Styles,

standards, usage and advertising common to Canada and the United States differ in many instances from those prevailing in the United Kingdom. Another factor affecting British exports to Canada is the latter's rapid progress in the production of fully manufactured goods suitable to the home market." These observations apply also to some of the other Dominions which are better developed economically. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the movement to bring about a closer economic relationship between the component parts of the Commonwealth will result in total failure because of those differences.

The growth in population and increase in exports of the Dominions have made it possible for them to import more from Great Britain. In 1925 Great Britain received from the Dominions and colonies 27 per cent of her total imports, while they took from her 46 per cent of her total exports. Of the Dominion and colonial imports 38 per cent came from Great Britain, and of the Dominion and colonial exports 36.6 per cent were sold in Great Britain. But when the Dominions' trade relations with the United States are compared with those of the mother country, we find Britain to be in a less favourable situation. Nevertheless, the British trade with her colonies, relatively speaking, shows a slight increase in some cases, but the movement for economic co-operation, which is expected to play an important role in both British and colonial production and trade, is far from being effective or satisfactory.

It has already been noted that Great Britain must import four-fifths of her wheat and flour, three-fifths of her meat, all of her cotton, one-third of her iron ore and nine-tenths of her wool and timber. She needs, therefore, to buy food and raw materials from her colonies and send them manufactured goods. The present propaganda to promote Dominion co-operation is being carried on in the hope of supplementing the shrunken European market for British goods by enlarging the colonial consumption. The inhabitants of the British Isles are also induced to buy more of their supplies from the empire and less from foreign lands. But according to the computation of Evans Lewin of the Royal Colonial Institute, about 75 per cent of Britain's imports in the year 1913 came from foreign countries and the rest from the empire. In 1921 the foreign imports had fallen to

69 per cent, but in 1927 they had risen to 73 per cent. These figures, however, indicate that there has been little progress in developing the imperial sources of supply for Britain. What renders commercial exchange within the empire most difficult is the development of Dominion industries which react against Great Britain's trade.

DOMINION NATIONALISM

Economic co-operation within the empire is hindered further by the rise of nationalism in the Dominions. Though the ideal of an imperial federation became popular early in the nineteenth century, when the English people realized that they were no longer the citizens of a small Island but of a wide-world empire, yet, Imperial Conferences for the strengthening of such a bond came to be held only in the latter part of that century. Such conferences were held in 1887, 1897, 1907, 1909, 1911, and after the war in 1921, 1923, and 1926. Unfortunately, while the economic necessity created by the World War is driving Great Britain to work more energetically for a federation of her colonies, the nationalism stimulated by the war is making the Dominions demand greater freedom and independence from the apron-strings of the mother country. This new spirit made itself felt at the Imperial Conferences of 1923 and 1926, and it expressed itself very definitely in the various demands made by the Dominions. Imbued with this new spirit of freedom, they succeeded, in fact, in killing the idea of what was hitherto known as "Imperial Federation,"—that is, a scheme or system of politics by virtue of which the British colonies and dependencies would have been linked up with England as the centre and controlling power of the system.

An important victory for the Dominions at the last conference was the constitutional right of each part of the King's realm to go its own way without endangering the interests of the empire as a whole. Thus each colony won the right to make its own commercial treaties, to send ambassadors to those foreign countries in which it had interest; they also have the right to separate representation in the League of Nations. Though the Crown has theoretically undivided jurisdiction in declaring war and could declare contracts entered into by the Dominions to be void, it has been made sufficiently clear that the exercise of these rights in opposition to the wishes of the

Dominions would only result in reducing the empire to pieces. The Dominions are, no doubt, loyal to the Crown, but that does not mean that they are prepared any longer to swallow the doctrine of Britain's supremacy. If they allow the routine business of the empire to be carried on by Britain, it is only for old times' sake and for the sake of convenience. Thus post-war nationalism in the Dominions has thrown to the winds as a sanctified superstition, the Victorian conception of the Empire as a happy family of obedient daughters presided over by a capable but autocratic mother.

How this new spirit of separatism is working within the empire has been demonstrated on several occasions at the sessions of the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations. Instead of seven votes pulling together for imperial advantages, they often pull apart because of the clash of opinion and interests within the Commonwealth. Recently Great Britain pressed on the attention of the League the principle of tariff disarmament and showed how its application would help greatly in the promotion of world peace, but Australia and the Irish Free State stoutly opposed it. Then again on the question of adherence to the compulsory jurisdiction clause of the World Court, Ireland joined Canada and South Africa in backing up Britain as against Australia and New Zealand. But the Southern Dominions combined in opposing Ireland when she expressed herself in favour of the intervention of the League in settling disputes between the members of the British Commonwealth. Though it is natural for all of them to unite on matters of common interest, yet, when it comes to the interest of each individual Dominion, even the membership in the League seems only to encourage separatism and make the British Commonwealth less and less of a united force. (In spite of such clash of interests within the fold, what really holds the British Empire together is the sense of unity and the ultimate common interest. Therefore, the temporary divergence of politics is of little consequence as against the presence of seven nations within the League who in the final test are bound to feel and act as one, and put up a united front against a common foe.)

DOMINION INTERESTS VS BRITAIN'S INTERESTS

But whenever the British interests conflict with the interest of the Dominions, then the

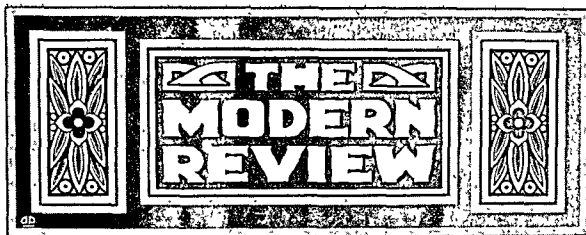
latter do not hesitate to assert themselves. Take, for instance, the stand Australia has taken on the question of Empire Free Trade. Commenting on the recent debate in the British House of Commons, Mr. Senlin declared that it was hopeless to expect Australia to agree to Empire Free Trade. He pointed out further that since Australia was engaged in building her own industries, Lord Beaverbrook's plan would be detrimental to the interest of Australian industries, as it would remove tariff protection from the manufacturers. "We believe," he asserted emphatically, "in giving preference to Australian products and thereafter preference to Britain and the Dominions." Being independent, Australia legislates for herself and provides protection for her infant industries, irrespective of how that legislation affects Great Britain or the other members of the Commonwealth. Finding that Australian high tariff and trade regulations greatly obstruct her trade with Australia, Great Britain has made several overtures, but Australia is mindful only of her own interests. Since the land is rich in its resources, Australians do not want it to be a mere source of raw materials for the mother country; they want to develop it rapidly and make it take its place among the leading industrial and prosperous countries of the world. Hence they are unwilling to give preferences in respect to commodities which they produce or plan to produce themselves.

South Africa is much like Australia in its stand on the question of trade with Great Britain. Last year when the Germano-South Africa Trade Treaty was debated, General Hertzog declared: "It is in our interests to be friendly and to co-operate with every part of the Empire, but if that means we are to be hostile to or estranged from any other part of the world, I refuse to associate myself with that view." He further maintained that the interests of South Africa came first, and they were not going to have their hands tied so as to prevent their entering into treaties with other countries. It is needless to mention in detail the opposition that this treaty stirred up in the British ranks. Though the action of the South African Government might appear as a slight to its best customer, yet it clearly shows the new national spirit of the Dominion, and its desire to exercise its rights resulting from the international recognition of South Africa's national status.

Then again the suggestion of bringing the various colonies and mandated territories in Africa under the British flag within a federation has given rise to sharp differences of opinion. The Dutch, the Germans and Englishmen are not as one with regard to the future status of the African territories. In the minds of the Germans in Africa, there is a lurking suspicion that the British plan is to bring about a consolidation of the British territories from Egypt to the Cape. Though annexation of those territories is incompatible with the principles of the League, yet Germans entertain grave suspicions about British intentions. Since they hope to get back their territories in course of time, they are unwilling to fall in line with any empire scheme in Africa. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the Africans and Indians are demanding their full share of power. Even in those regions where the white colonization is proceeding effectively, the disproportion between the whites and blacks is really great. In the background of the conflict one finds the latent fears of the whites that they will someday be submerged by the coloured races. Thus the problems in Africa have become intensified by racial differences and local nationalism which often express themselves in Anti-British outbursts as in South Africa, though not in such frequency.

From the point of view of political nationalism, there is a basic difference between South Africa and Australia and New Zealand. While the latter two are essentially British in population, the former has always been mainly Dutch. This racial difference makes it easier to understand the anti-British attitude of the South African Nationalist Party. It is anti-Imperial, anti-Empire-building. Being different in race it is natural for them to want to be outside the British Empire. It is not surprising, therefore, if the slogan of the Nationalist Party seems to be "Great Britain Last." The Nationalists resent the idea of Empire Tariff fences or anything imposed on the people which limits their freedom of action. They hold independence to be safer than the loosest bond within the Empire. Thus nationalism in South Africa is making Britain's trade relations with that Dominion less effective than what Britain would like.

CANADA AND GREAT BRITAIN
Canada is unlike Australia and South



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Organizations

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THERE is a radical difference between man's ambition and his aspiration for the complete. Ambition goes on adding to the parts; it is a mathematical process. Aspiration seeks the growth as a whole; it is life's own process. The monarch who rules Western society to-day is ambition, he is furiously indulging in a bacchanalia of numbers and quantity, quantity which can have no end. Yet life has its rhythm, the balance of proportion, the poetry of limits. For the purpose of life, mere quantity of food is unmeaning; it is assimilation which is essential. This assimilation becomes possible, if the quantity of food comes within the full range of its mastery, and the period of mastication and digestion is in consonance with life's rhythm.

The boastful hugeness, which always tries to exceed life's beautiful simplicity of limits, is an exaggeration: that is to say, it is puffed up by the crowding of the non-essential, which, like a noxious weed, grows only to choke the essential into insignificance. Thus overladen Education, bursting with a miscellany of subjects, is fostered at the cost of true culture; a prodigious quantity of printed stuff is continually poured upon the mind of the people, allowing the fertile soil of creation to be buried under its sand.

Commerce, which is abnormally big, is busily engaged in over-production and is trying to dig channels for its torrents of surplus across the unwilling breast of the earth. It diverts an enormous part of time and energy from life's field of creation to the imbecility of an endless repetition of things.

Some time ago there appeared in the papers news of a bird shoot in which a party of merry-makers, belonging to a high position, took part. The number of their innocent victims ran into thousands. The blood flowed abundantly; but I am sure, not the tinge of a blush was evident in the distinguished cheeks of these people, who were proud of their appalling success. It is what they call a breaking of records, the most amazingly superficial of all satisfactions for a rational being, paying homage to unmeaning quantity worthy of a head-hunter. We all know with what an excitement of reverence these number-pickers keep count of some latest addition to their list of records measuring even to a fraction of an inch, of a minute, or of a particle. This shallowness of mind is productive of cruelty and deception. When we artificially develop a longing for number for its own sake, a purely abstract sense of possession, then a standard of wrong valuation is established and the sacred-

below its pillars. The soffit of the coping stone also was cut into a groove in which the top of the panel was fixed. The construction of this type of railing will be clear from the restoration. (Fig. 4).

The Vasudeva shrine and the Pujari's dwelling were originally surrounded by a solid railing on the north, west and south. Of these the north and south sides were each at its eastern end met by another railing, which was of the ordinary open type. Of these, again, the north side was just 28 feet distant from Kham Baba and passed 50 feet from there eastward before it was joined by the other railing. From these junctions branched off two subsidiary railings, which so met each other as to form two entrances, one in front of the shrine and the other in front of the Pujari's dwelling, which, though they were together surrounded by the solid railing on the three sides, were separated one from the other by an open railing.

Our attention was now directed to the Kham Baba itself. Was it *in situ*? If it was, what was its original ground level? Every thing depended upon the reply to this question. For we were eager to know whether the original ground level of the solid and open railings and as well as of the retaining walls of the shrine very nearly coincided with that of the column. If it did, then alone could we say that all these structural remains exhumed by us belonged to the temple of Vasudeva in front of which the Greek ambassador erected a *Garuda* pillar. The question was answered by sinking a trench in front of the Kham Baba (Fig. 5) and our joy knew no bounds when we found that the column was *in situ* and was practically on the same level as the structural remains just referred to. The trench revealed that the pillar continued to be an octagon right down to its lower end, that is, 8' 1" from the top of the platform, the first six feet of which being underground were found to be very finely dressed though not to such a degree as to vie with the Asokan columns. The dividing line between the rough and

fine dressed surface must have coincided with the original ground level. The pillar rested on a stone block and was kept in the perpendicular by two pieces of iron and two stone chups being driven in between them.

This, in brief, is an account of the excavations conducted on the Kham Baba site hallowed by the memory of that Greek ambassador Heliodoros, who had become a Hindu and erected a *Garudadhija* in honour of Vasudeva. One important feature of these excavations is the discovery of the

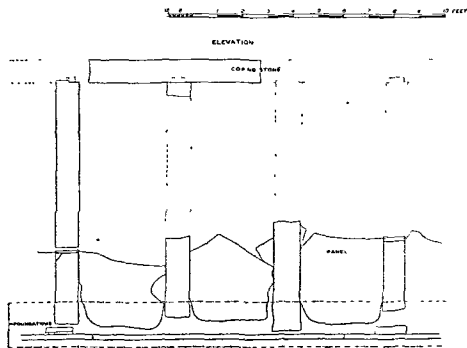


Fig. 4—Plan showing Pilasters and Panels
The dotted lines indicate the restored portions

solid railing which is of a unique design, not known to have been found anywhere in India when it was first exposed. Traces of this kind of railing were no doubt afterwards unearthed by Sir John Marshall in his excavations at Sauchi, but they were so few and far between that they could not have helped any archaeologist to piece them together and restore the original. Minor antiquities, such as fragments of pottery, metallic objects, coins and so forth were also picked up in abundance. But nothing can equal in importance the two iron pieces found below the Kham Baba which were doubtless wedges inserted to steady the column. At the suggestion of Sir John Marshall I lent one of them to Sir Robert Hadfield who had more than once obliged the Archaeological Department by making analyses of iron implements

Africa; it differs from the former in that its population is not wholly British and from the latter in that its minority population is not British. But the fact of the mixed population of French and British Canadians, makes Canada as a whole less enthusiastic about things British. Besides, she is more under the magnetic influence of her progressive and youthful neighbour, the United States. During the war Canada attained national consciousness and by the end of the war, her nationhood. She now exists as an entity, virtually independent of and equal to Great Britain. There is not one province in the federation over which a non-Canadian presides as the King's representative. From the Atlantic to the Pacific seaboard, the highest provincial office is held by a person who is a native of the soil. Further that Canada is throwing in her lot with the democratic Yankee is seen in the fact that the Canadian Parliament refused in 1919 to have titles conferred by the King upon the citizens of Canada, and as a result, no knights and baronets, dukes or lords have been created in Canada by the King for the last ten years. The question of the restoration of titles for Canadians came up for debate recently in the Canadian Parliament, but was lost.

Another force which interferes seriously with the growth of Britain's trade with her independent Dominions is the rise of America as the leading industrial nation and as the most formidable rival of Britain for world markets. Since the independent colonies are more or less of the same economic age as the United States, and their requirements more or less alike, they prefer to trade with the United States than with old England. The penetration of the United States into Canada is so great that the latter is gradually becoming an economic annex of the former. Canada imported from the mother country in 1913 only 21.3 per cent of her needs and by 1927 even this small percentage was reduced to the still smaller amount of 16.8 per cent. On the other hand, the United States enjoyed that very year (1927) 64.9 per cent of the Canadian import. The American investment in the Dominion of Canada is five times as much as that of the British.

A survey of the foreign trade of the British colonies with the mother country and with the United States clearly shows how fast the United States is undermining the trade of Great Britain in the British colonies.

Of the import trade of South Africa, England enjoyed 36.8 in the year 1913, while only 8.9 fell to the share of the United States, but by 1927 the share of the latter increased to 15.1 while that of the former declined to 41.8. Similarly, Australia which exported to England about 41.3 per cent of her export goods in 1913 decreased it to 41.4 per cent in 1926. Whereas her export trade with the United States, which was only 3.4 in 1913, doubled, amounting to 8.7 in the year 1926. As the Dominions grow more and more in wealth and power, the United States seems to succeed in strengthening her economic ties even better than the mother country. Being young and of the same economic age and outlook, it is natural that the British Dominions should be drawn more and more to America and her industrial philosophy.

SCOTLAND FOR SCOTS

The Anti-Empire policy is strong not only in South Africa but also in the Irish Free State, and its influence there has become too well known to need comment. But what interests one now is that the "Sinn Féin" movement is spreading rapidly in Wales and Scotland. Wales is demanding self-government and also separate representation in the League of Nations. The Welsh Nationalist Party is gaining in strength and in popularity. Similarly, the Scottish Nationalist Party is working for self-government for Scotland. Twelve times during the past twenty years the Scottish elected members of Parliament have asked for self-government and for a National Parliament in Scotland, but owing to the overwhelming English votes in the London Parliament, the Scottish Nationalist Party has not succeeded in making Scotland an independent unit of the British Commonwealth. The Nationalists point out that there are more English in Glasgow today than Scotsmen in London, and that there are 300 Englishmen in Edinburgh earning a salary of £1,000 annually and that 30 per cent of the professors of the Edinburgh University are Englishmen. They want Scotland for Scots. Scotland must be established as a mother country, they say, with equal status with England. It must have its own Parliament to control its own affairs. In other words, Scotland wants to be independent of England even as the other British Dominions are independent of her today.

Such is the spirit controlling the various parts which make up the British Empire. This survey shows how sweeping is the change that has been brought about by the World War in the nature of the former British Empire. It is clear that the tendency to become one's own manufacturer is strong not only in the independent nations of the world, but also in the self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth. Though the Dominions have been induced to give preferential rates to goods made in Britain, they do not grant even this favour to commodities which they produce themselves. For an imperialist, a colony exists only to serve as a source of raw materials for the mother country and market for her finished products. But the post-war colonies will not stand this nonsense any longer.

Each of the Dominions wants to exist as an entity for itself first and then for the mother country and the Dominions. The demand of the Dominions for economic independence, the impoverishment of many of Britain's former customers as a result of the war, the increased industrialization of other nations, the relatively high cost of British productions and the rise of America as Britain's rival are the chief factors which make the problem of re-adjusting Britain's economy to a new age a very difficult one, in spite of the much boasted imperial economic unity of the British Empire. The present trade situation of Great Britain leads one to pessimistic conclusions, but no one is competent enough to forecast accurately what is going to be Britain's economic future

Reminiscences of Swami Vivekananda and Sister Nivedita

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

IN November, 1897, Swami Vivekananda came to Lahore. We knew each other, for we had been together at college and had met once or twice afterwards. At this time he was at the height of his fame. He was the most striking figure at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago and had made a great impression in America and England by his lectures and remarkable personality. He had enthusiastic followers in those countries, and on his return to India he met with a great reception wherever he went. At Lahore a public demonstration had been organized. There were a number of people at the railway station to meet him and to take him in procession to a large house in the city. I was also there and told him that he might come over to my place if he wanted a little rest. One of his disciples, Suddhananda, a young man who had come up by himself from Ambala and who is now the Secretary of the Ramkrishna Mission at Belur, was then staying with me. Vivekananda accompanied by another disciple, Sadananda, came to my house the same night and stayed with

me all the time he was at Lahore. Day after day, whenever I was free from work and again late into the night, we talked and I wondered how the somewhat silent and by no means brilliant boy I had known at college had grown into a dynamic personality with marvellous powers of conversation and a magnetism which drew all people to him. He could hold his own anywhere and in any company. His enthusiasm glowed like a white flame. His passionate patriotism filled me with admiration. He often spoke of the burning patriotism of the Japanese. There were periods of exaltation when his words rang with prophetic fervour. He professed his willingness to go to jail if it would benefit the country. Then there were other moods when he laughed and jested brimming over with good humour. He was a fine singer and a good musician. He told me with the utmost frankness of all his experiences since he had come under the influence of Ramkrishna Paramhansa. I have mentioned some of these in an essay that I have written about my personal reminiscences of Swami Vivekananda.

He delivered three lectures at Lahore of

which the one on the Vedanta ranks among his greatest utterances. During his stay at Lahore there was a remarkable incident which may be recalled here. The citizens of Lahore gave a garden party to Swami Vivekananda in the grounds of the Town Hall in the Gol Bagh. There was a Parsi gentleman, whom I knew well, living opposite the Gol Bagh. He was standing near the grounds watching the crowd when Swami Vivekananda came up to him and asked him whether he was a Parsi and whether he came from Bombay or Calcutta. The Parsi gentleman replied he came from Bombay. A few more words were exchanged and then Vivekananda strolled back to the grounds. The Parsi gentleman did not know him and never saw him again though he heard his name afterwards. A year or two later, this gentleman, who is still one of my valued friends, returned to Bombay and settled in business. Some more years passed and he began to have dreams and see visions of a strange nature which disturbed him and which he could not account for. He used to see a black image with some figures around it, and in his dreams he fancied he was always walking in a northern direction. I have had an account from his own lips and there can be no doubt that he was greatly disturbed by these vivid and recurrent dreams. Four or five years ago while passing along a street in Bombay he saw the works of Swami Vivekananda displayed at a shop window. He at once went in, bought the books, read them and became a devout admirer of Ramkrishna Paramhansa and Swami Vivekananda. The whole tenor of his life has been changed, he has paid several thousand rupees to the Ramkrishna Mission in Bombay, but he refuses absolutely to disclose his identity or to permit his name to be published.

Among those who accompanied Swami Vivekananda to Lahore was Goodwin, the young Englishman who reported most of the Swami's lectures and whose devotion to his *Guru* was admirable. To know Goodwin was to like him. He was simple as a child and was very fond of children. He died at Ootacamund a few years later.

I met Swami Vivekananda again in 1898 at Srinagar, Kashmir, and he made a brief halt at Lahore on his way back to Calcutta. He had a strange premonition of early death and told me more than once that he had only three more years to live. The

last time I saw him was at the Belur Math shortly before his death.

SISTER NIVEDITA

I first saw Sister Nivedita at Srinagar, Kashmir, where she was staying with Mrs. Alo Bull and Miss McLeod. When Sister Nivedita passed away in 1911 I was just recovering from a very severe illness. Lying in my bed I wrote a brief tribute to her memory under the *nom de plume* of "Novalis." This appeared in the *Tribune*, of which I was in charge for the second time and was published in other papers. I shall reproduce those notes here for record in my recollections.

Out of the silence of months I emerge to pay a tribute of memory to one who has just crossed the borderland and passed on to the Beyond whence comes neither whisper nor message to the land of the living. Margaret Noble—Sister Nivedita—is dead and her work has been accomplished. When it comes to be put together that work may not amount to much, because the time vouchsafed unto her was so short and she had perhaps no premonition of the angel-wings that had been beating about her, summoning her silently to where her Master had gone before her.

The qualities that she brought to bear on the work she did deserve to be remembered, for seldom did a truer or more generous nature throw in its lot with a cause so helpless as that of India and with so much enthusiasm and hopefulness. One Anglo-Indian paper has called her love for India 'a craze' and that is how some other people will call it for how many of them can fathom the depth of the nature or the passion that burned in her as a holy flame? To the shallow critic and the casual observer she was only a crank—gifted beyond doubt, but only a crank.

It is not for me, however, to attempt an appreciation of her work in this place. Mine, as I have said, is a tribute of memory. I saw her many times and talked with her for hours at a stretch and I shall here relate only incidents of actual happenings, things and words as they may recur to the memory.

It was at Srinagar, Kashmir, that I first met her. I was living in a houseboat close to a *donga* occupied by Swami Vivekananda and we used to pass much

of our time together. Our boats were moored close to the guest-house of the Maharaja. Some way up the river Jhelum, beyond the Residency, was a boat in which there were three lady disciples of Swami Vivekananda, Nivedita being one of them. One morning as I came back from a stroll I stepped into Vivekananda's boat and found the three ladies there and introductions followed. Nivedita looked quite young and handsome. She had a full figure and a high colour and though her eyes were very bright and vivacious she did not appear like a blue-stocking or a very intellectual woman. But first appearances are frequently deceptive.

The Jhelum was flowing rippling below the keel of the boat. A cool, fresh morning breeze stirred the water into little wavelets flecked with fleeting foam. Over away in the distance towered Takht Suleiman with the pillar on the top. On the bank were poplars and chinars with apple and pear trees laden with fruit. And so, half observant and half oblivious of the glorious nature outside, we fell into an animated conversation. Sister Nivedita had a musical voice and spoke with the earnestness of an enthusiast. She wanted information on a hundred subjects. Swami Vivekananda pointed his finger towards me and smiled, "Yes, yes, pick his brains. He will give you all the information you want." When leaving, one of the elderly ladies asked me to come and have tea with them the following afternoon.

After they had gone Swami Vivekananda told me a great deal about Sister Nivedita, her great accomplishments and the range of knowledge, her passionate devotion to India. Then he told a little story. They had just returned from Amarnath, the famous shrine among the snows in Kashmir. Vivekananda had walked with the other pilgrims. As a young ascetic he had tramped over a great part of India. Sister Nivedita had a dandy. When they had proceeded only a few stages she noticed an old woman among the pilgrims and saw that she was walking painfully and laboriously with the help of a stick. Nivedita promptly got out of the dandy, put the old woman into it and walked all the way out and back from the shrine. When I asked her afterwards about it, she said she had two blankets, slept on the ground and never felt better in her life.

never saw her in Srinagar again. I

received a letter which necessitated my immediate return to Lahore and I left the next morning asking Swami Vivekananda to make my excuses at the tea party.

A few days later I met her at Lahore. She was staying with the other two ladies at Nedon's hotel and we met almost every day. Sometimes we would keep on talking till late at night, one of the other ladies quietly sitting by and listening to the bewildering range of our conversation. There was hardly a thing relating to India that we did not discuss. She frequently praised the judicial balance of the cultured Indian mind and the passionlessness of its outlook. Everything about her was sincere, frank and pure, while her unaffected modesty was as charming as it was admirable. And I saw that she was a woman with an extraordinary intellect, of extensive and accurate reading. She was extremely impulsive, but every impulse was generous and her earnestness of purpose was consuming.

She wanted me to show her the city. Would she like to drive through the main streets, as the lanes were too narrow for carriages to pass? No, she preferred to walk. A little slumming, I suggested, and she smilingly assented. So one fine morning we entered the city by the Lohari Gate, and tramped for about two hours, passing through every street and lane in the city. She was greatly interested in everything she saw—the children who stared at her open-mouthed, the women veiled and unveiled, the men who lounged at street corners, the Brahminy bulls lapping the rock salt exposed for their use on the market stalls, the crowded houses. She took in everything and asked questions about everything. On coming out of the city we took a carriage and I drove her to the hotel.

There were other experiences. The Ram Lila was going on. We drove out to see it. The other ladies stayed in the carriage, but Sister Nivedita got down and wanted to go into the crowd. As I accompanied her, a policeman on duty, seeing an English woman, began hustling the people and thrusting them aside to make a passage for her. In an instant Sister Nivedita's smiling demeanour changed. The blood rushed to her face and her eyes flashed indignant fire; going up to the policeman she exclaimed, "What right have you to push these people? You should be run in for assault." She spoke in English, because she did not know

the language of the country. The policeman did not understand her words, but there was no mistaking her gesture and look. The man turned to me helplessly for an explanation, and when he got it, he shrank away, looking sheepish and crest-fallen. When we came out of the crowd, I burst out laughing. Sister Nivedita turned to me saying, "Why are you laughing at me?" I explained to her that the sight of a policeman pushing people or even assaulting them was not a rare thing in India. She would not believe it at first and became very indignant when I told her a few facts.

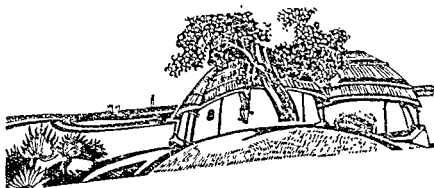
I met her next in Calcutta and was startled by the change that had taken place in her appearance. All the high colour of her complexion had disappeared. She had grown pale and thin and looked both intellectual and spiritual. She wore round her neck a slender chain of *rudraksha* beads. She looked quite the *Brahmacharini* she was. For several weeks she had been living on a plantain and a slice of bread. She had taken a small house in the heart of north Calcutta and was teaching a few Bengali girls on the Kindergarten system. Would not some Indian women dedicate themselves to the service of India as she had undertaken herself? That was why she had undertaken the instruction of Indian girls. She looked on everything Indian with the eyes of sympathy and love.

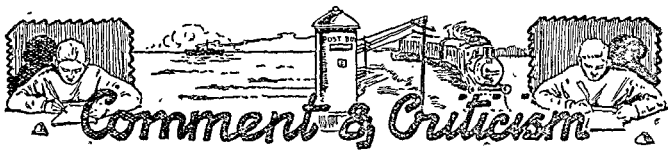
Her interests were as varied as they were wide. She was deeply interested in Dr. J. C. Bose's scientific researches.

I met her at the house of the American Consul General in Calcutta in earnest conversation with Mr. Okakura, the well-known Japanese thinker and writer. I heard her speaking in public. She was a most eloquent and fascinating speaker, but her thoughts and language were sometimes above the comprehension of the average audience. As a writer the charm of her style abides in her books. But I am thinking of the individual and not the writer—the clear, strenuous purpose, the fervour of faith, the human sympathy, the transparent sincerity, the selfless devotion to work.

On one occasion, accompanied by a friend, I went to see her in her house in Calcutta. We were told by another lady staying in the house that Sister Nivedita was seriously ill, suffering from meningitis. She was being treated by Dr. Nilratan Sircar, the famous Calcutta physician. After several anxious days the crisis passed and the patient was pronounced out of danger. Her time had not yet come. On recovery she went to England to recruit her health.

I saw her once again at Benares for a few minutes while the Indian National Congress was sitting in that city. We were both pressed for time and there was not much conversation. And now she has gone to her rest, to peace everlasting, but those who had the privilege of knowing her will never forget her—her sweet yet forceful personality, her wonderfully pure life, white and fragrant as a lily.





[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

"The Arab Revolt and the Massacre of the Jews in Palestine"

In my article on the Arab Revolt which has disappointed Mr. Golan Murtaza, I have made it clear beyond doubt that I believe in Arab independence. As an advocate of Asian independence, I cannot but support the national aspirations of the Arabs or other people.

I am opposed to religious fanaticism of those who commit political murders under the pious cloak of religious indignation. Mr. Golan Murtaza acknowledges that the "Wailing Wall affair was only a spark" and the real trouble in Palestine lies in the political field. The Arabs allied themselves with the British and fought against the Turks (the co-religionists of the Arabs) on the solemn understanding that the Arabs will achieve their independence. British statesmen, with their characteristic duplicity, at the back of the Arabs, made a secret understanding with the French that the French might take Syria, whereas the British would keep control over Palestine. Later on, the same British statesmen, to gain financial and political support of the Jews of all countries (especially those in the United States) gave assurance to them, through the Balfour Declaration, that the British will aid the Jews to establish a Jewish Homeland in Palestine.

Now the Jews have migrated and are migrating into Palestine according to the Balfour Declaration. They are buying up landed property, paying proper compensation to the Arabs, and they are investing capital and securing control over the raw-materials of the country. No one can say that the Jews have demanded anything beyond the assurances of the Balfour Declaration. In fact, British statesmen (Col. Wedgwood and others) have advocated and are working for the creation of the "Seventh Dominion" of the British Empire under the Jewish control, in Palestine.

Now if any party is responsible for the loss of Arab rights—Arab independence in all Arabia including Palestine—then it is Great Britain, she having broken her solemn pledge. Therefore, the legitimate grievance of the Arabs should be against the British mandate. Had the Arabs risen against the British control over Palestine, and fought for their independence as the Syrians did against French rule, they would have received

the moral support of all who are advocates of self-determination. But when the Arabs feeling their inability to fight against British control of Palestine, started a massacre of Jews, under the cover of a religious pretext even the advocates of independence could not but condemn it. The Jews did not assert their rights without the Balfour Declaration, and if the Balfour Declaration has usurped Arab rights then they should start a political agitation against the British control of Palestine and not against the Jews who have come to Palestine because Britain has given a solemn undertaking for their protection.

I may say here that in India many of the Moslem politicians use the cloak of religious indignation against the Hindus for political purposes, and many Hindus have been murdered for political reasons (as the murder of Swami Shraddhananda) by the religious fanatics! Many Hindu politicians also support "extra-territorial patriotism" of Indian Moslems with the idea of bringing about Hindu Moslem Unity! I believe that the Hindus—all Indians—should support the cause of Arab independence, but must not support political assassinations carried on under the garb of religious indignation. Furthermore I believe that while the people of India should support the cause of independence of other Asian peoples, they should not give any support to the spirit of "extra-territorial patriotism" of any community in India.

In conclusion, I may say that the real grievance of the Arabs lies in the British betrayal of the Arab cause through the violation of a solemn agreement. It is cowardly on the part of the Arabs to attack the Jews who were brought in Palestine under British protection, while accepting British mandate in Palestine.

Wiesbaden, Germany
Dec. 31, 1929

TARAKNATH DAS

The Economic Condition of Indian Workers

Dear Sir,
I read with great interest the splendid article on "Tea Garden Labourers in Assam" by Mr. Jatindranath Sarkar, M.A., published in the December issue of *The Modern Review*. It is very

significant that the League of Nations, at the request of the United Christian Council of India, sent Miss Matheson to prepare a confidential report on the subject of "economic conditions in India." The League did not think it fit to send a man of the integrity and ability of Dr. Rajanikanta Das, who is employed as an expert in the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, to carry on an investigation on the "economic conditions in India" or the condition of Indian workers. There is anti-Indian propaganda on a world-wide scale; and no intelligent Indian has any doubt about it.

It is quite natural that the British planters will try to protect their interests—by creating favourable public opinion on their behalf. But what are the Indians, especially Indian economists, trade-unionists and others (politicians), doing to enlighten the world? The other day a section of Indian trade-unionists adopted a resolution to boycott the Whitley Commission, but have they adopted any definite measure for the study of the condition of Indian workers, so that the world may know the real causes of Indian labour unrest? Sometime ago the British trade union delegates came to India and made a study of the labour condition and produced a report containing valuable information which enlightened the world. Mr. Furtwangler, the General Secretary of the Federation of German Trade Unions, studied Indian labour conditions and made himself unpopular to the British official world when he exposed the condition of Assam tea-plantation workers, during the last session of the International Labour Conference held at Geneva. Mr. Sherwood Eddy, the well-known American social worker, in one of his books has given important facts about the awful condition of Indian workers. So far the awful condition of Indian Congress leaders as I know, Indian Trade Union Congress leaders have not produced any scientific and valuable work on the condition of the workers in various Indian industries. Furthermore, Indian economists connected with Indian universities could have served the cause of Indian workers most effectively if they prepared monographs on labour conditions in various Indian industries. I believe that it is the function of Indian universities to produce the most authentic works on all phases of Indian life—political, social, economic, educational, etc. Several Indian Professors of Economics conjointly should not only undertake the preparation of a thorough and comprehensive work on certain economic problems of India, but should demand from their graduate students a certain amount of original research on Indian economic problems.

The Indian Trade Union movement should instruct its delegates to the next International Labour Conference, to be held in Geneva, to request the authorities of the International Labour Office to send an international commission to investigate the labour conditions in India. Such a commission should consist of Indian, Japanese, Chinese, French, German, British and Scandinavian economists. India contributes annually a very large sum towards the maintenance of the League of Nations. Indians should demand that the League should spend some of its money in such a manner as will be beneficial to the people. The Indian public must see to it that the League of Nations Labour

office may not be used as another anti-Indian propaganda machine.

TARAKNATH DAS

Wiesbaden, Germany.

Dec. 31, 1929

"Dominion Status and Independence Side by Side"

In your article on 'Dominion status and Independence Side by Side,' you initiate an interesting line of research. The relative merits of Dominion status and independence have been canvassed many times before now. But no one has yet attempted the *tour de force* of demonstrating from real life that the one is preferable to the other. It was good that you set yourself this difficult task; but it was not good that you should have diverted your efforts to a side-issue. For, what you have really established in your article is certainly not what you promised your readers in the headline.

You have proved the obvious fact that Canada is not quite as well off as U. S. A., and have advanced a hypothesis to explain it. It would not be difficult to pick holes in your arguments, and to suggest that some other hypothesis than your own is just as capable of accounting for Canadian backwardness. But I shall resist that temptation, for I do not want to be lured away by a merely collateral issue. My quarrel with you is that I do not see how your arguments may have any bearing upon the problem of Dominion status and independence, unless, of course, you assume that Canada has been enjoying Dominion status ever since she came under British rule. I do not know since that assumption. But if you do, I am afraid, you shall not find yourself on very sure ground. Personally, I feel that Dominion status, as it is evolving to-day, is essentially an after-war conception and its origin cannot be dated further back than 1917, when Sir Robert Borden, the Canadian Prime Minister, moved his famous resolution in the Imperial War Conference. But even if my history is wrong, I gather from the writings of Indian advocates of Dominion status that what they aspire to is not the sort of Colonial status which Canada enjoyed till about the beginning of the War, but a status, very different in essentials, for which Sir Robert Borden pleaded so eloquently in 1917.

It would seem, therefore, that when you hold up to ridicule the Colonial status which Canada enjoyed in the nineteenth century, advocates of Dominion status may justifiably retort, in so far as it is a hit at them, that you are only tilting at the wind.

I need hardly add that I am not concerned with the theoretical arguments for and against this issue; nor do I feel competent to enter the lists as a partisan. I have criticized your article because I am convinced that its implications are misleading, and that it does not help the cause you have in mind.

D. L. MURPHY

The Editor's Note

I am under no delusion that I have proved that the sole cause, the principal cause, or even one of the causes of Canada's inferiority to the United States of America in population, material prosperity, and intellectual and creative achievement is the fact that she is not independent and free like the latter. Though Mr. Majumdar asserts that in the title of my article I promised to establish some such thesis, such promise does not appear to me to follow from the heading. In any case, I did not propose to prove any such thing. Perhaps, not being a clear writer, I have not been able to make the drift of my article understood even by intelligent and educated readers. My object was to set my readers thinking as to the causes of Canada's inferiority. That I did not indulge in any dogmatic assertion, but only raised questions and made tentative suggestions, will appear from the following sentences in my article among others :

"May not the inferior achievement of the Canadians, then, be due to the fact that, living under the aegis or protection of Britain as a sub-nation, they have not yet fully felt the promptings of a distinct, independent and free nation to develop their powers in every direction to the utmost.....? Does this explain the stunting of Canada to any extent?"

"The American States have about a quarter of the area of the contiguous Canadian provinces but nearly three times as many inhabitants as the latter. What is this striking difference in immediately adjoining areas due to?"

"It strikes me that the political status of Canada may have had something to do with retarding its material prosperity and intellectual growth. Those who have personal knowledge and experience of both U. S. A. and Canada may be able to say whether there is even a modicum of truth in my impression."

Mr. Majumdar writes, "You have proved the obvious fact that Canada is not quite as well off as U. S. A., and have advanced a hypothesis to explain it." Canada's comparative backwardness may have been obvious to him all along, but it was not obvious to me before I read the *New Republic* article about it and consulted some works to write my article. I was impelled therefore to advance a hypothesis to explain the "obvious." If my hypothesis is wrong, I hope more competent and better-informed persons will advance other hypotheses with convincing proofs in reviews or journals other than mine.

Mr. Majumdar says I have held up "to ridicule the colonial status which Canada enjoyed in the nineteenth century." Since receiving his criticism I have read my article twice. I do not find that I have anywhere specifically referred to Canada's colonial status in the nineteenth century. As for "ridicule" to the best of my knowledge of the meaning of this word in the English language, which is not my mother-tongue, I have not in my article ridiculed any country or people. I did not know that a serious comparison of the position and achievements of two countries by means of facts (including statistics) could be called ridicule. But, perhaps, as I had to write in a foreign language,

what I intended to be taken as a serious discussion really reads like ridicule.

I have nowhere assumed that Canada has been enjoying Dominion status of the up-to-date kind ever since she came under British rule. My limited knowledge of Canadian and British Imperial history has sufficed to save me from such a wrong assumption. I have also a rough idea of the evolution of Dominion status since the last World War. In fact, in the concluding paragraph of my article, I distinctly refer to the fact that Canada has not yet enjoyed for a sufficiently long time her recently advanced political status to enable one to judge of the results of such status. Let me quote the last few lines.

"It is not yet full four years since this definition of a Dominion was adopted. Time alone can show whether this new Dominion status will produce material and moral results equivalent to those of the independence enjoyed by the U. S. A. The enjoyment by Canada of the right of diplomatic representation abroad is also not of much longer duration. From the article of the Canadian writer, referred to in the first paragraph of my article, it does not appear what actual concrete benefit to Canada has resulted from her new Dominion status and her right of diplomatic representation abroad."

There have been, since the World War, important developments regarding Dominion status. But that status existed before the war, and it was by no means insignificant. In fact, in relation to internal affairs, the Dominions enjoyed so much freedom that in his Congress presidential address in 1906 Dadabhai Naoroji voiced the political aspiration of India by saying that the Congress wanted Swaraj or self-government like that of the self-governing British colonies or like that of England.

I shall quote some sentences, from two pre-war publications to show what Canadian self-government was then like. By the passing of "The British North America Act," on the 1st of July 1867, the Dominion of Canada came into existence. It was born during the era of the American Civil War, and was planned to correct defects which time had revealed in the American federation." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, vol. v, published 1910). So the Canadian federation was in some respects an improvement on the American federation.

It is interesting to find that even before 1867, the Canadian Parliament was supreme in Canadian domestic affairs. In 1849 when the Earl of Elgin was Governor, the Canadian legislature passed the Rebellion Losses Bill. "The conservative minority," appealed to London for intervention. The mob in Montreal burned the Parliament buildings and stoned Lord Elgin himself because he gave the royal assent to the bill. He did so in the face of this fierce opposition, on the ground that in Canadian domestic affairs, the Canadian Parliament must be supreme." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition). Speaking of a period a few years anterior to 1849, the same work says that "it became obvious that the provinces united had become too important to be held in leading strings."

It is stated in the same work (1910), in relation

to all naval and military forces, that "their control rests with the federal Parliament."

As early as 1868 Canada had adopted the policy of protection in her trade and industries, and from 1891, "protection became the settled policy of the country." (*Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed.)

The Governor-General's "powers are strictly limited, as in the case of the sovereign, all executive acts being done on the advice of his cabinet, the members of which hold office only so long as they retain the confidence of the people as expressed by their representatives in Parliament." (*Encycl. Brit.*, 1910)

It is stated in the *Statesman's Year-book* for 1911 that the Canadian provinces "have full powers to regulate their own local affairs and dispose of their revenues, provided only they do not interfere with the action and policy of the central administration."

It would appear, then, that even before pre-war developments, Canada had practically almost as full a measure of internal autonomy as her

neighbour the U. S. A. The question then which demands an answer is why her progress has not even approximated to that of the latter. It should be borne in mind that the Civil War in America had caused a great set back there at the time when Canada became a Dominion. So both these countries started on a new career of progress at the same time. There is another country, Japan, an oriental one, which began its career of modernization exactly during the same period. There, "from 1868 onwards the new spirit rapidly permeated the whole nation; progress became the aim of all classes, and the country entered upon a career of intelligent assimilation which, in forty years, won for Japan a universally accorded place in the ranks of the great Occidental powers." (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition.)

Why is not only the U. S. A. but also Japan far ahead of Canada in almost every respect with far more limited natural resources than the latter?

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Caste

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

IT is generally believed and said, and rightly so, that one of the principal causes of India's political weakness and downfall is caste. And, therefore, the argument against caste often takes a political turn. There is nothing to be said against such a line of argument—for caste has all along stood as a great barrier against nation-building. But would caste be justifiable even among an independent nation? There were, in fact, long centuries during which India was independent, and caste also existed in those days. But it may be stated with historical truth that caste was one of the causes of India's loss of independence. Suppose, however, India was independent and that caste did not all along independent and that caste did not make for the loss of independence. Would caste even then be justifiable? Certainly not. For caste gives some men and women a high social status and relegates others to a low position, and that sort of arrangement goes on from generation to generation. It cannot be said that all or most "high-caste" men deserve a high place by their character and intellect, nor that all "low-caste" persons deserve the humiliation, limitation

or loss of opportunity, persecution, degradation and cramping effect due to a low position. It is clear, therefore, that caste would be unjustifiable even if it were not politically disintegrating and weakening in its effects.

Here some one may put in a word for *Varnasrama Dharma* such as, it is said, existed in India in days of yore. Theoretically *Varnasrama* existed in India undoubtedly. But I have my historical doubts whether at any time all or most Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas or Shudras followed only the professions assigned to them by the *Smritis*. There are enough data in the dramas, Puranas, etc., and in history to show that that was not the case in numerous instances. However, if *Varnasrama* existed in actual practice at any time, it cannot be revived now. At present, the caste groups, instead of being four, would be more than four thousand. And some of the popularly believed lowest castes are claiming to be Brahmins or Kshatriyas and are being invested with the 'sacred' thread.

Varnasrama, if revived, is to be arranged according to *guna* (quality) and *karma*

(work or occupation). Is there any authority, possessed of sufficient knowledge of the *gunas* and *karmas* of all persons of all ages and both sexes in Hindu India, and having adequate sense of justice and sufficient impartiality and power to enforce obedience, who can divide these persons into four groups? In these days of equality, liberty and fraternity, would not there be numerous rebels against his decisions? And remember, this work of fourfold division cannot be done once for all. Sons and daughters do not all possess the *gunas* of their parents or follow the professions of their parents. Therefore, at each succeeding generation, there must be a fresh fourfold division. Nay, even that is an understatement. A man may change his occupation once or more than once in his life; a man of Brahman parentage may be a cook, a priest and a petty trader at the same time; husband and wife may not follow the same profession and may have different *gunas* and a man may have different *gunas* at different periods of life. What authoritative person or persons can have the power to constantly re-arrange groups repeatedly, providing satisfactorily for all these complications?

No, the *Varnasrama* solution will not do.

Some praise has been bestowed on the system of caste for its providing every one born in a caste with some occupation, for preventing unlimited competition and ambition, for instituting a sort of democracy within the caste, for making it possible to acquire great skill in crafts and trades owing to their hereditary character, and so on. To some extent this praise is deserved, though there is no such hereditary physical transmission of acquired tastes, inclinations, character and skill as is generally and popularly believed. But we have to remember that in spite of caste there is greater unemployment and enforced idleness in India than in any other civilized country and that there are also great competition and ambition. Social democracy within each caste is at present more nominal than real; a highly educated rich man of any caste certainly does not look upon and treat an illiterate and poor fellow-caste-man as his social equal. It is true that many of our hereditary craftsmen possess great skill. But not all. Moreover, owing to there not being infusion of fresh blood, fresh intelligence and fresh ideas into a craft-guild and its methods and owing to comparative absence of competition, many of

our craftsmen have become less skilled and more characterless than the craftsmen of other countries which have no caste. Take an example. In Calcutta, Chinese carpenters command much higher wages than Indian carpenters, because of their greater skill, greater reliability and greater industry. Again, among Indian carpenters Mussalmans are to be found in greater numbers than Hindus.

Owing to the absence of hereditary caste in Western countries, some of the greatest intellects have devoted themselves to manufacturing industries and commerce and surpassed our industrial and commercial classes. Our Kshatriya warriors of old were matchless for bravery. Yet they could not prevent India from being conquered, because all the people of the country were not interested in defending it, and because strategy and methods of warfare and weapons remained unimproved, owing to men of superior intellect from outside the caste not having concerned themselves with their improvement.

Caste discriminates in favour of some persons and against others quite unreasonably and unjustly. In the same family brothers and sisters often differ markedly in physical strength and appearance, intelligence and intellectual achievement, education, character, etc., and follow different professions. Yet those who are superior in those things do not despise and cut off social intercourse with those who are inferior, nor are any treated as untouchable. Men and women of the same caste differ in the same way and sometimes more; yet there is social intercourse, interdining and intermarriage among them. But persons of inferior caste are sometimes superior in strength, intellect, character, etc., to those of higher caste, and yet they are despised.

Even if it be argued that literacy and the priestly profession imply and demand higher intelligence and character than the pursuit of other avocations for which literacy is not essential, which is not true, can any reasons be assigned as to why weavers, blacksmiths, carpenters, potters, brass-smiths, etc., should not look upon one another as social equals, interdining and intermarrying with one another?

No, hereditary caste is a thoroughly unreasonable institution. Divisions into occupational groups may and do exist, as they do everywhere; but there is no reason why they should be made hereditary and the

picked up in excavations. In reply I received two communications from him, in the second of which he definitely informed me that the material was genuine steel and that the specimen consequently was of unusual interest as it was of such an early age. This was indeed a most astounding discovery. So long the use of steel in India before the Muhammadan

of metals. The meeting was opened by the Chairman, Sir Robert Hadfield, with an address which was reported in *The Engineer* dated Nov. 27, 1911. And he wound up his address with a prominent mention of this piece of steel, describing how it was found and what the result of his chemical analysis was.

The following quotation from the above number of *The Engineer* will be read with extreme interest by scientists as well as laymen, by the archaeologist as well as the general reader. "Before concluding," said Sir Robert, "I should like to show a specimen of steel of unusual value and interest, bearing as it does upon the title of our subject, 'The Hardening of Metals.' This specimen is probably the first to be exhibited in modern times of an ancient piece of high carbon steel which has been hardened by quenching. The following is the analysis of its composition :

Carbon	Si	S	P	Mn	Cr	Ni	Fe
70	04	008	03	02			Stress

"It was possible to obtain a fracture of the specimen, which weighed about 8 oz., was 3in. in length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in breadth, $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in thickness. This showed fine crystalline but rather brittle structure. After removing the scale the Brinell ball hardness number was found to be 116. On cutting the specimen through with a saw there was found to be a quite fair proportion of the original metal still unoxidised. I received this specimen a few months ago from the Superintendent of Archaeology in

Western India, Mr. Bhandarkar. One of the special points is that, notwithstanding the large number of specimens of ancient iron and supposed steel I have examined during the last few years, none of them have contained sufficient carbon to be termed steel in our modern time meaning. This specimen, as will be seen from the above analysis, con-



Fig. 5

View of Kham Baba showing the Portion Concealed Underground

period had not even been dreamt of. But this piece found at Besnagar was not only real steel, but a specimen of the second century B. C. It was therefore no wonder if this piece of steel struck Sir Robert as of paramount importance. On Monday the 23rd November 1914 a discussion took place at the Faraday Society upon the hardening

groups should be placed in watertight compartments.

We generally feel encouraged by the achievements and example of Japan, which is an oriental country. But we forget that the Samurai, the Japanese highest caste, who were warriors, voluntarily gave up their privileges, that caste was destroyed in Japan, and that the *Eta* who were the Japanese untouchable class, were declared by law eligible for all professions, offices and educational facilities and are socially entitled to be treated as the equals of people of other classes. Have we got the same social patriotism, the same sense of justice and the same desire and power of giving up our privileges for the sake of the country?

Educated men, at any rate, of present-day India, should know some facts relating to the social structure of ancient India. Marriages between men of higher castes with women of lower castes and of women of higher castes with men of lower castes were by no means rare. Many examples can be given. Again, persons born of very low castes, attained the rank of Brahmans, such as Parasara, Vyasa, Vasishtha, etc. A striking example is that of Satyakama Jabala. As a boy he went to a *rishi* for education. On being asked the names of his parents, he could tell the name of only his mother Jabala, who was a servant-woman, but could not tell the name of his father. He was told to ask his mother. The mother could not say. The boy went again to his *guru* and told him what his mother had said. The *rishi* said, "Only a true Brahman can tell the truth as you have done," and forthwith admitted him into the brotherhood of Brahmans.

From time immemorial many foreign peoples have entered India and been absorbed by the Hindus of India. Many foreigners have become Brahmins, Kshatriyas, etc. It is popularly believed that at least the higher castes are Aryans. But the fact is there is no pure race in anthropology, there is no Aryan race proper. In many provinces of India—Bengal and Madras, for example, even the Brahmins are markedly mixed people. There are sometimes even in the same family persons of very fair and very dark complexions and with strikingly different features. We, Bengalis, are more Dravidian and Mongolian by race than Aryan, and we are not at all ashamed of the fact. The superior

qualities of manhood are not a monopoly of Aryans.

Some of the evil results of caste have been already incidentally referred to. It has done great spiritual harm to men. Some castes have become puffed up with a sense of their importance. They have become spiritually proud and imagine that they were born pure and holy and others were impure and even untouchable. The priestly class have felt that they could give salvation to others. Unhappily, though they thought or pretended to think that they could save others, themselves they could not save, nor could they save their country from being trodden under the heels of conqueror after conqueror.

conqueror. Caste has prevented, or in any case sought to prevent, the direct access of others than the priests to God. It has set up, not one mediator, as in some other religions, but a whole class of mediators. Those who under the influence of caste consider themselves to belong to an inferior class of men have become unduly depressed. Their spirits and minds have not had full scope to develop. Thus the human race has been deprived of the intellectual, moral and spiritual wealth which they could otherwise have contributed to the common treasure-house of humanity. The position of the untouchables has become worse still, if possible. They have been treated as worse than the lower animals. Thus where modern India boasts of only about half a dozen men of international reputation, it could have boasted of scores of such, if caste had not prevented untold millions for ages from reaching the full stature of humanity.

It has already been mentioned that India's loss of freedom has been due in great part to caste. The lower orders have not cared much who, whether high-caste Indians or conquering foreigners, became the top-dogs because they felt that they were destined to remain the under-dogs. In fact, as we see at present, it is easy to get the non-Brahman and depressed classes to declare that they would prefer foreign domination to the domination of the high-caste Hindus. Caste has also led numerous Hindus to become converts to Christianity and Muhammadanism.

It has been the cause of much jealousy and hatred between caste and caste. All the different castes have not been able in many cases to pool their resources for

founding educational institutions of a high order. Instead of well-equipped colleges of the greatest efficiency, we have separate Kayastha, Bhumihar, Jat and other colleges, which are not well-equipped and quite efficient.

Caste has been perhaps the greatest obstacle to social, economical and political progress in India. It has stood in the way of the solidarity of the Hindu people and prevented the growth of a compact nation. For where there is no mutual love and trust, there cannot be that cement which binds the parts together.

I have already said that the contemptuous treatment of the lower castes has led large numbers of them to leave the fold of Hinduism. Thus, there has been continual decrease of Hindus. Hindus can increase and could have increased their numbers by conversion from other religious communities. But these converts not being assured of an honourable place in the Hindu community, their number has been small. Those who leave Hinduism for other faiths, or their descendants, cannot be reclaimed in large numbers for the same reason. In fact, so long as people cannot obtain the same social status which they have or can have among Christians and

Moslems, they cannot think of becoming Hindus.

The system of caste narrows one's outlook and vision. Caste-ridden people cannot think nationally. They consider their caste to be the world in which they live, move and have their being.

The census reports of many provinces show that there is a great disparity in the numbers of men and women in many castes. There is a similar disparity in the number of unmarried boys and girls among them. For this and other reasons, it is difficult among some castes to find brides and bridegrooms. Were it not for caste and sub-caste restrictions, the field of selection would have been wider and the dwindling away of some castes owing to the paucity of women and, therefore, of marriage, could have been prevented. The paucity of women is particularly felt in some provinces and is a cause there of the crimes of kidnapping and abduction. Were it not for caste and also to some extent for linguistic and cultural barriers, these difficulties could have been overcome by inter-provincial and intercaste marriages.

[Adapted from the Presidential Address delivered at the All-India Anti-caste Conference, Lahore, on December 28, 1929.]





[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kannarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Purgabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor; M. R.]

MARRIAGE AND MORALS—By Bertrand Russell.
(George Allen and Unwin)

the increasing use of contraceptives and children will only be borne, if and when the woman desires it; thus children will come to be regarded as belonging to the mother alone, the father being a mere incident in its production, and hence marriage will be unnecessary and undesired. This might result in a fall of the birth-rate, to counteract which the State will institute premiums for progeny and in order to regulate the number of births in individual States and so preserve the balance of Man-power, an International Board or State will be necessary. Mr. Bertrand Russell appears to think that unless there is a radical change in the present-day trend of affairs the human race may ultimately drop to the level of domestic cattle, with State or International Boards running an International Stud; his remedy for this would appear to be complete sexual licence, the prevention of the birth of children other than by the husbands, by the use of contraceptives, and the care and maintenance of the children by the State.

This charming and very readable volume is a translation of the original edition that appeared in Swedish, under the title *Minnen ur mitt Liv* in 1927. The features of the book is

One of the outstanding features of the book is the vividness with which the author recalls his very earliest experiences, evidence of a retentive memory that must have been of the very greatest service to him in his patient and often protracted research work. Another character that the author reveals is his steady determination to overcome difficulties; in his early days we find him climbing the highest available mountains, partly to improve his health and general physique and partly to inspire himself with confidence that he would be able in the future to face such hardships as might

fall to the lot of an explorer and investigator. In later years he was equally indefatigable and equally enthusiastic in his efforts to free Finland. In the course of his wanderings in Morocco he must at times have been a source of considerable anxiety to Governors and others, who were more or less responsible for his safety, by his complete disregard of their orders; but in whatever part of the world he visited he had the happy power of engaging people's affections and thus of laying the foundations of permanent friendships, whether among the simple fishing folk of the Shetland Islands or the fanatic Mahomedans of Morocco, nor was this power of attraction confined to men only as is shown by his account of the proposal of marriage that he received from a young lady at Capri.

Westermarck is and clearly always has been very appreciative of the beauties of Nature and wherever he travels he gives us vivid pen-pictures of the scenery; knowing the Guildford and Dorking district of England one can fully understand the charm that this part of the country held for him.

After reading these Memories one begins to wonder in which of the three sides of his career he achieved the greatest success, whether as Teacher, Research-worker or Politician. In spite of his great achievements as a research-worker, one is inclined to suspect that his greatest results have been as a Teacher; but that is a matter that only the future can reveal.

R B. S. S.

THE CASE FOR INDIA: By John S. Hoyland, M. A. (*Cantab.*), F. R. Hist. S. London. J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd. 1929. 4s-6d net.

Mr. Hoyland has written this small book of 173 pages after fifteen years' stay in India, partly in a small country town, partly in a large industrial city and partly amongst the villages and jungle tracts engaged in educational and relief work. He is thus well qualified for the task he undertook to perform, but that sympathetic insight, without which it is impossible to understand the mind of a people so entirely foreign as the Indians are to Europeans, is not common even among those who have long resided in India, and have been glad to leave this land of regrets at the end of their long residence. Mr. Hoyland, however, belongs to that rare band of foreigners who have the gift of sympathy and can therefore say something useful and instructive to Indians and their English rulers alike.

The frontispiece is adorned with a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi, for whom the author has the profoundest admiration and to whom he devotes a chapter. The book is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the factors in the present situation in India, and the second with the Indian point of view. Hinduism, Islam, the British system, the birth of the new nation, and the attitude of our rulers to the whole problem are the factors; how an Indian looks at the West, at India, at Swaraj, at Religion, and at the future, are the subjects treated in the second part. It is not difficult to see, from the author's comments and observations here and there, that

the Indian view point is not unoften his own, at any rate he has considerable sympathy for it.

On the Hindu ideas of *Dharma*, on caste, Ahimsa, Swaraj, the ideal of Indian womanhood, the *Guru*-ideal, the *Sannyasi*-ideal, the policy of *Satyagraha*, and the like, the author's views are strikingly illuminating.

According to the author, the Bengali race is "the most advanced, enlightened and self-conscious of the Indian races." Time was when this appreciative reference to us was perfectly true, but now our brethren of other parts of India run us hard, and in the competition for progress the Bengalis are being outdone by other Indians in many fields of activity.

On Miss Mayo's notorious *Mother India* the author says that "the assertions made in that extremely ill-balanced onslaught upon Indian life was one-sided and therefore false" and adds that "Miss Mayo's choice of a title for her book was extremely unfortunate. It seemed in India to constitute a deliberate flouting, deriding and defiling of holy things. It was heartless blasphemy against the most sacred of all Goddesses."

India feels, with a deep and growing resentment, that the Englishman is an insolent boor; for he does not care to understand the country which he regards himself as owning, and is interested only in continuing to own and exploit her."

The Rowlett Act was "one of those fatal and tragic mistakes which poison almost beyond recovery the relationships of peoples."

Of Mahatma Gandhi the author says, amid much else, "Although he failed as a practical statesman, the fact remains that this ascetic and prophet has brought into the world a new type of national idealism, founded on the assertion of great moral principles. The nationalism of which he is the leader and seer is in a sense a new 'ethical nationalism,' in a world where nationalism hitherto has meant too often aggressive and self-assertive violence."

Regarding Hinduism the author says: "The genius of the people has regarded political relationships as of little importance, but social, moral and religious relationships as of tremendous importance. The achievement of India has lain not in the domain of constitutional experiment and advance, but in the development of a vast system of social organization—the caste system. It has lain, secondly, in the development of a type of life founded on the belief that moral issues underlie the whole universe and decide the destiny of every human soul born into the world. It has lain, thirdly, in a continuously developing insight into the things of the spirit—into the relations of God with man."

In the chapter on Islam, referring to the 'Heads I win—tails you lose' policy of the Mussalmans all along the line, the author says, 'No more definite and privileged position of extra territoriality could be imagined in a modern democratic State' and goes on to observe, "This problem of Hindu Mussalman relationships is absolutely fundamental to the future well-being of India, and to the possibility or otherwise of her attaining true unity and independence."

"In the main it must be recognized that two men struggle for the mastery in the average Indian

to-do, more moral, more able to help himself and others? And if he is not, as honest people like Vallabhbhai Patel believe he is not, what right has Govindbhai to mislead reforms what after all are only administrative devices to hoodwink the public.

The problem of the day is Democracy and Swaraja. India demands a solution of this problem from all her thinking sons: the responsibility is greater, in this respect, of those who think themselves wise, intelligent and thoughtful. If they simply muster the necessary courage to speak out their inner mind, freely and honestly, if even two individuals of the calibre of Govindbhai or his co-worker, Manubhai Mehta, ex-Dewan of Baroda and the present Minister of Bikaner, would care sincerely to give out their real and varied experiences, before God and man, they will be for ever blessed by their suffering nation.

P.

IF I WERE JEFFREY JAY! By J. F. Kahanirala. This is a "dream of a happy world with special reference to India." The author lays down formulas for becoming happy.

THE BRAHMIN: By V. S. Ramanatha Sastri and Dhurta Swamin. Published by Dhurta & Sons, Cathedral, Madras. Price Rs. 1-8.

The book treats of the psychology of the Brahmin caste, his conduct of life &c. The difficulties of the modern Brahmin are carefully dealt with in this book. The author writes— "The Brahmin goes on a pilgrimage" to the West and tries to impose its institutions on his soil and the sorry figure he cuts is interesting reading.

CRITIC

HINDI

HATH KI KATAL-BUNAI—translated by Ramdas Gaur, M. A. Published by the Sasta-Sahitya-Mandal, Ajmer, pp. 174.

The Sasta-Sahitya-Mandal has already been famous for popularizing useful and interesting literature at a very low price and so it has fully justified the connotation of its name.

This book deals with the history and economics of hand-spinning and weaving in India.

SHIVAJI KI YOGYATA: By Pundit G. D. Tamaskar, M. A., L. T. Published by the same, pp. 132.

The history of the times and administration of Shivaji is given in this book in a nutshell.

JAB ANGREJ NAHI AYE—translated by Shreeharanlal 'Sharma'. Published by the same pp. 96.

The original of this booklet was the Report of the India Reform Society for the year 1853 and formed a chapter of the late Dadabhai Naoroji's 'Poverty and Un-British Rule in India'. The merits and character of pre-British administration of India is the subject-matter of this publication.

VEDA-KATA-NIRNAYA—translated by Pundit Kedarnath Sahityabhushan. Published by Pundit Ramchandra Sharma, M. A. Pp. xxvii+100+2vi.

This book is based on the conclusions of the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak's classic work, 'Orion'.

"THE KALYAN"—Special Gita number. Edited by Baba Jaghadas and Humumanprasad Poddar. Published by Ghanashyamdas, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, 1929. Pp. 505.

Considering the influence which the Gita exercises on the life and culture of the Indians, this is a laudable attempt to focus the attention of the public on the Gita. As many as 212 papers, poems and extracts written by Indians and Europeans are collected in this volume with 170 illustrations many of which are in colour. Studies on the history and philosophy of the Gita on such a big scale are welcome addition to the already too voluminous Gita literature. Many of the papers are written from the propagandist point of view. Of special value and interest is the long list of about 700 editions, translations and annotations of the Gita written in various scripts and languages of the East and the West. The illustrations are the portraits of saints and scholars and pictures connected with the episodes of the Mahabharata and the Gita.

RAMES BASU

MARATHI

EKANATHACHE SAHA GRANTH OR SIX WORKS OF EKANATH: Edited by M. K. Deshmukh and published by the Chitrasala Press, Poona. Pages over 1000 cloth-bound. Price Rs. 4.

The saint poet Ekanath needs no introduction to Marathi readers. His Bhagvat as well as minor works are popular with devout Hindus in the Deccan, and have run into scores of editions. The present edition unlike many others is very carefully edited and neatly printed and as such deserves to be largely patronized.

HRYDE SANGATHANA: By the late Swami Shradhdhanand. Translated into Marathi by V. G. Lele for the Abhinava Granthamala.

The necessity of organizing the Hindus, so keenly felt in these times in all provinces, demands that the views of the late Swami Shradhdhanand on the subject expressed in glowing language and instinct with vigour and sincerity should be made known in every nook and corner of Maharashtra through Marathi, and the book under notice will serve the purpose intended.

V. G. ARTE

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

A ROYAL EDICT ON THE PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY AND ORGANIZATION by S. V. Patnambekar.
RENAISSANCE INDIA by K. S. Venkayya.
THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, "THEN AND NOW" by S. Bhimsankar Row.

PRE-MISSALMAN INDIA by V. Rangacharya.
MUSIC TEXT BOOK by S. Basu.
THE PSYCHOLOGY AND STRATEGY OF GANDHI'S NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE by R. B. Gregg.
INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION OF INDIA by D. R. Gadgil.
A WEEK IN NEPAL by S. R. Gaiwad.
UNTO THE FIRST OF THE ETERNAL IDOL by Sri Mitra.

The Movement for a Sounder Money.
THE HUNDRED BEST CHARACTERS by Herbert A. Giles, LL. D.

BALADITYA by A. S. Panchapakasa.
CHIMNEY by Cedric Dover.
INDIAN PRINCES UNDER BRITISH PROTECTION by P. L. Chudgar.

Harindranath Chattopadhyaya on Lecture-Recital Tour of America

By RAGINI DEVI

HARINDRANATH Chattopadhyaya, another gifted member of the famous Chattopadhyaya family, has recently come to America to interpret the art ideals of India and to give recital programmes of his poems and dramas, and Hindu music.

Last year Mrs. Sarojini Naidu toured America, giving lectures before distinguished audiences throughout the country. Though Mrs. Naidu's fame as a poet had long preceded her in the United States, her prominence in Indian politics and her public services in Hindu social and political movements demanded that she should devote most of her energy to the interpretation of social and political India and the position of Hindu womanhood.

Mrs. Naidu's responsibility in America was that of statesman and poet; and if her political addresses took precedence over her poetry, it was only because there was, just then, a great desire in America to know the truth about political and social India.

Mrs. Naidu's visit to America undoubtedly stimulated a great interest in India.

The recent action of the Indian National Congress in declaring its national goal of independence has been widely and sympathetically discussed in the American press—and it is quite apparent that America is becoming more and more receptive to Indian aspirations and ideals.

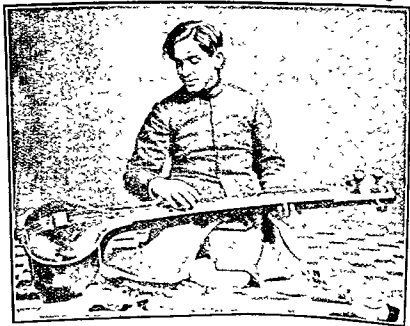
It is particularly fortunate that Harindranath Chattopadhyaya has come to America at this opportune time to further complete the true picture of India in his lectures on Hindu

arts and his recitals of his own poems and dramas, and the music and literature of India.

When Mr. Chattopadhyaya expressed his desire to visit America, he was immediately signed up by a leading manager, and the demands for his lectures and recitals on the arts and ideals of India will require his full attention for many months to come.

Shortly after his arrival in New York, Mr. Chattopadhyaya was guest of honour at the Book and Play luncheon where many famous poets greeted him and responded enthusiastically to his presentation of poems and dramatic episodes from his own works.

Willy Pogany, the world-famous artist, painted his portrait to be included among his fifty studies of famous people. Mr. Pogany was so charmed with his poems, that he is



Harindranath Chattopadhyaya

also painting the illustrations for a volume of poems which will shortly be published by Hurrah and Company.

The writer had occasion to hear his recital

of poems for the first time at a dinner of the India Society of America, where he was a guest of honour with Willy Pogany, Theodore Dreiser, the famous writer, Upton Close, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswami and others.

Mr. Chattopadhyaya's recital of poems was the outstanding event of the evening and the response of his audience was warmly appreciative.

The rare quality of genius which his poems reveal is enhanced by the versatility of his interpretations—rendered in a voice of deep resonant quality, with perfect diction and sensitive emotional understanding.

Mr. Chattopadhyaya's expositions of Hindu music, which he sings with the *tambura*, are imbued with a fine sense of line and tonal colour quite in keeping with the finest musical traditions of India, yet possessing a certain quality of creativeness which is distinctly his own.

His appearances in America are winning for him many personal admirers and friends for India.

Yet his greatest ambition is not for fame or publicity—for he hopes to give the best of his talents to the establishment of a national theatre in India,—based upon a project which he hopes will materialize upon his return to India.

Mr. Chattopadhyaya has spent considerable time in the study of drama and theatre-craft in Europe. He has also made a special study of the Russian drama which is already having a profound influence in the theatre of Europe and America.

Having made a comprehensive survey of the Western theatre, he is convinced that the reconstruction of the theatre arts of India will have great universal value in the future development of world art, when India

is once most conscious of her own destiny in art.

Without in any sense coming under the spell of Westernism, Mr. Chattopadhyaya feels that there are certain features of stage-craft and lighting (essentially new even in the West) which are adaptable to the Hindu theatre. The use of realistic scenery and the declamatory school of acting are giving way to new forms and broader vistas in the theatre, which are quite in harmony with Hindu ideals. In acquiring an international viewpoint of the practical problems of the theatre, Mr. Chattopadhyaya envisages a future for the Hindu theatre of vital importance, nationally and internationally.

In order to encourage the revival of the theatrical arts in India, he proposes to build a model theatre where the initial work may be undertaken by groups of educated and talented young people.

The village drama too, he believes, has an important function in the social reconstruction of modern India and his theatre project will extend its influence and guidance to include the villages as well as the cities.

During his stay in America, Mr. Chattopadhyaya is coming into contact with eminent personalities connected with various phases of the theatre.

The Little Theatre movement in America has been developing for the last few years, and every season there are competitive tournaments in which groups of young people compete from all parts of the country. Prizes are given for the best acting, and play presented. Mr. Chattopadhyaya is very much interested in this movement, and during his tour throughout the country he will visit these experimental theatre groups which have already accomplished so much in the social life of America.



Indian Universities and Research

Sir C. V. Raman writes in *The Hindustan Review* on Indian universities and research. A university becomes a force of incalculable power and importance for national welfare only when it devotes its attention wholeheartedly to the highest type of intellectual activity of which it is capable. This goal, according to Sir C. V. Raman, has not been sufficiently kept in view in our universities, where the deadly routine of formal teaching and formal examinations almost strangle all the higher activities.

The ideal of university work is the provision of opportunities for special abilities of the teacher as well as of students, to express themselves. How this is to be done without dislocating the general activities of the university is, I consider, one of the most important problems in university administration, and its successful solution requires the most careful and sympathetic consideration. It is my conviction that, at the present time, Indian universities generally pay less attention to the development of special activities and abilities and more to purely routine activities than should really be the case. In a general way of course, the differentiation between pass and honours courses recognizes the importance of giving special opportunities for special ability. But this in my view, is not enough. There should be greater freedom for the expression of individual ability and more time and opportunities for research work for teacher and student alike, in those cases where evidence of ability to profit by such opportunities is forthcoming.

During the last few years, there has been a growing recognition that India is not a negligible factor in the advance of human knowledge. I will go further and say that the world outside has begun to learn that the Indian intellect can occasionally march abreast, or perhaps even lead in the onward march of scientific progress. This is certainly a position in advance of that freely expressed ten years ago that the Indian mind was by nature sterile, and is, in my opinion, largely the result of the work of the younger generation of scientific workers in India during the last ten years. But the position reached is, in my last ten years. Quite unsatisfactory. A great many opinion, still quite unsatisfactory. A great many new universities have sprung up all over the country and in many of them Indians are holding appointments with some opportunities for original work. Some of them are, no doubt, showing praiseworthy activity. But taken altogether, I think, not enough is being done. The reason for this is a matter which I would recommend to the university administrative bodies all over India carefully to investigate and set right without

delay. In some cases, it may be lack of opportunities for research, by reason of excessive insistence on routine teaching; in others it may be lack of research equipment I hardly think the lack of competent students or helpers can be the cause. If there is any point on which I feel a confidence derived from experience, it is that there is abundance of talent in the younger generation awaiting the right kind of leadership.

The Government and the Temperance Movement

The Eighth Bombay Temperance Conference furnishes Mr. D. D. Gilder with an opportunity to trace the whole history of the temperance movement since its inception in the nineties of the last century in *The Social Service Quarterly*, and incidentally to draw attention to the evasive policy of the Government in this matter. After referring to a letter of the 8th August 1929, in which the Bombay Government stated that the question of the best method of disposal of excise licences was under examination, and that the opinion expressed by the Conference on the point would receive due consideration, Mr. Gilder goes on to say:

This is not the first instance of an evasive—not to call a misleading—reply. Several years ago a liquor-shop licence was granted to a boy learning in the matriculation class of a local high school. In fact, the writer of this, who has been a school-master all his life, used to hear that class. The Government in the course of their reply to a question on the subject in the Council denied the fact! Only a years ago i.e. in May, 1928, a liquor-shop was permitted to be opened, in the face of very strong opposition, on Connaught Road, near the Victoria Gardens. In reply to a question on the subject, the Minister said at the March 1929 session of the Legislative Council that all the rules framed by the Government had been observed by the Excise Department before the shop was permitted to be opened. Now, one of the rules is that such a shop should not be permitted to be opened for at least 14 days after the objecting party is informed that the desired permission had been granted, so that the party may be enabled to make an appeal should he feel dissatisfied. In this particular instance the shop was opened on the 28th May, and the reply was sent on the 8th June. Please mark the dates. Will the Minister send for the original papers instead of only a formal report from the Excise Commissioner even now, and have the courage to go against such high-handedness on the part of his subordinates and do justice to the aggrieved party? He is a lawyer and

let him examine the papers with a lawyer's eyes, not with those of the Excise Minister defending the so-called prestige of the high officials under him at the cost of his own.

As regards the unsatisfactory reply from the Government in connection with the third resolution of the Conference, I am not at all surprised. The expected has happened. The resolutions of the previous conferences were submitted with covering letters containing arguments in support of our views and not with only a formal letter forwarding the resolutions as was done in the present instance. I need not now go into the question why that procedure was not followed on this occasion.

I only hope that the Minister will even now make a firm and courageous stand against his subordinates, and instead of permitting himself to be led away by them, "will stand by" the unanimous report of the Excise Committee, as he openly said in the Council on the 2nd March last, and redeem the promises signed by him in that Report as simple Mr. B. V. Jadhav, M.A., LL.B.

Political Agitation in the Indian States

The Feudatory and Zemindari India has the following editorial note on the method of political agitation in the Indian States.

The dangers of the introduction in Indian States of the methods of political agitation followed in British India and elsewhere ought to be obvious to those who care to bestow some attention on the subject. Political agitation in British India is now allowed on the dimensions and methods now permitted because British India has had experience of constitutional government now for some wellnigh half a century. Education has advanced; people have learnt to undertake associated action and conduct congresses and conferences in a more or less orderly manner despite all the half-baked schemes they are seeking to thrust on the Government now and then; and above all, the people have had some experience of social service and associated action. The influence of organizations like the Servants of India Society, the Brahma Samaj and other social and quasi-social organizations has also had some effect in training people in the art of the conduct of organisations for public welfare. From the Governmental side, the local self-governing and municipal bodies have been good training grounds. In the States, many of them that is to say, the people have not had these advantages. Hence, as even politicians who have devoted great attention to the problem of the States and have taken a prominent part in the agitation in the States, the agitation carried on should be of a carefully designed character. "Political agitation leads to discontent" as Professor Abhyankar said at the Bhor States People's Conference, "and at the Bhor States breeds a spirit of violence and this in its turn breeds particularly to the direct action." Referring particularly to the position in Bhor, the President of the People's Conference of the State said: "You began your agitation with direct action and civil disobedience and within seven years, you have been peaceful and constitutional legislators, co-operating with the State in bringing about the necessary reform. You have also your own responsibilities to

discharge in this matter; you have now been associated with the Government; you must broaden under this responsibility. You have to be very careful about your criticism and very correct about your facts and very vigilant about your liberties. You have seen that the policy of obstruction pure and simple has not proved of any good to anybody." It is to be hoped that the people of other States will profit by the experience of the people of the Bhor State. Violent agitation has done nobody any good; in God's own time and provided people are ready for the responsibilities for which they aspire, there is no doubt they will have them. No ruler worthy of his salt wishes to exploit the subjects by his own selfish ends. It is no pleasure.

Few rulers be there who are cursedly withholding from the people responsibilities which are theirs and which he knows they are fitted to discharge. It is no pleasure for anybody to shoulder burdens which he knows ought to be shouldered by others and that those others are equal to bear them.

The Inter-University Board, India

Principal P. Sheshadri reviews the work of the Inter-University Board from 1924-29 in the *Indian Educational Journal*. Of the origin and purpose of this organization he writes.

The need of co-ordination in the work of Universities in India was expressed by the Calcutta University Commission in their report, and in 1921, acting on a resolution passed by the Congress of the Universities of the Empire, the Indian delegates to the Congress passed a resolution recommending to the Universities of India that an association or a committee of representatives of the different Indian Universities be formed with the object of dealing with questions affecting their mutual and common interest. It was suggested in particular that such an Association, if formed, should go into the question of difficulties which might arise owing to the conditions of admission of students to certain of the courses and examinations of the Universities of the United Kingdom not being suited to the qualifications which students from Indian Universities could present. The Lytton committee on Indian students in England also hoped that the Indian University authorities would take steps at an early date to establish an Inter-University Board for the purpose of co-ordinating the courses of study in India and securing uniformity in their recognition abroad. The Indian Universities' Conference, held at Simla in May, 1924, passed a resolution unanimously recommending to the Universities that it was desirable that an Inter-University Board should be established. The Board was to consist of one representative from each University, with a Chairman elected from among the members, and the functions assigned to it were the following:—

- (a) To act as an Inter-University organization and bureau of information;
- (b) To facilitate the exchange of professors;
- (c) To serve as an authorized channel of communication and facilitate the co-ordination of University work;

- (d) To assist Indian Universities in obtaining recognition for their degrees, diplomas and examinations in other countries;
- (e) To appoint or recommend, where necessary, a common representative or representatives of India at Imperial or International Conferences on higher education;
- (f) To act as an appointments bureau for Indian Universities;
- (g) To fulfil such other duties as may be assigned to it from time to time by the Indian Universities.

Social Reform and State Intervention

One of the specious objections to the bill which, by the zealous efforts of Rai Sahib Har Bilas Sarda, has been incorporated in the statute book of this country, is that it sought to substitute state intervention for public opinion in a field where the last is the most efficient guarantee of the measure being carried into practice. Rai Sahib Har Bilas Sarda himself dealt with this question in his presidential address before the All-India Social Conference. The following extracts from it are quoted from *The Vedic Magazine*:

As for the methods of social reform, there exist at present in India two ways in which reforms can be introduced: (a) public opinion crystallized into caste or communal regulations and (b) legislation. If the caste organizations were at the present time effective and fully operative, a great deal of social reform could be carried out through those organizations. But the discipline of caste having become loose and its authority having lost its efficacy, the work done in old days through this agency cannot now be so accomplished. The only sure means of effecting social reform now is legislation. As a great English writer has said, where large communities or numbers are concerned legislation is the only effective means of carrying out social reform. There is no country in the world where important social reform has been accomplished by means other than legislation. Those who contend that social reform should be carried out only by educating public opinion and through the agency of caste or communal organizations, have failed to understand the real nature of reform and the function of legislation. Nor do they appreciate the gravity of the situation.

Hindu law chiefly centres round marriage, inheritance and the joint family system. The law of inheritance was based on the requirements and the incidents of the joint family. But as the joint family system is rapidly disintegrating and the individual is taking the place of the family as a unit of society, both the law of inheritance and that governing joint family must be modified in the light of changed circumstances. As the present law governing marriage was based on the *Varnashrama* which has long since disappeared and even the caste system which took its place, is rapidly going to pieces, it is necessary that this law too must be materially modified.

It is too late in the day to object to legislative

interference with the Hindu law of inheritance or of joint family or marriage. The State has, irrespective of the scruples of the orthodox, been enacting laws on social matters. In 1870 a law was passed providing that a member of a joint Hindu family could become a Christian and yet retain all the rights and privileges of a member of the joint family. And can there be a greater interference with the Hindu marriage law than that embodied in Act III of 1872? An Act of legislature has made it possible for a Hindu widow to remarry and yet retain under certain circumstances the property of her last husband.

The Voice of Life

Sir Jagadis Bose writes in *The Indian Review* on the subject he has made all his own:

For revealing the inner secrets of life, it was necessary to invent instruments of surpassing delicacy and sensitiveness, which could gain access to the smallest unit of life—a single cell or life-atom—and record its throbbing pulsation. The invention of the microscope, which magnifies only a couple of thousand times, initiated a new era in the advance of biological science. My magnetic Crescograph, which produces the stupendous magnification of fifty million times, is now revealing the wonders of a new world—the plant itself being made to record the secrets of its inner life. Even in this path of self-restraint and verification, the inquirer is making for a region of surpassing wonder. In his voyage of discovery, he catches an occasional glimpse of the ineffable, that had hitherto been hidden from his view. That vision crushes out of him all self-sufficiency, all that kept him unconscious of the great pulse that beats through the universe. It was by the combination of the introspective and of the highly advanced experimental methods that it was possible to establish the Unity of all Life. The barrier that divided kindred phenomena is now thrown down, the plant and animal being found as a multiple unity in a single ocean of being.

From the plant to the animal, then, we follow the long stair-way of the Ascent of Life. In the spiritual triumph of the martyr, who willingly sacrifices his life for the cause of humanity, we see the higher and higher expression of that evolutionary process by which Life rises above and beyond all the circumstances of the environment, and fortifies itself to control them.

The Universities and the Rural Problem

Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, Counsellor on rural work, International Missionary Council, writes in *The National Christian Council Review* on the role which can be played by the universities in the work of rural reconstruction:

The question assigned to me, as to whether the University has any relation to these problems must be answered in terms of the conception of

tains as much as 0.70 per cent. carbon, which indicates that it can be readily hardened by heating and quenching in water. In other words, this material has been in its present condition for probably more than two thousand years and now, after being heated and quenched, hardens exactly as if it had been made only yesterday, thus showing that in this long interval and beyond surface oxidation, this specimen has undergone no

the pillar, dating back to about B. C. 125. Mr. Marshall, the Director-General of Archaeology in India, was present when the base of the column was excavated, and affirms that from all he saw the column could not have been shifted at a later date, or that the bars found could have been subsequently inserted."

When the original ground level of the Kham Baba was determined and was found to be practically the same as that of the

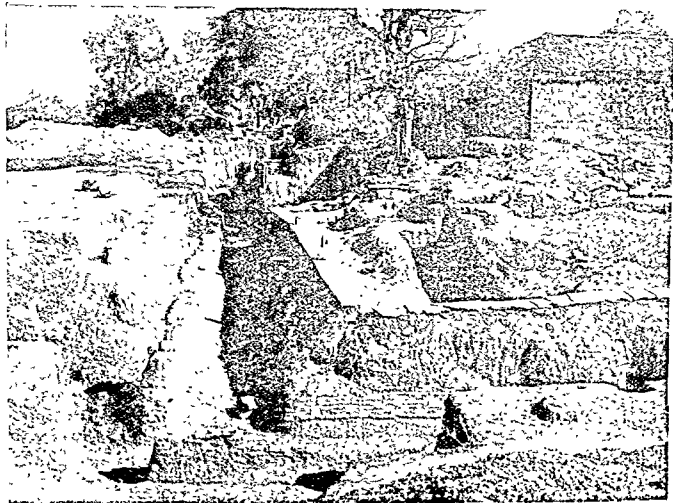


Fig. 6—Brick walls of Irrigation Canal of the Mauryan Period Found below the Solid Railing

secular change of structure, or alteration in the well-known capacity of an alloy of iron with carbon to become suddenly possessed of glass-scratching hardness after being heated and quenched in water or other cooling medium". "Mr. Bhandarkar assures me", adds Sir Robert, "there is not the slightest doubt about the antiquity of this specimen from the bars found beneath the stone pillar of Heliodoros at Besnagar, India. The specimen in question was found at the bottom of

solid and open railings, when, in other words, it was conclusively proved that they were all of the same age and represented the remains of the temple of Vasudeva where Heliodoros had come for worship, an idea occurred to me that we should not rest satisfied with what was achieved but that we should excavate still deeper till the original soil was reached. Accordingly I selected a place near the south-west corner of the solid railing. We had hardly dug three feet below its

Our Opinion of Foreign Countries

Mr. Reginald A. Reynolds writes in *Viscabharati Quarterly* of the opinion of modern Indian thinkers on the modern West. He begins his article with some observations on the hurry with which all nations make generalisations about foreigners :

There is a story told about an Englishman who went to France for the first time, and encountered on the quay at Calais a man with red hair, lame in one leg, and wearing a purple waistcoat. He thereupon wrote home to his friends that Frenchmen had red hair, were lame in one leg, and wore purple waistcoats.

To a certain extent this story is peculiarly typical of the English mind. But it is also to some extent typical of the universal mind. This is how the West judges the East, and the East judges the West.

Perhaps the Oriental reader will be kind enough to take it as a delicate compliment if I pass over entirely in this article the mistakes that the West has made about the East. Let us say that though they are more vicious and certainly more unjust, they are also more obvious and speak for themselves. The mistakes that the East makes about the West are more excusable and less harmful, and for that very reason they have tended to escape attention.

Western civilization is chiefly represented in the Orient by three types of men : (a) government officials and employees, including soldiers, (b) "business men," and (c) inquisitive tourists and sight-seers. I have deliberately omitted the missionaries, as in the nature of the case they conform to no single type. The only generalisation possible would be, I think, that they either reinforce the impression created by the other classes or find their influence overwhelmed by them.

Village Panchayats and Agricultural Improvement

In *The Journal of the Mysore Agricultural and Experimental Union* Mr. B. R. Gururaja Rao points out how in India, village panchayats are helping agriculture.

Each village panchayat comprises a group of 2 or 3 hamlets and a few of the intelligent representatives of the villages concerned form the body called the panchayatdars. These are required to manage all the needs of the villages in their charge. The whole revenue of the village is in their hands and they have the privilege of their own funds to spend the amount for the benefit and the uplift of their village to the best advantage. Thus Government has conferred a great boon by instituting this scheme to improve the village on all sides and bring it to the level of cities and towns within a few years. Several items of work have to be taken up and worked under a Rural Reconstruction Scheme so-called to attain this end of village improvement. Out of these the first and foremost improvement of agriculture which is the bread-giving profession of every villager.

After suggesting the concrete lines along which the panchayats might work, Mr. Rao concludes by saying :

There are ever so many items of work on which the panchayats can lay their hands on profitably and they can have no greater ideal than the advancement of their village in all directions. If the village bodies can make up their minds at least to take up some work under each of the above lines and make a beginning as far as their revenue would permit, I can assure them that their economic condition is bound to improve, and it will be to their glory that these organizations in their own humble manner will be solving the great problem of unemployment, to some extent, by affording opportunities to people for some sort of profession and engagement.

The Indian Attitude towards Nature

Professor Carlo Formichi writes in the *Prabuddha Bharata* on the lessons of religious India to Europe, not the least valuable and characteristic of which is the peculiar Indian attitude towards nature as revealed in the Vedas, the Epics and the Puranas :

One first lesson which India teaches us through the religious hymns of the *Rig* and the *Atharva Veda*, through the great epic poems of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, and through the *Puranas* enables us to change our usual notions of Nature. We see at play in the Universe only mechanical forces which are blind and unconscious and which we have to know only in order to subdue them. Earth, water, air and fire pre-occupy our attention only in so far as they are serviceable to our existence, and we forget that we ourselves are an aggregate of earth, water, air and fire. We discern a gulf, a separation and dissidence rather than a homogeneity and solidarity, between man and Nature ; and because we love ourselves, we do not love Nature which we consider to be different from us, and we think with terror of the death which will resolve our bodies into the elements. Nor do we take seriously our poets who exalt the greatness of Nature.

The polytheistic world of India, on the contrary, rejects this disjunction between man and Nature, and instructs us to observe human life as a part of the universal life, to think that the frontiers between spirit and matter are not insuperable, and to remember always that the noblest thought or a fruit of the earth, digested and assimilated, or a genius in the flaming sun, the cleansing fire, the thundering clouds, the sweeping fire, the inebriating liquor and the scintillating stone.

This religious attitude, characteristic of the Aryan racial stock, i. e. of our race, should needs hold out to us an irresistible fascination, though into our veins have been inoculated the germs of Semitic religions which do not take the least account of the harmonic pulsation of cosmic and human life, and reduce everything to a pact of alliance between an omnipotent monarch in heaven and his chosen people on earth. The magnificent world of Indian myths and legends will ever be

for us the best antidote for the toxin of the Semitic religious outlook which, narrow and unilateral as it is, foments intolerance and remains irreconcilably averse to the scientific-philosophic spirit.

What India's Womanhood Stands For

The ideals for which Indian womanhood stands was eloquently described by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in her presidential address before the All-India Women's Conference at Bombay. Her speech from which the following extract is quoted has been printed in full in *Stri Dharma* :

We stand for something more, something deeper than controversies on educational or social reform, something more profound, more intimate, more enduring in human value. The genius for human synthesis is the gift of India's women. The charge has been made against India's womanhood that their genius had been one of isolation and exclusion and passive resignation in the hands of destiny, that they were bound by mere traditions and were unable to get beyond the fetters of dead conventions and ideas. This gathering is a triumphant vindication that not a gift of beauty, philosophy, religion, or racial characteristics can be excluded from India's synthesis. India has extended her mother love to all. The genius of India, the whole history of its culture has been creative, and has been able to transmute even the hostility of its enemies. This Conference is a proof of the indivisible quality of fellowship of all women, inclusive as we are of Zoroastrian faith, Christian culture, Hindu ideals, Muslim devotion.

Such unity is necessary at this special moment for all the circumstances of our national life must temporarily make us seem to be aggressively, almost exclusively nationalist in our attitude towards life. I am a bad nationalist. I am a nationalist only by the compulsion and the tragedy of the circumstances of my country. I am first and last a human being and I do not recognise divisions of humanity merely because of race or geographical barriers. Men have made wars and created political and economic divisions for selfish interests and created groups of friendship and hostility. But all these are temporary shifts, and the purpose of womanhood in the nation's and the world's life is to do away with these temporary barriers. We women are evangelists of peace, working for the attainment of the common rights of humanity, seeking to stop the exploitation of one nation by another, not assisting hostility but securing the peace of equal rights for every section of humanity. The gospel of women must be the conservation of the best, the recreating of the world nearer to the heart's desire

Mr. Haji's Bill—a National Issue

Mr. Haji's Coastal Reservation Bill has come in for a good deal of criticism of late even at the hands of some Indian politicians. It is therefore interesting to read the eloquent plea of the Hon'ble V. Ramdas Pantalu to make it a national issue. In course of an article in the *Triveni* he writes :

I should have briefly narrated the facilities which other countries had given and are giving to develop their national mercantile marine so as to contrast the attitude of self-governing countries with that of the Indian Government, had I not already run to prohibitive length. Since the Great War, no maritime country having a national government neglected to develop its own merchant shipping. Italy, Spain, Japan and Germany made in recent years enormous developments by subsidising their navigation enterprise. Italy sanctioned a loan of 45 crores lire at a cheap rate of interest for building new tonnage. Spain recently entered into agreements with one of its shipping companies by providing to its facilities to acquire 14 big ocean liners to compete with foreign ships calling at Spanish ports and specially with those running to Central and South America. The case of Japan's progress was specially urged upon the Mercantile Marine Committee, one of whose European members was deputed to study Japanese development Germany's case is phenomenal. The Treaty of Versailles left Germany in 1920 with practically not a single ship of any consequence in international trade and her small fleet had no more than a tonnage of 6 lacs. In five years' time the German Government so encouraged their ship-building companies as to enable them to build up 30 to 40 lacs tonnage. Unfortunate India with a vast sea board and other natural facilities for shipping could do nothing along those lines of progress, for her destinies are in the hands of a foreign government and her economic enterprises are dominated by foreign commercial interests. We are really indebted to 'Ditcher'—“The Legislative Assembly candid warning.”—“The Legislative Assembly may pass Mr. Haji's Bill, but the Council of State will almost certainly throw it out. Mr. Haji is a skilled and persistent propagandist. But it is highly improbable that his Bill will reach the statute book unless and until India attains Dominion status.” This warning must serve as a powerful incentive to us to make the Coastal Reservation Bill of Mr. Haji a national issue. If the Bill can reach the statute book only when India attains Dominion status, let Indians of all shades of opinion unite in demanding in one voice immediate and full Dominion status for India. The one remedy for India's political and economic ills is Swaraj,

A Former Naval Conference

as the Hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution, a very patriotic body. Inside, we were crowded to suffocation around the various international delegations seated at a square table in the centre. The President entered and read a long address in his accustomed style of peculiar platitude, concluding with the fairly intelligible sentences: 'We are met for a service to mankind. In all simplicity, in all honesty, and all honour there may be written here the avowals of a world conscience refined by the consuming fires of war, and made more sensitive by the anxious aftermath.'

more sensitive by the anxious aftermath. The President vanished, and Mr. Balfour proposed that Mr. Charles Hughes, as Secretary of State, should be elected chairman. There was no opposition, and the vital business began. Mr. Hughes stated his proposals abruptly, and I am convinced that they were previously unknown to the British and other delegations. Certainly they were startling. Their main point was a declaration of absolute naval equality between the United States and Great Britain. I am not a violent patriot, but I had been brought up to sing 'Rule, Britannia' and to recite 'Ye Mariners of England'. I had been taught that Britannia needed no bulwarks, and that the meteor flag of England would still terrific burn. But here was a foreigner talking in the face of all the world about naval equality with us. I expected the British delegates to rise in silence and sail for home, while from every wave our fathers would start at the rumour of such a suggestion. What could I think when, within a few hours, the British delegation issued an official notice that, in their opinion, 'Mr. Hughes' scheme was bold and conceived in a statesmanlike spirit.' In the next day's session Mr. Balfour rose and

At the next plenary session Mr. Balfour rose and announced that the British Government accepted the proposals 'not with cool approbation, but with full, loyal, and complete co-operation.' Unperturbed as though he were opening a flower show, and speaking almost without notes, he continued: 'We have considered your scheme with admiration and approval, and we agree with its spirit and purpose as making the greatest reform ever carried out by courage and statesmanship.' The whole audience rose and applauded as in a theatre. Mr. Balfour had won for England a position of favour and confidence that was never lost.

The Revolt Against Islam

Mr. Lutfy Levonian is a specialist on the movements of thought in the Islamic countries of the Near East. In a recent contribution to *The International Review of Missions* he draws our attention to the changes that have come over Moslem minds

It was in Washington, November 12th, 1921, a Saturday. The day before, a prolonged procession, with President Harding, ambassadors, delegates, troops of all arms, and poor ex-President Wilson in a carriage behind, had trailed out to the military cemetery at Arlington, overlooking the city, and had there, with elaborate ceremony, deposited the bones of an Unknown Warrior gathered in France. Then the population had paraded the parks, shouting with exultation at the radiantly illuminated arches, and, as a paper reported, "the whole city was drenched in tears."

But, having wiped their eyes before breakfast, they swarmed around the classic building known

in the field of dogma and faith. A new conception of life has, he says, given rise to a revolt against the whole body of Islamic religious thought :

The Moslem peoples have been awakened to great national aspirations. The idea of nationalism has captured Moslems all over the world and has moved them deeply, profoundly affecting their political, social and religious ideas. One cannot glance even superficially at Moslem lands without noticing this new change in thought. "

The country where these changes seem to be taking place most rapidly is Turkey. Turkey is a hotbed of new ideas in Islam to-day. Leaving aside statements of individualistic character and taking an all-round view of the ideas expressed by the Turkish leaders, one can fairly say that in the Turkish mind Islam to-day has lost its primary importance as a vital part of the national life. So far Islam has been considered as basic and fundamental, giving motive power to all other activities. Now the national sentiment is considered as primary, and Islam as of secondary importance. In no period of Islamic history have Islam and Mohammed undergone such serious criticism as during the last ten years in Turkey.

Husein Jahid Bey, once the editor of the well-known Turkish daily *Tinin*, who translated Leone Caetani's critical book, *Annali dell' Islam*, into Turkish and published it in ten volumes at Constantinople, naively says in his brief preface that in translating such a book literally and exactly, he wants to open the way to Moslem theologians to criticize the anti-Islamic ideas expressed in it.

The writer can remember the great procession which brought a hair of Mohammed's beard as a most sacred relic into a town in Asia Minor some years ago. To-day Mohammed is regarded merely as a prophet, and a prophet of the seventh century Arabian desert at that. The change is amazing; the Moslem mind is completely dissatisfied with Islam in its accepted form; in fact, the verdict is that it can have no place in modern community life.

But the movement does not remain there: it has spread wider than a mere reconsideration of Islam. It has begun to deal with religion itself, to question its essence and origin, and especially its value for life. 'What is religion and its essence? Has religion any meaning and place in society? Has it anything to do with life in general?' are burning questions in the Moslem mind in Turkey to-day. To these questions the present tendency seems to be to give the answer of pure positivism; on the one hand, denying the meaning and place of religion in social life, and, on the other, appealing to science to fill up the gap left by the elimination of religion. No names are so familiar in Turkish thinking circles to-day as those of Durkheim, Frazer, Bergson, and Bertrand Russell. Religion is considered merely as a social product, without any objective basis, moulding itself always according to the influence of the environment and always liable to change. 'There is no absolute truth in religion,' seems to be the opinion, 'therefore it is not reliable.'

The Achievement of Stresemann

When Gustav Stresemann died, the Press of the world, in a united chorus of sincere praise, paid its homage to a man of peace. His achievement in this field was great, but not greater, it seems from an article contributed by M. Pierre Lafue to *La Revue Universelle*, than his services for his fatherland. What Germany owes to him is appreciatively recounted by M. Lafue :

Within less than a century Germany will have possessed two statesmen of the first rank, two founders of empire. Next to Bismarck can be named without undue exaggeration a man whose achievements may seem to have been greater than he was—Gustav Stresemann. Of what did his work in Germany consist? Unquestionably he made himself the saviour, or at any rate, one of the principal saviours, of a vanquished, troubled, and divided nation. Just like the Iron Chancellor, he had to make the country over and re-assemble its dispersed member states. "

It was in the midst of tumult and at the moment when the divided parts of Germany seemed ready to come to blows that Stresemann appeared. The date was August, 1923. Cuno, the willing tool of the currency manipulators, had yielded up his office, and the new Chancellor only presided officially for fifty days, but this tragic period possessed the greatest importance, for it decided in a sense the whole future of the country.

Stresemann at once resorted to force. He invested Von Seeckt with full powers. He set the Prussian *Reichswehr* in motion, and allowed militarism to play the old important role as a factor of unity and order that it had lost since 1918. *Vorwärts*, the Socialist organ, announced with a certain wistfulness that the exploits of General Muller in Thuringia were as significant as the Saverne affair before 1914.

From that point onward, the situation changed rapidly. Federal action began against Saxony and the Berlin *Reichswehr* entered Dresden to the sound of fifes and drums. Machine guns rattled. Several persons fell dead on the pavement, but the desired result was achieved. The Saxon Parliament dissolved, the Socialist government was imprisoned and its chief promptly accused of embezzlement. The victorious army continued its march bringing Thuringia back under the jurisdiction of the Reich, and only stopped at the Bavarian frontier because Von Kahr was so afraid of an attack against Bavarian separatism that he himself put a stop to the adventure on which Hitler and Ludendorff had embarked. The form of the German Republic was changing.

Thus, within the space of a few days, Gustav Stresemann had reconstituted an almost shattered country. It was a task worthy of Bismarck and it was attained not in the flushed enthusiasm of victory and conquest, but after the humiliations of defeat and under the scrutiny of foreign eyes. This immense achievement assured the integrity of the nation and for the second time saved the new empire.

An Impression of the Legislative Assembly

Mr. Arnold Ward sat in the House of Commons from 1910 to 1918 as the Unionist member for Watford. He has recently come out to India as the correspondent of an English paper and has been making a special study of the conditions of Indian parliamentary life. He recently contributed to the *Spectator*, the influential Conservative weekly, a series of articles giving his impressions of the Legislative Assembly. It is not possible for us to quote his sympathetic account in full, but the following passages in it should give pause to think to friends and enemies alike of Indian aspirations:

The second great weakness of the Government is its dependence on the votes of nominees. It is astonishing to see in practice the difference in moral weight between the votes of elected and nominated members, when they are cast in the same Assembly. Especially is this true of non-official nominated members, who in theory are free to vote as they like, but in practice are in this dilemma—that if they vote with the government they are suspected of subservience, and if they vote against it are not likely to be nominated again. Apart from Europeans, only a handful of elected members vote in the Government lobby; there is no pro-government party, there is no pro-government press. It is often made matter of criticism against the Nationalists that they are said to have captured the Press, but it seems to me to be a splendid thing to capture the Press, it is far better than being captured by the Press. Be that as it may, no one can listen to the debates of Delhi without being struck by the loneliness of the Government of India, by its utter lack of public support. If, as the Die-hards assert, there exist vast numbers of supporters of the Government far outnumbering the agitators, sick to death of democratic experiments, passionately devoted to British rule, why are they never seen or heard? If they exist, they must be the most craven set of cowards to be found in the world...

It is perhaps worth recording that after being regularly present at the sitting of the Assembly, during nine of the eleven weeks of the session, I remembered that I had sat in the House of Commons for nine years with the members of another Nationalist Party, a party about equal in numerical strength to the Indian Nationalist parties, and animated by the Indian Nationalist aspirations. I mean the Irish Nationalist party led by Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon. And I came to the conclusion that leader for leader, and man for man, the Indian Nationalists were superior to the Irish Nationalists in knowledge, education, industry, political ability, and not inferior to them in patriotism, courage and zeal.

The Irish Nationalists did not win power. It was won by the insurgents who supplanted them. Will history repeat itself in India on a colossal scale? Or will statesmen of Britain and India control the situation and reach a solution of the crisis by consent?

Proletarian Literature

Can there be a class poetry? To a person familiar only with the past history of poetry, where in theory, at any rate, it makes no other claim but to be universal in its appeal, the question seems manifestly absurd. But not so to the theoreticians of the Bolshevik revolution. We learn from an article contributed by M. André Rousseaux to the Paris *Figaro* that:

It is Communistic Russia which has enlisted poetry in the Soviet State. This happening has been described for us by Serge de Chessin in the study which he has devoted to Russia, and which he has called "The Night Which Comes from the Orient!" A resolution, signed by all the members of the Central Committee, became a law, and dealt with the literature of the worker and the peasant. It is not only a law, but an innovation, for it proclaims: "The new literature, from its embryonic manifestations to the superior productions which are ideologically conscientious, characterise, in the best manner possible, the progress of the cultural movement of the masses of workers." This is what has been so pompously announced even though it is not quite clear. Let us be thankful that the Soviet writers do not take the text of their charter as a model for style.

"But what is the object of that charter?"

It leads to this: "The rift in the classes must continue in literature as everywhere else. There is no form of neutral art in a society where class exists, and the task of the proletariat is to occupy, in increasing number, as many sectors as possible on the ideological front..." In other words, the proletariat imposes its dictatorship upon letters as upon everything else. Ought one to be astonished? Serge de Chessin ably says: "In a State which is at the same time a church, a conservatory of metaphysics, and a school of morals, it could not be otherwise. In esthetics as in philosophy, in politics, and in religion, orthodoxy is an affair of the police."

Practically, the administration of the republic of letters has been confided, in Russia, to one of those committees designated by a *bazuro* assemblage of letters, which make up the wheels of the U. R. R. S. The particular one calls itself the Yapp (*Yserossi-Lan assosiatia proletarskikh pisatelov*), all of which means a Pan-Russian Association of Proletarian Writers. The Yapp has branches, like the rays of the sun: each one bears a different name according to the first letter of the village in which it is located: in Moscow it is the *Mapp*; in Leningrad, the *Lapp*; in Biogan, the *Bapp*; in Saratof, the *Sapp*; in Toula, the *Tapp*, and so on. Thanks to the committees with their little doglike names, the bourgeois literature will be closely watched, as it should be, and the class literature will be rigorously purified.

Real Class Poetry

All this is fairly dogmatic, even for the Bolshevik theoretician's notorious predilection

for unintelligible jargon. Is it anything more? Does it produce literature in practice?

M. Rousseaux, at any rate, does not confine himself to merely giving an *exposé* of the theory. In the same paper, he gives us a specimen of real class poetry:

Bolshevik literature enfranchises itself of all tyranny, in imitation of Bolshevik politics. The bourgeois literature was the slave of syntax, of grammar, of a sense of words. The Communistic literature expresses itself just as it pleases, even at the risk of not being understood. Another example:

The real-class poet writes thus:

Zgara-amba.
Zgara-amba.
Zgara-amba.
Zgara-amba.
Amb.
Tronc. Lin. Jour. Ombre.
Foc. Lok. Dok. Ook.
Tcha-Tcha.
Amo.
Rziliijara.
Tam-tara-tra,
Tztza-tzap.

I understand full well that Russia has not a monopoly on the Dada poets. But nowhere else has there been such complaisance towards them, for nowhere else has Dadaism so perfectly expressed the official spirit. A thought to the expression which it merits. Communistic poetry, in order to fulfil itself, did well to repudiate our forms of art. The inarticulate cries are much better suited to it.

For this reason, we may do well to ponder upon the conclusion put forth by one of the youngest literary schools of the U. S. S. R., the *Kousnitza* (The Forge): 'Proletarian art is a prism in which all of the rays of class converge. And from this, our task is: to model types of revolutionary humanity, to mould into esthetic forms, Marxian materialism.'

Chicago

Here is an impression of Chicago, a great American city, by an Austrian journalist who has been travelling in the United States and describing it in the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna. The excerpt is quoted in *The Living Age*:

Along the shore of Lake Michigan, villa after villa extends into the distance and here, too, stand the great hotels and clubs of the rich. The taxi-driver calls it the 'gold belt'. Yet Chicago is Janus-headed. It is the city of powerful business men, famous scholars, and doctors, the seat of the biggest factory of agricultural implements in the world, but it is also the city of the boldest criminals to be found anywhere. In New York, for instance, the police are typical officials. Their long trousers bag at their knees, many of them wear glasses and, though they carry guns, they hide them under their coats. In Chicago, on the other hand, the men who maintain public order

have athletic figures. They are dressed in khaki, leather, and steel and look as if they were about to enter a campaign of active warfare. They carry their revolvers, their sticks, and their short daggers in plain view. It is the city of organized gangs, of gunmen, of hold-ups, of bootleggers, high-jackers, and racketeers—and how wonderfully adventurous these words sound. This city experiences almost every day events that would pass as detective stories in any other part of the world.

It was during the nineteenth century the *Chicago Tribune* first remarked that Chicago contained the aristocracy of the criminal classes, and there is no reason why that statement does not still hold true to-day. Of course, there are criminals in other places, too, but in Chicago they still have about them the air of the prairie from whose soil they drew their strength, only to deliver it over to the city. Their wildness seems natural here, their wickedness naïve, and in their naïveté one detects a grim, disarming humour.

Can America Survive?

The death-rate in America, if we are to believe some recent investigators in the field, has become a menace to the existence of the American nation. Its causes and implications are analysed in an editorial note in *The Realist*:

Few more sensational documents have appeared in the last five years than Professor Forsyth's recent article on American death-rates in our contemporary *Science*. None has been more completely neglected. He has performed on the mortality statistics of the United States of America a task which our own Registrar-General performs annually in his Statistical Review, namely, a calculation of the death-rates per thousand in each age group of American adults.

In England the death-rate per hundred thousand at every age up to sixty is decreasing fairly steadily from year to year. Above sixty it is, on the whole, rising, though slowly. This is due to the fact that modern hygiene has been more successful in grappling with the diseases of infancy and maturity than of age. The classical example is the failure to prevent cancer or to induce sufferers from it to avail themselves of the only known cures. But we are little better off in our fight with the group of degenerative processes that make up "old age." We are shepherding our people up to the age of sixty, and then dropping them over the edge.

But in America, ever since 1921, the death-rate of males in every age group above thirty has been rising, with very slight fluctuations. The case is not quite so bad with the female sex, but there, too, the general trend is towards death. It is only by a successful struggle with infantile mortality that the United States are preventing a catastrophic rise in the death-rate of the country as a whole.

We do not yet know the causes of this rising death-rate. There are four fairly obvious causes. Increasing urbanisation is suggested by Professor Forsyth, but this would hardly account for the

Millions of Slaves Still

Slavery, it appears from the following note in *The Literary Digest*, is far from being totally abolished in the world:

The shame of slavery still disgraces the world.

A commission of the League of Nations reports that there are "no fewer than 4,000,000 slaves in the world to-day, probably the number is nearer 6,000,000—people who had not persons, people who have not the right to own property, to exercise their consciences, to direct their own affairs, or to retain wife and children. There are at least 2,000,000 in China, 500,000 to 700,000 in Arabia, a considerable number in the hinterland of Liberia, and a few thousands in other different parts of the world." And, according to *The Christian Century* from which we quote these figures, "conditions of slavery vary from the open and torturing slavery of Abyssinia to the disguised system in China, where girls who are really household slaves are treated, according to a legal fiction, as adopted family members. Under the impetus provided by the League, 185,000 slaves have recently been set free in Tanganyika, 215,000 in Sierra Leone; 7,500 in Burma. 'Surely,' continues *The Christian Century*, 'with the facts thus known, the public opinion of the world will support the League in whatever efforts it may inaugurate to wipe out the last vestiges of human bondage.'"

Black and White in Africa

The twentieth century has witnessed the revolt of the Brown and the Yellow races of the world against White domination. The revolt of the Black races, too, was bound to come in its wake, though the comparatively backward state of their civilization explains the tardiness of its coming. The post-war ferment has supplied the necessary incentive and we have begun to hear the distant rumbling of the march of insurgent Blacks in the dark and dumb continent. The specifically British aspect of the problem is dealt with by a writer in *The British Empire Review*.

With so many other insistent problems at home, in the Empire, and in the world at large demanding attention, Africa has not loomed as large for the general public as from the gravity of the issues involved might otherwise have been the case. General Smuts could not have rendered greater service than he has done by his vivid and arresting presentation of the facts and of the ideals to be aimed at. The relations of black and white in Africa down to the beginning of this century were not of a character of which the white could be proud. They began in slavery, they continued in exploitation, and they are threatening to end in chaos owing to the break up of tribal institutions on the one hand, and the indiscriminate inter-

mixture of white and black interests, economic and social, on the other.

Whatever the mistakes of the past, whatever the difficulties of the present, the one certain thing is that white and black have to live on the same Continent. Africa cannot dispense with white leadership if her peoples are not to be plunged back into a condition infinitely worse than that from which the white man whatever wrongs he may have inflicted in the process, rescued them. The African has been brought within the pale of European education and civilization, and the Great War, with its revelation to him of the fact that his European masters could fight among themselves as ruthlessly as African tribes, has accentuated the unrest which European education began. What the ultimate effect on African psychology and African action may be depends no doubt to some extent on what the white man may do in the entirely new chapter which General Smuts tells us has opened in the history of the Continent.

A new policy is called for throughout Africa, especially those parts which are under the British flag, a policy based upon the understanding that white men and black men are as indispensable to the development and progress of the Continent as Labour and Capital to the development of a business. If the natives were destroyed, or were involved in an internecine struggle which left them a miserable remnant of their former numbers, the whites would be in the position of a capitalist with a great industrial opportunity, but no labour available. If the whites were driven out, as the pessimist foreshadows they may be in the fullness of time, Africa would become a monster Liberia without even Liberia's approach to a live and progressive Government.

Africa like India, China and Egypt, has been brought to a bound out of the condition in which she existed for thousands of years. Education and the permeation of modern ideas have involved inevitable reactions. The changes of a generation are not evolutionary but revolutionary. What will they be at the end of another generation? Suppose all Africa were to rally to the cry "Africa for the Africans," the handful of whites scattered over its vast expanse would certainly not obey the order to quit. One need not be an alarmist to contemplate the prospect with dismay.

The French and the English on the Rhine

The Allied occupation of the Rhineland is drawing to a close. Of the four nations who maintained troops on the Rhine, it is the French who have the greatest interest in promoting what has been termed the Gallicization of the Rhenish provinces, and therefore it is the French occupation of the Rhineland which has been most severe to the Germans. The sovereign rights of the German Empire were constantly violated by the French military authorities; the flags of the allied powers had to be saluted by uniformed Germans, whether they were firemen or postmen, while German residents of the Rhineland had to possess pass-ports to cross into other parts of their native land. This harsh regime is described by a writer in *Current History* :

The Germans compare this severity with their own methods during the occupation of French territory in 1871 after the Franco-Prussian War. These comparisons are particularly popular now that some of the important State documents of those days have been included in the collection of secret papers published by the French Government. The Germans dwell on the fact that their negotiators at the Frankfort Peace Conference did not press for humiliating terms. At the first sign that the French Government was willing to fulfill its obligations they released the territories held as a security. They remind France that Bismarck left no stone unturned to strengthen the position of Thiers, the first President of the third French Republic. Can the same be said, the Germans ask with a touch of malice, of contemporary French statesmen? Have some of them at least not impugned the motives of the very men who have died as martyrs to the cause of Franco-German reconciliation—Erzberger, Rathenau and Stresemann? They point to the correspondence between Bismarck and General Manteuffel, commander of the army of occupation in France, which shows that the German troops were instructed to celebrate the birthday of the French President and that the French found themselves under the necessity of reciprocating the courtesy.

Even now, the Germans complain, they are being insulted and humiliated in their own country

In 1928 nearly 1,500 Rhinelanders were court-martialed by the occupying military forces. Even now shoals of French lecturers descend on the Rhineland to preach to the inhabitants the superiority of Gallic culture. Even now the French schools are waiting vainly for German children to attend, while French theatres are open for German audiences. French does not desire to wake up from the age-old dream of one day finding the Rhineland ready to embrace a new faith and to become the eastern frontier of the French fatherland.

In reply to such accusations, it is only fair to say that the French, as well as their allies, have done their best to tide the Rhinelanders over the worst spell of currency inflation and economic collapse. When the poverty of the Reich threatened to engulf the Rhine provinces the French promptly sent relief workers to the territory under their authority, opened public kitchens and milk stations, collected clothes in France and distributed them among the poor, and endeavoured generally to stave off catastrophe. It is quite possible they did so for political reasons in order to give a practical demonstration of the superiority of living conditions in France, but the result remains the same—the Rhineland did receive help from the French.

The Rhinelanders are disinclined to look back upon their past tribulations with a forgiving smile. No crying German girls were seen when the French recently evacuated the second zone. There is practically no intercourse between Rhenish society and the French occupying army. Attempts at fraternization have been promptly and stungingly rebuked by the Germans. France has gained no friends in the Rhineland. In other words, as regards spiritual Gallicization, the occupation was a huge failure.

The case of the British occupying forces is quite different. After Great Britain's refusal in 1923 to take part in the Ruhr expedition the Rhinelanders looked to the British for protection whenever they thought their French masters were too hard on them. The doors of the best society were always open to British officers. If they did not always avail themselves of the social opportunities it was because of regard for French sensibilities rather than personal disinclination. Therefore, so as not to offend their comrades in arms, the French officers, the British showed a certain amount of reserve in accepting invitations. In the opinion of the Rhinelanders, the British performed a very useful service as shock-absorbers; without them Rhenish relations with the French might have been even more strained.

foundations and broadened our trench when we lighted upon two brick walls running parallel to each other from west to east (Fig. 6). After tracing them over 180 feet, they were found joined at the east end by a cross wall. At the west end both the walls turned southward and also in a parallel direction, but could not be traced much beyond 20 feet. This pointed to the inference that we had here the remnants of an ancient irrigation canal. No vestiges of human habitation were found at this level in many other places where we had excavated to this depth. Again, there were traces of a flight of steps connected with one of these walls. Besides, they had a slight outward slope, which is intelligible in the case of a canal, where a batter is needed to counteract the pressure of water. Thirdly, there was an infilling of these walls with pure alluvial earth, which could only have been brought there by the floods of the river Bes which flows not far from this site. Fourthly, to place this matter beyond all doubt, I scraped out a quantity of the cementing material used in these walls. I sent it for analysis to Dr. H. H. Mann, who was then Principal of the Poona Agricultural College. This was found to be lime mortar rivaling that of the Romans. After giving the details of the analysis, Dr. Mann made the following remarks in his report: "This analysis gives the idea of a well-made mortar, prepared with a full recognition of the purpose served by sand and clayey matter in making the material, as well as the lime. In this respect it appears to be far in advance of many Phoenician and Greek mortars, which contain far too much lime and far too little sand for the best results. It approaches much more in type many of the Roman mortars, but the reduction in the amount of lime has been caused further than in these mortars with the probable result of the weakening of the cement."

It is true that as far as sculptures and inscriptions are concerned, the excavation of the site was not very fruitful, but it cannot be denied that on no single site such sensational discoveries were made as here, such as the unearthing of a unique type of railing, the find of a genuine piece of steel so ancient as 111 B. C., and above all, the discovery of lime mortar rivaling that of the Romans and belonging to the Maurya period. If we take these facts into consideration, the excavation of the Kham Baba site has surpassed in point of interest and importance any

other excavation in India except that at Mohen-jod-daro. But this was not all. The story of the sensational discoveries does not end here. For we had some digging work done in the heart of the Besnagar ruins, at a small mound not far from the 'pathway' leading from Kham Baba to the Udayagiri caves. Here was exposed a brick pavement studded with two brick structures laid into the ground, one square and one oblong. The cementing material here used was pure mud. This waived the possibility of these structures being cisterns. Because it is very doubtful whether a cistern could be effective for its purpose, if built of brick in mud. Besides, they sloped inwards in the ground and were formed by offsets. They thus bore an exact resemblance to *yajnu-kundas*. The resemblance is observable not only in respect of the sloping sides, but also in respect of the offsets which are a peculiar feature of *kundas* and technically called *mekhalas*. Again, of these brick structures the top sides were originally four times as long as the bottom sides, as laid down for the construction of a *kunda*. But to place this matter beyond all doubt I got hold of one or two bricks from the *kundas* and sent them to Dr. Mann for analysis. It is no use troubling the reader of this paper with the results of this analysis. Suffice it to say, that he remarks that "the brick nearly approaches fire-clay in composition" and that "the brick does not fuse at all easily on heating strongly in a gas blowpipe." It is not for a moment to be supposed that the fire-clay used for these bricks can be as perfect and effective for its purpose as any known to modern science. This much is, however, clear that the brick examined by Dr. Mann was intended to be fire-brick. This itself was another sensational discovery, because it conclusively proved that ancient India knew what fire-brick meant and what type of clay was suited for this purpose. It was also a convincing piece of evidence in favour of the inference that the brick structures were some ancient sacrificial pits, where fire-bricks were not only desirable but necessary.

Besides the two pits, referred to above, a third was laid bare on almost the same level which was in the shape of a *yoni*. It was doubtless a *Yoni-kunda* which is one of the well recognised types of *kundas*. The ground surrounding these structures was no doubt covered with a brick pavement, as stated above. Not far from them were dis-

INDIAN Womanhood



The Fourth All-India Women's Conference

The All-India Women's Conference, which held its fourth sitting at Bombay during the third week of January 1930, was a great event in the history of the women's movement in India. It was presided over by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu from whose presidential address we have quoted some extracts elsewhere. The conference was opened by Lady Sykes, and there was a

The conference passed a long series of resolutions connected with all phases of women's life in India. The two dealing with child marriage and inheritance attracted a great many speakers, who spoke with a zeal and eloquence that indicated how deeply Indian womanhood felt on these two points.

Miss MITHUN TATA placed before the House the resolution dealing with the laws of inheritance and was followed by speakers in



Mrs. Brijlal Nehru

very large and representative gathering of delegates from all parts of India and the hall was packed with visitors from far and near.



Mrs. P. K. Sen

Gujarati and Marathi. Miss Ferozuddin spoke feelingly on this question in English. Without the economic independence of woman, she said, her emancipation could only be a dream.



Office-bearers and the Standing Committee of the Conference

Speaking on that part of the resolution which deals with Muslim women's rights in accordance with the laws laid down in the Quran and the current customary law as practised in some parts of India, Miss FEROUZDIN emphasized that Muslim women, in desiring a rectification of the present state of affairs, were not humble suppliants for favours, but were demanding what was their right.

The child marriage question was sponsored by Mrs. Nehru, who spoke very ably on the need for Indian States' co-operation with British India and the passing of an Act similar to the Sarda Act, for the present position enabled an evasion of the law by child marriages not being penalized in Indian States. Speakers in all languages and including some from Indian States with one accord supported Mrs. Nehru's proposition, which was passed without a dissentient note.

Mrs. SHAFI TYABJI and Miss FEROUZDIN condemned in strong terms the opposition raised by Muslims against this Act and said that it did not in any manner violate the

"Shariat" of Muslims. The latter declared that a marriage among Muslims was only an agreement and it was commonsense to understand that the agreement could not be entered into unless both the boy and the girl had attained majority.

Social Resolutions

In the course of the second and final session of the Conference, the remaining social resolutions were dealt with. Five out of the eight resolutions were proposed by the Chair (Mrs. SAROJINI NAIDU)—dealing with unequal marriages, with the need for at least one woman magistrate to be present at each sitting of Juvenile Courts and the establishment of these Courts in all provinces, a resolution that marriage should not be compulsory for girls, giving the support of the Conference to the further amending of the Special Marriage Act of 1872 and desiring the inclusion of women representatives well-acquainted with Indian conditions in conferences and commissions appointed to deal with questions of the national welfare of India. The resolution on polygamy was

proposed by Mrs. ASAF Ali, supported by two other Indian ladies and was carried unanimously. Of the two resolutions dealing with labour questions the first desired the appointment of an adequate number of Factory Inspectresses to look after the welfare and requirements of women and children employees in all industrial areas. This was ably put forward by Miss B. A. Engineer and supported by Miss Mrs WINGATE, both of Bombay. The second sponsored by Mrs. KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA desired the Standing Committee to inquire into the condition of women and children, employed in organized labour areas and also to inquire into the agricultural and indigenous industries of their area and to foster such industries.

The Conference was also a great success from the social point of view.



Mrs. Cousin

From the daily papers, we learn with regret of the death of Miss BASANTI DAS, a lady student of the M. Sc. class of the Presidency College, Calcutta, who died of heart-failure on the 16th February last at Silchar (Sylhet) at her father's residence there. Miss Das was a brilliant student of the Calcutta University. She stood first among

the female candidates of the I. A. and I. Sc. examinations and took her B. Sc. degree last year with Honours in Mathematics.

The scarcity of lady graduates in Science makes her early death all the more regrettable for us.

The SAROJ NALINI DUTT Memorial Association is playing a great part in furthering the cause of women in Bengal. Its fifth annual meeting was held at the grounds at 8A, Russa Road, on Jan. 20, 1930. Lady NIRMALA SIKKAR presided.

Pointing out the increasingly national character of the movement being carried on by the Association, Mrs N. B. SNOW, who presented the annual report, said that the outstanding feature of this year's activities was that a number of Bengali women volunteered their services for organizing Mahila Samities in the interior of the Presidency.



Sriyukta Anurupa Devi

During the year the Association sent out lecturers to nearly every district in Bengal for organizing the women movement and it was largely due to their activities that more than 60 new Mahila Samities were started. The activities of the Association, which has so far organized 305 such Samities, are not confined to Bengal only but extend to other provinces.

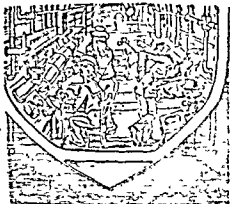
Commending the very useful work being done by the SAROJ NALINI Industrial School

for women at 45, Beniatala Lane, Calcutta, the report says, established in December 1925, with only 30 pupils, the institution has now grown to be perhaps the biggest Industrial school for women in Calcutta with 200 pupils on the roll, nearly half of which are widows and married women.

Mrs. ANURUPA DEVI is a distinguished woman novelist of Bengal. Her numerous works in Bengali enjoy a wide popularity

with her countrymen and countrywomen. She is the grand-daughter of the well-known Bengali writer and thinker, Bhudeb Mukherji and in social thought, she shares the conservative outlook of her grandfather. She also takes part in various public movements of the day, and recently presided over the Ladies Co-operative Conference of the Muzaffarpur district in Bihar and Orissa.

The Humour of the World



THE BIGGEST SUBMARINE IN THE WORLD

"Captain, why do you want to go down so deep?"

"To get a chance of seeing the Kellogg Pact in operation."

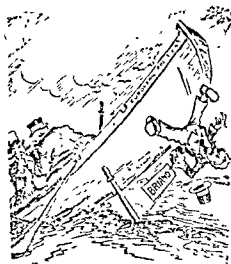
—Guerin, Meschino, Milan.



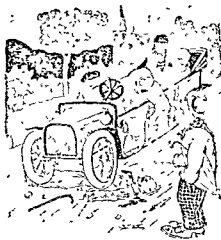
THAT TREATY HAPPENS TO BELONG TO ALL OF US.

Russia: "Well! What are you going to do about it?"

—New York Tribune



MAN OVERBOARD!—Washington Post.



Motorist: "Run and fetch the doctor."

Rustic: "I can't."

"Why not?"

"He is under the car."—H 420, Florence.



"I want some beauty cream."
 "Yes, madam. how many tons?"
 —Pages Gates Yverdon



"Hey, girl! This soup ain't fit for a pig."
 "Right oh! I'll bring you some that is."
 —Bulletin, Sydney.



"SOME PEOPLE NEVER LEARN BY EXPERIENCE"
 —Washington Post



GIVING HIM HIS CHOICE
 Uncle Sam "Which way do you want to
 race, up or down?"
 —New York Tribune



Chauffeur: "Keep to the right, you idiot."
 —H 420 Florence.



A Modern Inferno

You recall Dante's immortal story of his visit to Hell, and of the souls of the historically famous and infamous damned who were being tortured there by exposure to the torments of the extremes of ice and fire. The grandeur of the poetry will probably never be surpassed. But the modern scientist's only comment upon the scene it pictures is upon the poverty of the omniscient imagination which would employ such altogether ordinary temperatures to produce the desired effects. The scientist has liquefied air by cooling and compressing it and allowing it to expand repeatedly. The product is a pale blue liquid which resembles water from a distance but as a temperature of -310 degrees. In comparison, a cake of ice is literally red hot. By a similar process

burn a mixture of ordinary illuminating gas and air in a blast lamp and obtain a temperature of 2700 degrees; and with an oxy-hydrogen torch, 3600 degrees; and with an oxy-acetylene flame 6400 degrees—the latter will cut through a quarter inch steel plate with about the same ease that a hot knife goes through a cake of butter. Then in the electric arc he can produce temperatures which are limited only by the resistance of the furnace itself as it melts and breaks the circuit, the highest temperature so far being about 9000 degrees or more than half the estimated temperature of the sun.

Picture for yourselves the sublime heights of torture which could be attained in an inferno properly designed and equipped with up-to-date heating and cooling devices by the scientist, and



AN OLD MASTER'S CONCEPTION OF HELL

Christ's Descent Into Hell, by H. Bosch, a Flemish painter (1462-1516). Early writers who wished to depict a horrible hell and thus frighten the common herd into better morals would doubtless have used with avidity the modern scientist's knowledge of heat and cold

applied to helium he has produced a temperature below -458 degrees or less than 1 degree above absolute zero, the lowest temperature which can possibly be attained.

On the other hand, going up the scale, he can

compare it with the feeble attempt of the theologian. For the scientist, of course, these are merely the tools with which he works, but with them and others he achieves the wonders which distinguish the present world from any which preceded it.



TEMPERATURES EMBLY CHYMISTS NEVER DREAMT OF
Picture for yourselves the sublime heights of
torture which could be attained in an inferno
properly designed by the scientist, and compare
it with the feeble attempt of the theologian

When the Coal Supply will be Exhausted

It is a well-known fact, that, both for the biological processes in plants and animals as well as for the maintenance of human civilization, a continuous import of energy from outer space to our planet is necessary. The only source of energy that practically needs to be taken into account in this respect, and which daily furnishes enormous quantities of energy, is our sun. In whatever form we meet with energy on the earth, whether it be stored in coal or oil, or be immediately available to us, as in the flowing or falling water, or in the winds, it can, in all cases, easily be understood that this energy has always its real origin in that of the radiation which the sun continuously emits in all directions into space and some of which strikes the earth.

The differences in temperature and pressure in the earth's atmosphere that are brought about under the influence of the solar radiation are the causes of air currents which give rise to the energy of the wind. The radiant energy of the sun given out several hundreds of millions of years ago is now stored up in the form of chemical energy in coal, after having been transformed and accumulated in the living vegetable cells of those far-off eras. Through the process of

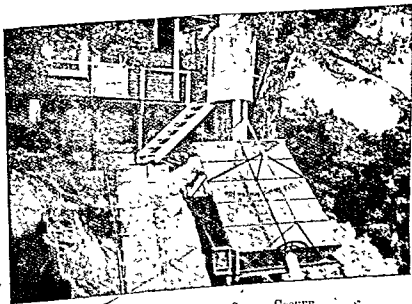
combustion, this stored-up chemical energy is used by us in our steam engines and gas motors of today. This stock of coal, and also of mineral oil, nowadays represents the principal source of energy that man utilizes for the production of mechanical power.

The necessary consequence of this is that we draw upon our energy capital to so great an extent that it must finally become exhausted, unless some way be found to replenish it by again accumulating this mighty solar radiation against the day when our stores of coal and oil will have been exhausted.

The total quantity of coal on the earth seems not to exceed about 2000 billions tons, of which at the present time about one and one half billion tons are used annually. Thus yearly consumption, however, is increasing so rapidly that our coal deposits will hardly be sufficient for another thousand years, a period that is very short in comparison with the length of the future existence of mankind on the earth.

The question as to whether it then will be possible to obtain the indispensable energy from other sources on earth must, so far as can now be judged, be answered in the negative.

As the matter now stands, we can say that in answering the question as to how to make the future necessary energy production most complete-



ABBOT'S EXPERIMENTAL SOLAR COOKER
Dr. Abbot, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, devised this cooker, installed it at Mount Wilson Observatory and cooked with it. The parabolic aluminum reflecting surface focuses the sun's heat on a pipe which conducts hot oil to a reservoir. Cooking and baking temperatures up to 447 degrees Fahrenheit, are obtained. The heat can be stored all night

ly independent of the fossil stocks of energy accumulated in former geological periods, we are chiefly confined to the mighty current of radiant energy that is flowing to us directly and continuously from the sun. This quantity of radiant energy appears to be stupendously great, but it is now almost completely lost by dissipation.

In what way it would be possible to catch the enormous quantity of solar energy that now is dissipated every year, and to apply it to the production of mechanical and electrical energy.

Concentration of the radiant energy may be effected either by means of large lenses or by a system of mirrors; the absorbent heat-reservoir is placed at the focus. In actual practice, only systems of mirrors have been used. These are mounted on a light frame which permits them to

be easily rotated, which is, of course, necessary because they must follow the apparent motion of the sun in the sky. The radiant energy concentrated by these mirrors falls upon a metallic reservoir which is blackened on the outside and which contains some volatile liquid that shows a considerable vapour tension at relatively low temperatures. Ammonia, sulphur dioxide or certain organic liquids of low boiling point are employed.

—Scientific American

Finance and Insurance

India's Economic Position

IT was Sir Basil Blackett who set the ball rolling at the beginning of the year. In the course of his address before the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts, he found it difficult "to quarrel with the view that both politically and economically India to-day bears evidence of arrested development," but according to him, "the explanation of the extreme poverty of the masses... is to be found in the Hindu social system, in the doctrine of *Karma*, in the absence of active effort for material progress, in the presence of the active determination of Brahmanism to maintain and perpetuate the age-old social outlook enshrined in the caste system." He does not stop to inquire why Muhammadans (who do not believe in caste) living within British India have not been able to advance economically by shedding medieval abstractions like some of their co-religionists elsewhere, e.g., Turkey. On the contrary, he gives some statistics to prove that in spite of the terrible handicap imposed, India has made an astonishingly rapid progress from the beginning of the present century.

Sir Basil was followed by Mr. Birla with his presidential address before the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. Said he:

(1) We are a debtor country with large foreign liabilities.

(2) Our present resources are not adequate for a due discharge of our obligations.

(3) Due to our failure to fully discharge our annual obligations, our liability is increasing at a frightful pace.

To this His Excellency Lord Irwin gave the following reply:

As a result of development which has taken place during the last hundred years there is an enormous surplus of assets representing gain to India which has accrued on account of the developments made possible by the use of foreign capital.

According to His Excellency, far from driving India towards bankruptcy, foreign investors have increased economic productivity to such an extent that, even after the payment of interest, there is a surplus available, which is liquidated partly by bullion imports and partly by investments abroad.

Unluckily for His Excellency, he was speaking after the flotation of the 6 per cent £6 million sterling loan in London. If India is so anxious to unburden her surplus savings even in foreign countries, a plain matter-of-fact man will wonder why the loan could not be raised in India. The second conundrum is no less puzzling. When political conditions were so uncertain,—almost menacing in the opinion of British investors, why was the loan floated in London of all places and at that psychological moment? The third riddle is the most interesting of all. Our expert financiers are able to allow for the extravagance of the Lahore Congress by a fine calculation of a proportionate rise in the interest rate and a proportionate premium on the principal, yielding 6½ per cent, if redeemed after two years and 7½, if redeemed after 3 years. Why were they not equally successful in estimating the condition of the London money-market, seeing that the loan was subscribed many times over? Probably Sir Basil will reply, it is India's *Karma* to have riddles but no solutions. Lord Irwin may also point out that it is a sign of prosperity to borrow abroad at a high rate.

Can the smoke-screen about political troubles and other platitudes hide India's poverty?

Industrial Banking

With the various Banking Committees in session, the question of starting industrial banks is engaging serious attention. It has been suggested that India's industrial development will be as rapid as Germany's, if we follow her system of industrial banking. It is forgotten that in Germany itself, there is a recent movement for discarding the present system of long-term advances for capital requirements and adopting in its place the English system of short-term advances for trade purposes. The reasons are not far to seek. The cheque habit has developed very fast in Germany during the post-war period, —so much so that banks are now called upon to keep their resources in as liquid a form as possible, in order that there may be no difficulty in meeting the demands of depositors. In other words, banks are unable to lock-up their funds in long-term loans as before, but have to invest their funds in easily realizable securities and short-term bills.

Apart from this stress of necessity, there are some positive advantages in the English method. In Germany, the banker buys shares and bonds in his customer's concern and provides additional money for capital purposes, for which no returns may be available for years. The result is that he is obliged to take part in the management of the industry. In other words, he has not only to look to the safety of the money advanced by him, but has also to consider the interest of the concern as a whole, even in matters not connected with finance, e.g., when a new competitor enters the field, or when a new manufacturing process is invented,—matters in which he lacks expert knowledge. The English method of non-interference, on the contrary, gives greater freedom and scope for development and the banker can take an unbiased view with regard to the financing of new inventions and new enterprises.

In the present state of British industries, it is no wonder that the charge is too often laid against bankers that they are not doing their duty by industry and trade, and that it is the orthodox English system of aloofness from industries, which badly requires

reform. To this Mr. Holland Martin gives the following reply in the course of his inaugural address before the London Institute of Bankers :

It is a great mistake to treat finance and productive industry as if they are mutually opposed, and to infer that those who suggest and provide the means for carrying out great enterprises are not necessary in our commercial life. The interests of the two should be, and in my opinion, they are in this country and at the present time, the same. Finance cannot for long be successful if industry and trade are not prosperous.

If this identity of interest between trade and industry on the one hand and finance on the other is recognized in India also, much of the present discontent is bound to disappear. While the banks cannot assist with long-term loans with their present resources, they can certainly help by underwriting the issue of debentures and in other ways, working in co-operation with insurance companies, which are in a position to provide long-term funds. Industrialists on their part should try to provide for their fixed capital by an adequate issue of shares and bonds, and require only circulating capital from the ordinary banks. When however new industries and a group of industries of a special nature are started, and the necessary technical skill is available, either the existing banks will have to be reorganized or separate industrial banks will have to be started, in order that finance may not lag behind in the march of industrial development.

Lancashire Cotton Industry

The imports of grey piece-goods into India from the United Kingdom and Japan are shown in the table below for nine months from 1st April to 31st December, for the years 1927, 1928 and 1929 respectively :

	Quantity in million yards			Value in Rs. (crores)		
	1927	1928	1929	1927	1928	1929
From U. K.	516	412	362	12.30	9.77	8.31
Japan	168	150	291	4.29	3.96	6.75

It is apparent that there is a continuous decline in the case of the United Kingdom, and that Japan has now fully recovered from the slight set back of 1928. The same features are to be found in other markets as well.

What are the reasons for this steady replacement of British piece-goods by Japanese piece-goods? These formed the

subject-matter of a very interesting paper recently contributed by Messrs. Barnard and Hugh Ellinger to the Royal Statistical Society. According to the authors, they can be comprised into four groups, *viz.*, cheaper labour in spinning and weaving, greater proximity to the markets in the Far East, cheaper cotton supplies and better organization of the industry.

The authors are against any all-round reduction in Lancashire wages but plead for a re-adjustment, specially in the weaving section. As regards geographical advantage, it is pointed out that the voyage to India from either country takes practically the same time, but China is certainly nearer to Japan. In any case, Japanese shipping companies follow the principle of charging what the traffic will bear with much better success than British companies. In the matter of cotton supplies, Japan utilizes a higher percentage of cheaper cotton, specially for lower counts. In spinning 20's, for instance, she uses 80 per cent Indian and 20 per cent American cotton and for some coarser counts even entirely Indian. It is in these lower counts specially, that Lancashire feels the keenest competition.

With regard to organization, the authors compare the Japanese cotton industry to a globe consisting of nine—"big 4" and 5 smaller—concerns, which consume between them 70 to 80 per cent of raw cotton imports, and manufacture practically the entire piece-goods exports. Round this globe are four nebulae, consisting like the rings of Saturn, of numerous independent units. On the same analogy, the British cotton industry has at the centre a solid crust consisting of well-known amalgamations, with 3,000 small units inside the crust, many of them possibly well-organized but lacking cohesion; and outside the crust there are many rings, not of nebulae, but very solid price-fixing rings of trade unions, finishers, case-makers, packers, bankers, shipowners, insurance companies, etc.

The result of all this want of correlation is to be seen in the following report appearing in *Taltersall's Cotton Trade Review* about the Lancashire cotton companies. The average dividend on the ordinary share capital last year was less than that in the preceding year, the figures for 310 companies yielding 1.91 per cent against 2.30 per cent. In no fewer than 243 cases, no dividend was declared. As

many as 42 companies had to call up additional share capital amounting to over £ 1½ millions. It may be added that the year 1928 was also a very bad year for Lancashire cotton companies.

Indian cotton companies have an obvious lesson to be learnt from this analysis. There is no question that they have two advantages, which Lancashire does not possess and Japan possesses only to a limited extent, *viz.*, geographical advantage and cheap cotton supply. If labour is more efficient, the existing wages will be found to be lower than even the Japanese scale. The only stumbling block is lack of organization. That there is much room for economy in Bombay mills is apparent from the fact that Ahmedabad mills are in a better position in almost identical circumstances.

H. C. SINHA

Insurance Notes

I. India is proverbially a poor country. Life insurance is more necessary to the middle and poorer sections of the population than the richer section. But when we go to the figures, we find that in India the *per capita* insurance is only rupees two per head. We give below certain figures collected from the *Weekly Underwriter* of America which will give an exact idea about the financial position of India and also the future possibilities of insurance in India:

"Total amount of life insurance in force in some of the leading countries:

	Rs. 24,000	crores.
America	13,600	"
Canada	3,000	"
England	900	"
Japan		"

The total insurance funds in America is 4,500 crores, in Canada 3,000 crores, in England 1,600 crores, in Japan 600 crores and India comes last of all with 16 crores."

II. Insurance help the industrial development of a country, and more the amount of insurance in a country the more progressive they are industrially. Economists much depend on this point in estimating the prosperity of a nation and the Insurance Year Book gives the exact figures. We give below the following lines collected from the pages of an article written by Mr. S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L.:

"Life Insurance Companies hold large assets against their liabilities on account of—"

covered some *nalis* or drains which were doubtless connected with the sacrificial pits. The important part water plays in the ceremonial and other washings of a sacrifice is too well known to require any mention here.

On the level of the *kundas* and the brick pavement were discovered walls of two halls, which also seem to be connected with them. Of these one was on the south, and the other on the east, of the pits. It is a well-known fact that the sacrifices instituted by Hindu kings or wealthy *Yajamanas* of ancient times, lasted

for months, and some for years, and that for its adequate performance halls of a durable character were as much a necessity as the permanent *kundas* themselves. A sacrificial site was always a meeting place of Rishis, *Yajnikas* and distinguished guests of the sacrificer. These required to be feasted, and a dining hall spacious enough to accommodate them was one of the indispensable adjuncts of a sacrifice. The hall excavated on the south of the *kundas* probably served this purpose, first, because it is provided with a drain, which is a necessity in a dining but not in an assembly hall, and secondly, because at its north-east corner eating and drinking clay pots of great diversity were found, and in great quantities. There can therefore be no reasonable doubt as to this hall being intended for the purposes of banquet. Then again, side by side with sacrificial activity, we know that those of the Brahmins and Kshatriyas who were erudite and mentally restless were fond of holding discussions on philosophical subjects or of hearing recitations of Puranas by the Suttas. The Brahmanas, Upanishads and Puranas bristle with references to them. The other hall, namely, that on the east of the *kundas*, probably fulfilled this object and served as an assembly hall where not only philosophical debates were carried on and recitations heard but where also the innumerable and illustrious guests of the sacrificer were received according to their dignity and rank.

Another interesting find made during the excavations on this site consisted of twenty-six pieces of clay, bearing impressions of seals. They were all found in or near these hall. All of them except one have marks of strings or of wooden tablets, or both on their backs, showing that they were affixed to documents which came from outside to the *yajnasala* or sacrificial halls. The exception is a sealing which bears no such mark at all on the reverse and is rounded at the bottom, and which must consequently

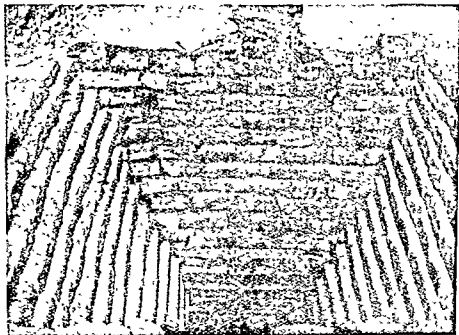


Fig. 7
Interior of Square Kunda, showing sloping sides with Offsets

be looked upon as a token or passport admitting persons to the sacrificial ground. The legend on it runs as follows in character of the earlier part of the fourth century A. D.

- L. 1. *Timitra-datrisya [sa]-ho[ta]-*
L. 2 *p[ot]a-mamtra-sajana [² i]*

The meaning of this legend is not quite clear, but the words *hota*, *pota* and *mamtra*, which are technical to sacrificial literature, indicate that the sealing is really connected with the *yajnasala*. And the import of the legend appears to be: "Of the donor Timitra accompanied by the Hota, Pota, hymn-kinsmen and..." Timitra doubtless is the name of an individual, and seems to be the Sanskritized form of the Greek Demetrius. And it appears that this Greek personage

policies issued by them. These funds are invested in various ways to fetch interest which is the life-blood of an insurance company. The old and antiquated method was to invest in Government Securities yielding a low but certain, rate of interest. During the last war these securities underwent heavy depreciation and as a result insurance companies suffered very badly; some companies in England had to close their doors. Since then this conservative policy of investment is being gradually abandoned in favour of a progressive and patriotic one. Large funds are invested in mortgages, lands and property and shares and debentures of joint-stock companies and public utility concerns. They generally bring in higher rate of interest than Government Securities, and at the same time this modern policy of investment contributes greatly to the development of Industries and Railways of the country. America has given this patriotic investment policy a definite shape and has pursued it to its full extent. In Canada, life insurance companies own more than half the shares of railway companies. There, in all public utility concerns the biggest shareholders are the life insurance companies. In this way the insurance companies are utilizing the premiums paid by thrifty people not only in relieving the distress of their *clientele* but also in developing industries and increasing national wealth."

III. The general impression in India is that the funds of insurance companies must be invested in Government Securities and that the safest and best investment. But if we refer to the methods of investments of the West, we find a quite different thing, and

the following figures collected from an American Year Book is an interesting reading.

"Out of the total funds 45,000 crores, 35 per cent are invested in Railways, 30 per cent in Real Properties and 16 per cent in farm mortgages and 10 per cent in industries and other public utility concerns and only 9 per cent in Government Securities."

IV. We in India have not yet appreciated the value of insurance as it has been done in the West. There everything of value is insured and in addition to the life insurance, they do huge amount of insurance against all risks such as fire, marine, accident, motor car, workmen's compensation, burglary, fidelity, theft etc. Indian Insurance Companies Association in trying to impress upon the public the importance of insurance, has given some interesting figures regarding general insurance in the following words:

"There can be no doubt that several crores of rupees are being spent every year by the millowners, cotton merchants, seed and other merchants, property-owners and several other trades in insuring their respective factories and business premises. Excepting for a small fraction, most of the motor cars used in India are owned by Indian people. A very large amount is being spent in insuring these cars, the bulk of which to-day goes to non-Indian companies. The important crops of India every year are valued at Rs. 1,500 crores. The imports into India of foreign articles are valued at over Rs. 232 crores a year. The insurance premium, therefore, on all these heads must be enormous. But I am quite certain that not even 5 per cent of this goes to the share of the Indian industrial companies."

S. C. R.

any party or school of politics in India. In the first place, these overseas communities are ordinarily ignorant of the principles, details and difficulties of these home land controversies and, therefore, cannot usefully contribute one way or the other. In the second place, they have their own local difficulties which should not be increased by the setting up of controversial matters that are bound to result in internal disunion, with consequent weakening of the communities' powers of resistance. And lastly, it must be remembered that no Indian community abroad can hope to secure any status at all, except as an integral part of the Empire. From the moment that it is regarded by its self-confession as an alien group, it can no longer call in the aid of the Government of India, nor is it entitled to look for support to those of its countrymen at home who are not persuaded that the immediate goal of India is complete national independence, in any sense other than that of Dominion Self-government, and it is bound to alienate the sympathies of a substantial minority of the white settlers in these overseas territories upon which the Indian settlers can at present count and, by the exercise of tact, self-restraint, and intelligent propaganda, they would be able increasingly to count in the future.

The problem of Indians overseas is in the way of solution, and the present favourable current of events ought not in any circumstances to be interfered with. If it should be, it is almost inevitable that Indian prestige abroad will suffer irrevocably, with no commensurate gain to the Motherland, and whilst, for the moment, the overseas Indian communities might feel an artificial exaltation under the spell of an exciting and attractive slogan, they would prove to be its first and its easiest victims.

Hy. S. L. POLAK,

Hony. Secretary, Indians Overseas Association

The Problem of Religion in Greater India

Mr. RISHRAM, B. A., Arya Missionary writes About three millions of our countrymen have gone outside India mostly in the search of their livelihood. A large percentage of these men belong to poor illiterate labourer classes with the exception of the few educated middle class people who have gone of their free will in pursuit of trade and service. Burma and Africa have men of the latter class. Wherever men will live together in large numbers, there will certainly arise opportunities of social functions and religious ceremonies. If they are conducted in a proper manner they will

be conducive to welfare of the people concerned and will have a beneficial effect on others. So far as the Hindu emigrants are concerned it is unfortunate that no collective effort is made to improve their general social and religious life. In South Africa first walking and piercing the body with nails by the Indians is considered to be a religious ceremony. Whatever else its significance may be but it has nothing to do with the spiritual life of those people and is generally ridiculed by the non-Indians. In far off colonies like British Guinea, Jamaica, Trinidad and such other places, in the absence of Arya Samaj organizations most of the Hindus have embraced Christianity and their descendants have become strangers to their Motherland and her culture. The Hindus in general have lost the missionary spirit and they have no ambition to propagate their religion beyond their little narrow home circles. It must be said to the credit of the Arya Samaj that though single-handed it has held aloft the banner of Vedic religion in far off places like Fiji and Mauritius Islands. In whatever part of the world an Arya-samajist goes he will try to grow and spread beyond his own little self and create associations around him which will keep fresh the memory of his Motherland with all her noble traditions. He will reject with contempt the life of sloth, self-gratification and isolation, but will try to make himself useful to his fellow-men. It was this spirit which made a handful of Arya-Samajists in Mesopotamia during the war days while stationed in military camps in the vicinity of battlefield, hold congregational prayer meetings, lighting the fire of *Jajna*, celebrating their national festivals and contributing thousands of rupees voluntarily to the institutions in India. Arya-samajists in Burma and Africa have sent lace and lace of rupees to support religious and social activities at home. I have every admiration for their generosity but I shall be failing in my duty as a humble worker of the same mission if I ignore the other side of the picture. For the last twelve years I have been engaged in the missionary work outside the Punjab and have visited Burma and East Africa and have personal experience of the Arya Samaj activities in those places. I am definitely of opinion that the situation needs considerable improvement not only by way of constructive work but also by means of elimination of certain undesirable tendencies associated with the Arya Samaj activities outside India. It was not without great pain and sorrow that I witnessed the armed hostility between Arya-samajists and other Hindus craving for blood and dividing the general public into different camps opposed to each other. The Arya Samaj cannot escape the responsibility for this state of affairs. Others may act out of blind faith and short-sightedness, but there is no justification for the Arya Samaj that claims to lead the people to higher ideals to be a party to vindictive and irritative propaganda. Let the Arya-samajists remember that their religion was never meant for dividing people but for uniting them in spite of their differences. There is much which is common to all religions worth the name and we should appreciate the good points of all. It is in our own interest that we should love those who differ from us and thus bring them closer to us so that they may be able to appreciate our point of view. If we by our

offensive and irritating attitude drive them away there is no possibility of their ever giving any attention to our preachings, however true or elevating they may be. It is in the hands of the Arya Samaj to bring all Hindus outside India into their fold. Hindus who once cross the sea, give up the antiquated ideas of caste and touch-me-not religion out of their own accord and are naturally inclined to be more liberal in their outlook. It is for the Arya Samaj to approach them in a spirit of tolerance and sympathy. If the Arya-Samajists follow any other policy they will not only miss an opportunity of their lifetime but will also be responsible for reproducing an ugly picture of India in Greater India—a crime for which the posterity will never excuse them.

Mr. M. Panday for the City Council

The *Daily Chronicle* of Georgetown, British Guiana, contains the following news in its issue of 13th January 1930.

Georgetown, January 8.

The distinction has fallen upon Mr. M. Panday, well-known merchant of Water Street, a former president, and now member of the executive committee of the B. G. East Indian Association, to be the first member of his race to occupy a seat on the Georgetown Town Council.

Mr. Panday has been nominated to fill the seat rendered vacant by the recent resignation of Mr. J. E. Strickland (Government nominee), and it is expected that he will take his oath of office at the next statutory meeting of the Council, to be held on Monday next.

We congratulate Mr. Panday for the opportunity of service that has been given to him and we hope for the time when our compatriots will enter the town council not by the back door of nomination but by the vote of the common people.

A Fundamental issue

The following news has been published in the *Daily Chronicle*:

INDIA'S "INDEPENDENCE"
TRINIDAD INDIANS FOR INDEPENDENCE

Port-of-Spain, Jan. 1.

A large gathering of Indians resident in Trinidad met at 12 Charlotte Street yesterday under the Chairmanship of Mr. Timothy Roodal, M. L. C., to pledge their support to leaders of the All-India National Congress in the move for National Independence.

It raises a fundamental issue:

"Should our compatriots abroad support the movement of Independence in India or should they keep themselves absolutely indifferent towards it?"

In April 1929 I contributed an article to Kenya *Daily Mail* of Mombasa and discussed this question at length. I will reproduce here what I wrote at that time:—

INDIANS OVERSEAS AND HOME POLITICS

Our countrymen abroad have always helped the cause of freedom at home and the Motherland expects them to do the same again. How can we forget the magnificent donation of Kaka Rustumjee of South Africa for National education during the days of the non-co-operation movement? And the help that the Sikhs of Canada gave to the Akali movement cannot be too highly praised. Not less than a lakh of rupees were subscribed by overseas Indians to the Tulak Swaraj Fund. Now that Gandhiji is determined to sacrifice his all during the coming struggle, our countrymen abroad should help him as much as possible. The time may soon come when he will appeal to them and then it will be the duty of every one of our Colonial friends to help him, for, who has done more work and made greater sacrifices for Greater India than Gandhi? In fact, Mahatma is the creator of Greater India. But this help should be restricted to and earmarked for certain items. There are several works which deserve the patronage of Indians overseas e.g., Khadi-Prachar, national education and removal of untouchability.

This brings us to the question whether it is advisable for Indians overseas to take part in party politics in India. In my humble opinion it is not advisable under the present circumstances. That is why I have named the movements which ought to be helped by Indians overseas. Indians abroad are situated under very difficult circumstances and they have to approach the Government of India again and again for the redress of their grievances. Now if Indians overseas were to help the movement of mass civil disobedience, for example, they cannot approach the Government of India for any help. Moreover, party politics in India are passing through a critical stage and it will be a mistake for us—Indians overseas—to ally ourselves with any particular political party.

I still hold these views and will request our people overseas to give them serious consideration. I may be wrong but it will be cowardly on my part not to publish my views at this crisis.

To Our Colonial Correspondents

I shall be obliged if our colonial readers will send us names and addresses of those English and Hindi-knowing gentlemen in different parts of the world who are interested in the problems of Greater India. I shall send them my overseas bulletins if they give me one shilling for necessary postage for the whole year.



NOTES

Further Raising of Dominion Status Recommended

How autonomous the Dominions in the British Empire are, has been described in our last issue, page 235. The "Report of the Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation and Merchant Shipping Legislation, 1929" shows that this Conference has made recommendations which, if accepted by the next Imperial Conference, will further raise the status of the Dominions and increase their powers and rights. This is good news. It reached India some days ago in the form of a brief message cabled by Reuter.

India's Interest in the Above News

The receipt of the above message has caused a certain amount of crowing in certain political camps in India, which amounts to telling the Independentists, "See what Dominion status means! Is your Independence, which you cannot possibly gain, superior to Dominion status in any substantial respect?"

We have no desire to disturb this mood of triumph and rejoicing, *altruistic* though it be. But being Indians ourselves also, we must try to understand what all this means to India.

If some famished or half-starved weaklings are told that some other persons have been enjoying substantial and dainty fare and are very strong and that they (the former) would fare as well and be equally strong at some far off indefinite future time—when they would most probably all be dead!—We do not think such a vague assurance—particularly if it came from parties not famous for keeping their promises—ought to cause any rejoicing among the aforesaid weaklings.

If additional information reaches the weaklings that more nourishing, enervating and dainty fare has been recommended for

the aforesaid well-fed and strong persons, and if the promised future good luck of the weaklings remains as indefinite and remote as ever, should the tidings make the latter crow?

The answer is obvious.

Dominion status may be good for those who have it. The further raising of their status may be still better. And lovers of liberty, even if they be not themselves free, should be glad that the bounds of freedom are becoming wider in some regions of the earth. But it should not be forgotten by any Indians that the pleasure, if felt by those in bondage, is altruistic, and that the good luck of those who were already free does not mean the same good fortune to subject peoples.

The recommendations may also be taken to illustrate the saying that to those who have more shall be added, but from those who have not, even what they have shall be taken away. For, the free Dominions are recommended to be made freer, but for Indians greater and still greater repression is being provided, showing that what little practical freedom they had been enjoying is being taken away.

Nor is this the whole amount of India's loss, actual and threatened. We shall take some recommendations of this Conference to illustrate their

Menace to Indian Coastal Traffic Reservation

It is understood by all that, if Mr. Haji's Coastal Reservation Bill were passed by the Indian Legislature, effect would have to be given to its provisions, unless the Governor-General withheld his assent to it, which would be awkward for him to do. But if the Bill became law, the usurping monopolistic coastal traffic in Indian waters of British shipowners would be gone. This Conference, therefore, may be taken as their

guardian angel to secure continuance to them of their enormous profits and to save the Viceroy from an awkward position. Some of the Conference recommendations on merchant shipping legislation are as follows :

100. (b) Under the new position, each part of the Commonwealth will have full power to deal with its own coasting trade. *We recommend that the Governments of the several parts of the Commonwealth might agree, for a limited number of years, to continue the present position, under which ships of any part of the Commonwealth are free to engage in the coasting trade of any other part.* (The italics are ours.—Ed., M. R.)

Should the "limited number of years" soon become really limited, that might be a disaster to British owners of coastal ships in India. So the Conference further suggests that

an agreement might be made between the several parts of the Commonwealth for a limited term of years, *containing a provision that the principles would not be departed from after the expiration of the agreed term without previous notification to the other members of the Commonwealth and consideration of their views.* (Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.)

As regards India, it is said on page 40 of the Report :

124. Subject to certain special provisions of the Merchant Shipping Acts, the legislative powers of the Indian Legislature are governed by the Government of India Act, and general statements regarding the position of the Dominions in matters of merchant shipping and Admiralty Court, legislation may therefore not be entirely applicable in the case of India. At the same time, as the position of India in these matters has always been to all intents and purposes identical with that of the Dominions, it is not anticipated that there would be any serious difficulty in applying the principles of our recommendations to India, and we suggest that the question of the proper method of so doing should be considered by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India.

Principle of Haji Bill Accepted by the Conference, But—

It will be seen that in theory the Conference has accepted the principle underlying the Haji Bill by stating that "each part of the Commonwealth will have full power to deal with its own coasting trade." But this acceptance has been sought to be made futile by the recommendation that for a "limited number of years" the present position should continue. Now, so far as the Dominions are concerned, their present position is not disadvantageous to them, because each of

them already has a mercantile marine or legal or other means to build up one. It is only India, in her present position which has practically no mercantile marine, and if the present position, so far as the law is concerned, is continued in India, we cannot have one.

Thus the Conference practically takes away with one hand what it gives with the other.

Support in Bengal to the Haji Bill

A huge public meeting, held at Albert Hall, Mr. Nirmal Chandra Chunder presiding, reiterated Bengal's strong support to the principles underlying Mr. Haji's Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill.

Speeches were made by Sir P. C. Ray, Sir Nilotan Sarkar, Messrs. Nalinranjan Sarkar, Hemendraprasad Ghose and Santoshkumar Bose.

The meeting carried, by an overwhelming majority, the resolution : "In view of the necessity of the development of an Indian mercantile marine in the interests of the country and in view of the fact that reservation of the coastal trade of the country is a recognized and legitimate method of building up a national marine this meeting of the citizens of Calcutta strongly supports Mr. Haji's bill."

Moving the resolution, Sir P. C. Ray said he was both a victim and sufferer from the discriminatory tactics of Lord Incheape and his henchmen. Being connected with the Inland Steam Navigation Company, Bengal, for the last 22 years, he knew what disgraceful rate-cutting was resorted to by the foreign shipping magnates. Sir P. C. Ray ascribed the failure of the Delhi Conference, convened by Viceroy, to the backstairs influence of foreign vested interests and observed : "The apparition of Lord Incheape must have haunted Lord Irwin and he must have been shaking like an aspen leaf."

Concluding, Sir P. C. Ray said that the best interests of the country demanded the passage of Mr. Haji's bill and they should issue a mandate to the representatives in the Assembly to support the bill.

There had been a smaller and less representative meeting held previously to oppose the Bill at which some specious arguments were used.

Woman Suffrage in Bengal

In the Legislative Council of Bengal a resolution recommending the removal of sex disqualification for the purposes of election to it was turned down the other day by 31 votes against 28. This defeat of the advocates of woman's rights was due to the Mahomedan members and a number of European members voting against the resolution. The Government remained nominally

neutral. But as Mr. Moberly laid stress on "practical difficulties" in the way of enfranchising the women of Bengal, that must have served as a hint to many members. It is to be regretted that Bengal lags behind most provinces in this matter.

Powerlessness of Bengal Ministers

Kumar Shibsekharewar Roy, a Bengal minister, is reported to have said in a circular letter, meant to be confidential but somehow published in the papers,

"I confess that during the short period that I have been in office I have not been able to show you anything very particular to claim your support. In fact, considering the present financial condition of Government I do not hope for any great achievement at any time."

This is an honest confession. The financial condition of Bengal has been brought about by legalized plunder of revenues raised in the province. We have held all along that, so long as the Bengal Government is kept poor, no man should become a minister here. Anybody who is asked by the Governor to become a minister should reply: "First show that you are in a position to give me sufficient money for my department according to the standard of Bombay and Madras, and then I can consider the offer." But, of course, those who want the salary of the minister and the so-called honour attached to the office, cannot possibly give such a reply.

What the Viceroy Intended by His Declaration

In the course of his address to the Legislative Assembly on January 25, on the subject of his declaration of October 31, 1929, the Viceroy observed:

"I have never sought to delude Indian opinion into the belief that a definition of the purpose, however plainly stated, would of itself, by the enunciation of a phrase, provide a solution for the problems which have to be solved before that purpose is realized. The assertion of the goal, however precise its terms, is of necessity a thing apart from that goal's attainment."

His Excellency claims by implication that "the purpose" was sufficiently "plainly stated" in the declaration. We hold a contrary opinion. We think that the purpose was clearly stated by him in his Lucknow Durbar address of the 7th February last in the following words, not before that date:

"Great Britain can never have any other purpose for India than to bring her to a place of equal partnership with the other self-governing Dominions. As a step towards the achievement of this purpose, His Majesty's Government, on whom along with Parliament the ultimate responsibility rests, have solicited the counsel of representatives drawn from the several sides of life and thought in India, that desire and deserve to have the opportunity of responding to His Majesty's Government's invitation." (Italics ours, Ed. M. R.)

In the Viceroy's declaration it was nowhere stated that the Round Table Conference was meant for taking a step in "the progressive realization" of Dominion status. We do not say that this omission was deliberate and intended "to delude Indian opinion." We are not concerned with Lord Irwin's intention but with how his declaration was understood in India and abroad. We have been, not excessively happily, convinced by the results of two trials in two law-courts that the Law also in India is concerned not with the declared intention of a speaker, writer or publisher but with what others understand that intention to have been.

Now, in India leaders of different political parties combined to issue a manifesto after Lord Irwin's declaration had been made public. India's foremost leaders were among them. They were all intelligent and educated men. Some were or had been distinguished lawyers. Some were conversant with affairs of State. They were unanimous in saying: "We understood that the conference is to meet, not to discuss when Dominion status shall be established, but to frame a scheme of Dominion constitution for India. We hope we are not mistaken in thus interpreting the import and the implications of this weighty pronouncement."

This is how those who wanted Dominion status understood the declaration.

Let us now see how the opponents of Dominion status for India understood it.

On the 9th November last *The New Statesman*, a well-known British weekly, published an editorial, headed "Lord Irwin's Blunder." Therein the editor observes:

The position of Lord Irwin is clear enough. He wished to be able to make a declaration which would avert the danger of that can reign of "civil disobedience" which was threatened on New Year's Day. Probably he has averted it, but at what cost? At the cost apparently of destroying the last scrap of confidence which remains in India in the integrity and good faith

of the British raj. Lord Irwin seems to be a believer in the doctrine of "Peace in our time, O Lord and after me the deluge." In all the circumstances of the case his official declaration in favour of "Dominion status" could only be taken in India to mean that that status was to be granted in the immediate future. That it did not mean that has been made perfectly clear by Lord Parmoor, but Lord Irwin must have known that it would be taken in that way in India and must have intended that it should be." (Italics and thick type ours. Ed., M.R.)

Not only Lord Parmoor, but Lord Irwin himself has subsequently at the Lucknow Durbar made it perfectly clear that his declaration did not mean that Dominion status was to be granted in the immediate future.

Evidently the editor of *The New Statesman* does not feel bound to give his countryman Lord Irwin a certificate for sincerity, as some of our countrymen do. After describing why, in his opinion, Dominion status "is simply not possible, either now or probably a hundred years hence," the editor adds :

"Dominion status" is therefore an intrinsically nonsensical term as applied to India. It can only be so applied with a conscious or semi-conscious intention to deceive. (Italics ours. Ed., M.R.)

"India and its Freedom"

Writing on the above topic, *The Nation* (New York, January 1, 1930) observes :

"To our minds no compromise is possible. It is the Indian people who must have the final say and no one else. From the day of its foundation this journal has been firmly committed to the doctrine that no amount of good government inflicted upon a people by officials from another country can take the place of self-government, however bad. This may be, as some say, carrying theory to indefensible ends. We can, however, no more yield our position than could the American Abolitionists who were told that if they persisted in their mad demands for freedom for the Negroes the United States would become nothing but a shambles.

So we are for having the people of India achieve freedom by the peaceful means of Gandhi. Any other course will obscure the issue, rouse the bitterest and vilest human passions, and give to the imperialists of Great Britain the very excuse they seek to renew what Colden himself characterized as the English "game of fraud, violence, and injustice in Asia." But however the issue may come out in the immediate future the fact is, in our judgment, that the day of white supremacy in backward and undeveloped countries is drawing to a close, if only because of the lessons of hypocrisy and deceit and wholesale murder which the superior races taught to their inferiors from 1911 to 1918.

Mr. C. F. Andrews on India's Right to Freedom

Mr. C. F. Andrews has contributed to the same number of the same American weekly an article, entitled "What next in India" in which occur the following paragraphs :

If then the question be asked : "Would you be ready to intrust India during this coming year with full responsible government, both provincial and central?" I would answer, "Yes." If I were further asked concerning any safeguards to the minorities and to the depressed classes that might be needed, the reply would be that there would necessarily go along with the new constitution, a declaration of rights, these rights to be so framed as to comprise a statutory law which no Parliament could overrule or annul.

Lastly, if the problem of military and naval defences were raised, I would point out that India is already an original member of the League of Nations and a signatory of the Paris Pact and also of the World Court. Her record is one of peace with her neighbours, not of war. Also it should be pointed out that not a single dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations has a full self-supporting armament as yet, either by land or sea. If officers from England were still needed to carry over the Indian Army intact into the new constitution, they would surely be willing to continue their service for that purpose as long as they were needed. Important details of gradual transference of responsibility could be agreed on, with the necessary accommodations, when once the main issue of full self-government was decided.

age of India was remarkable for its missionary, cultural and colonizing enterprise in the greater part of Asia (including Japan and the Philippines) and the Indian Archipelago. Buddhism with its belief in *Karma*, is one of the principal religions of Japan. "The debt Japan owes to Buddhism, especially in early days, in the development of her civilization must be said to be incalculable." (*Japan Year Book*). Yet Japan is progressive and is beating Lancashire even in Britain.

Sir Basil Blackett and men of that kidney always manage to forget that caste is losing its hold on Hindus and that many of those who have been and are most active and determined in destroying the rigidity of caste and the hold of priests on the Hindu community are themselves Brahmins. Apologists for British rule will not succeed in making the world believe that it has done its duty in India and has done nothing to make and keep India poor and illiterate.

Compulsory Education for Girls in Allahabad

The Allahabad Municipal Board is to be congratulated on having unanimously passed a resolution to introduce compulsory education for girls in a part of Allahabad city. For this progressive step great credit is due to Babu Sangamlal Agarwala, who moved the resolution. He it was that started the idea and has all along taken great interest in the subject and in women's education generally. He may be called the father of the Mahila Vidyapith at Allahabad, which is a kind of women's university. The *Leader* rightly observes in this connection that "the Allahabad Municipal Board is the first in northern India and one of the fewest in all India, of local bodies to take this forward step in the direction of progress, and this greatly redounds to its credit." It is to be hoped that other municipalities in India will emulate its example.

Bengal Irrigation Problems

The inaugural address on the "Ancient System of Irrigation in Bengal and its Application to Modern Problems" which Sir William Willcocks has delivered as a Reader of the Calcutta University is a very important one. According to this great authority :

"That the system of overflow irrigation of the ancient Bengal rulers is the only one adapted to Bengal and to all countries similarly conditioned is amply borne out by what has happened in the last 70 years."

In his opinion, the system of "overflow irrigation, evolved by the rulers of ancient Bengal some 3,000 years ago, could be re-introduced in the Ganges and Damodar deltas." Continuing he said :

The delta of the Ganges is not rainless like Egypt, nor is it a dry thirsty land like Babylonia. It enjoys a rainfall of from 50 to 60 inches just when all the rivers are in flood ; and it was to make full use of the rich waters of the Ganges and Damodar floods and the abundant but poor water of the monsoon rainfall that some early Bengal king thought out and put in practice the system of "overflow irrigation" of the Ganges and Damodar deltas which insured health and wealth to Bengal for very many hundreds of years. This system is as perfectly suited to meet the special needs of Bengal as "basin irrigation" suits those of Egypt or "perennial irrigation" meets those of Babylonia.

The overflow canals of Bengal fall behind the great irrigation works of other countries in no particular whatever.

We may be quite sure that the ancient irrigators of Bengal did not hit upon it at once, but adopted it after trials and experiments lasting over many years, and we may rest assured, after seeing the results of seventy years of abandonment of it, that there is nothing before the country but to return to it.

Mr. Kirby Page on the Indian Situation

Mr. Kirby Page, editor of *The World To-morrow* and author of *Jesus or Christianity*, who recently toured through India, has contributed to *Unity*, Chicago, an article on "Gandhi, Nehru, and Revolt India," which was written at Sabarmati. The following paragraph in it may be taken as a convincing reply to those who want that all Indians and all sections of them must make a unanimous demand before it can be listened to :

rulers if responsible self-government is not granted at an early date.

Mr. Pogo supports non-violent methods and gives reasons for his opinion.

India obviously cannot gain freedom by war. But other methods are available. The non-violent non-co-operation movement led by Gandhi in 1920 and 1921 came very nearly succeeding, as British officials have since admitted. In desperation the Mahatma may again summon his people to a programme of non-co-operation. More than 30,000 Indians gladly went to prison during the former campaign and an even greater number may again crowd the jails of the land. If another General Dyer, under the sway of the military mindset that law and order must be maintained at any cost, should again shoot down in cold blood hundreds of Indians as was done at Amritsar, the situation might easily get out of hand all over the country. After all, there are only 165,000 Britishers in the whole of India. An inflamed and infuriated nation of 320 millions cannot permanently be ruled by British bayonets.

"Student Life in Munich"

We have received a copy of an advisory guide book with the above title. It is illustrated and popularly written and gives one an adequate idea of Munich and its educational facilities and the cost of living, etc., there. What is true of Munich must be true to a considerable extent of other university towns in Germany. Those of our students who want to go to Munich or any other German University for post-graduate studies will do well to get a copy of it from the Managing Director of Deutsche Akademie Auslandsstelle, Munich, and read it.

Cause of Growth of Madras Non-Brahmin Party

According to the *Searchlight* of Patna, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani related the following anecdote in the course of a lecture at Vizagapatam :

The speaker happened to be in England in 1919 at the time of the deliberations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee when Lord Sinha was cross-examining Sir Alexander Cardew of the Madras Government. Lord Sinha asked him what was the cause of the growth of the Non-Brahmin party in Madras, whereon the ex-Member of the Madras Government stated that it was due to the down-trodden condition of the non-Brahmins in Madras. Lord Sinha then asked whether the Government was in any way responsible for the growth of the movement, whereon Sir Cardew answered in the emphatic negative. Lord Sinha then read a passage from

the Blue Books in his hand where it was said that the Government encouraged the Non-Brahmin movement headed by Sir P. Thyagaraya Cheth and Dr. Nair as an antidote to the influence of the politically minded Brahmins and asked Sir Alexander whether he subscribed to that opinion and whether he ever expressed such an opinion when he was in the Madras Government. An equally emphatic "No" was the answer. Lord Sinha then showed him the despatch from the Government of Madras bearing Sir Alexander's own signature and asked him whether the signature was not his. Sir Cardew had to admit that the signature was his, and, when asked what he had to say, he said he had no more to say, whereon Lord Sinha said he had no more questions to put either.

Sir Malcolm Hailey on Civil Disobedience

On the 19th February last, speaking in the United Provinces Council, Sir Malcolm Hailey, Governor of that province, said with reference to civil obedience : "When we are promised civil disobedience we remember Chauri Chaura ..." But why he did not remember the civil disobedience movements in South Africa, Champaran, Kheda, Bardoli, Bandabala, etc., in all of which the Indian passive resisters were strictly non-violent, can be easily explained. It does not suit the purpose of Anglo-Indians. Nor does it suit their purpose to remember that during the palmiest days of non-co-operation, owing to Mahatma Gandhi's teaching of *ahimsa*, violent political crimes had almost disappeared from the country.

While saying that "it was out of place to utter threats of repression," Sir Malcolm nevertheless uttered the threat that

If the extreme wing started Civil Disobedience the Government would use every legal means to defeat it and in the event of legal resources proving insufficient the Government hoped that it would receive the support of the public and the Council in securing such fresh legal provision as was required. The Government could not stand aloof if a small section did actually attempt to gain sovereignty for itself by shattering the existing social order.

That is quite clear to those who are preparing themselves for the non-violent struggle for freedom, and they are quite ready to suffer for the cause. "In the event of legal resources proving insufficient," the Government need not ask the Council for "fresh legal provision." Many executive officers have been known in the past to have had recourse to non-legal, if not illegal, resources to repress political activity.

The Bengal Budget

So long as Bengal continues to be deprived of the greater part of the revenues collected in the province, its budget can never be satisfactory. Governor after Governor has pointed out that the arrangement which gives rise to this state of things is unjust and unsatisfactory. But not one of them has resigned in consequence, though that is the only practical way to protest against it.

It is waste of time and energy and space to examine the Bengal budget in detail.

Dr. Gokul Chand at Anti-Caste Conference

Dr. Gokul Chand Narang, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Jat-Pat-Torak Conference, held at Lahore, observed that caste was the greatest curse of the Hindu community. To illustrate the absurd lengths to which caste superstitions can go he quoted the following from a writer on the subject :

"In Cuttack, the most southerly district of Bengal there is, as pointed out by the same author, no intercourse between potters who turn their wheels sitting and make small pots, and then who stand up to manufacture large pots. A certain class of dairymen who make butter from unboiled milk have been excluded from the caste and cannot marry the daughters of milkmen who follow the more orthodox principles. In certain parts of India fisherfolk who knit the meshes of their nets from right to left cannot intermarry with those who knit left to right."

He told the following story from Maratha history as an example of what caste had to do with the defeat of the Hindus in battle by foreigners :

Even in the palmiest days of Hindu renaissance under the glorious Mahratta empire, Caste did not cease to have its baneful effects and ultimately proved, *inter alia*, a potent factor in the disruption of the Mahratta confederacy. During the third battle of Panipat, the Mahrattas had assembled in all their strength and glory on one side and Ahmad Shah Abdali lay encamped on the other with a comparatively small army. He had been feeling depressed and nervous over the superior numbers of the Mahrattas. One evening he went out reconnoitring with his generals and while looking at the Mahratta camp he saw innumerable lights shining like stars, and enquired what these lights represented. He was told that the Mahrattas were cooking their meals. "But surely," said the king, "they cannot have such an infinite number of messes." He was told that the Mahrattas had so many castes and each caste had its own mess and almost each soldier cooked his own food separately ! "Is that so ?" said Akbar, "then I am

not afraid of the Mahrattas." The result is known to the world.

Sir Pheroze Sethna at the Liberal Federation

When Sir Pheroze Sethna delivered his able presidential address to the National Liberal Federation in Madras in December last, the Congress had not passed its independence resolution. Therefore, he was quite accurate in saying, "We are all agreed as regards our political goal," so far of course as the majority of political parties in India were concerned. He added :

It is to us a matter of the sincerest satisfaction that the British Government have made it absolutely clear that that goal is no other than and nothing short of Dominion status. Dominion status will give us every scope for rising to the fullest height of our national stature. As regards this goal there is perfect agreement not only among all Indians except those who want independence, but also between them and the British.

The British Government's promise, not being definite as to time, is not much of a promise, and so it is useless to speculate as to what scope it will give us. Sir Pheroze was not accurate when he said that the British were agreed as to India's goal. Did he not read the British die-hard and Liberal outbursts against Lord Irwin's declaration of October 31, 1929, before inditing his address?

Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni at the Social Conference

As Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 42nd Indian National Social Conference, held at Lahore in December last, Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni delivered an important address. In the course of it he said :

We have definitely decided to extend the scope of the Conference by including in our programme such subjects as child-welfare, domestic hygiene, mother craft, public health and sanitation, factory labour and the social problems connected with it, and generally questions like co-operation, cottage industries and primary education which affect the social well-being of the masses and which are included in the comprehensive phrase "rural reconstruction."

The All-India organization for social reform for which he pleaded is also an accomplished fact. We hope it will give a good account of itself.

'Social Conference—Presidential Address

Mr. Har Bilas Sarda's presidential address at this Conference was thoughtful and inspiring. He held the correct view that social and political advancement should go hand in hand.

Life forces are not static; they keep ever changing. A social system, to be a living and growing organism, must adjust itself to the needs of the times. "A readiness to revise the valuation of facts and standard of life, whenever necessary or called for, is essential to the continuance of social life.

To India's women his exhortation was:

Let the sons and daughters you rear be such as would uphold the honour of the country and restore to our motherland her past grandeur and glory.

To our men :

Cultivate the spirit of self-denial of the Brahmin of old, become as fearless and as devoted to duty as the Rajput of medieval times.

Shanno Devi Collects One Lakh

Shrimati Shanno Devi, Head Mistress of the Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jullundur, had taken a vow that she would not return to her school before collecting a hundred thousand rupees for it. She toured in India in pursuance of her vow and collected varying amounts from the different provinces. But as the total (Rs. 65,000) did not come up to one lakh, she crossed over to Africa. The balance she secured in Tanganyika alone. We had seen her more than once before, and it gave us great pleasure to meet her again in Lahore in December last. Her self-sacrifice, devotion, courage, perseverance and endurance cannot be too highly praised. She is the pride of the Punjab—nay, of the whole of India. Other Indian women who want to devote themselves to and promote some good cause would do well to follow her example. The New Delhi correspondent of *The Tribune*, having met her at the metropolis, wrote to that paper some time ago :

Giving the remarkable experiences of her tour she says that Europeans in East Africa were so ill-informed about India's civilization and progress that they were surprised to find her so free and travelling all by her-elf and holding such advanced views. This indeed enlisted the sympathy of some of the Europeans and they not only gave her donations but also helped to get them from others.

She found the Indians in East Africa burning with the desire for Swamy for India which they believe would give them real strength. She found



Shrimati Shanno Devi

Indians in Tanganyika very generous with their purse and very anxious for the advancement of education of women, so she started schools and also inaugurated a movement for the removal of purda among women. She also advised them to see to it that the native interests were not subordinated to those of the others.

She says Hindu-Muslim friendship in East Africa should be taken as an example to be followed by the two communities in India.

She hopes soon to return to the other parts of East Africa and also proposes to visit South Africa, as she feels that our countrymen in those colonies need assistance of pioneer educational workers especially for the uplift of women.

their old clothes over again till they can make new ones."

Akshay Kumar Maitra

By the death of Akshay Kumar Maitra Bengal loses one of her leading historical and antiquarian writers. He was the first among them to question the truth of many of the accusations heaped by British writers on Siraj-ud-daula. All his conclusions may not be accepted, but it must be admitted that he has proved the falsity of some of the charges. His work on Siraj-ud-daula is remarkable for brilliance and elegance of style. He wrote much on other historical subjects also. He contributed several articles to this Review on the "Stones of Varendra." He wrote on other topics of archaeological interest also, particularly some relating to Bengali cultural and other achievements at home and abroad. He worked hard in connection with the editing of *Gauda-Rajamala* and *Gauda-Lekhamala*. He will be long remembered with gratitude in connection with the foundation and carrying on of the work of the Varendra Research Society, which has so much excellent work to its credit. Latterly, for years, he had been in indifferent health and could not, therefore, actively pursue his favourite studies and researches. But educated Bengalis of even the younger generation feel grateful to him for the work of his earlier years which did so much to revive national self-respect in Bengal.

The Indian Olympic Association

The *Tribune's* special correspondent has furnished that paper with particulars of the meeting of the Council of the Indian Olympic Association, held at Allahabad on the 6th, 7th and 8th February on the occasion of the All-India Olympic trials.

PLAYING FIELDS FOR ALL

The Council considered the question of 'playing fields for all' and very strongly recommended to all the provincial associations to make surveys of the requirements and facilities for playing fields in all census towns. The council felt that such surveys were absolutely essential but could not be carried out without Government help. The provincial associations were, therefore, asked to approach their respective Governments for help in this matter.

All villages also should have playing fields for all. But they are more easily available there than in towns. Separate playing fields

should be provided everywhere for girls and women.

STADIUM

The Council also considered the question of the stadiums and resolved that while it was desirable to have a stadium in every province, the Government of India should be approached to erect a model stadium at Delhi where inter-provincial and Far Eastern championships could be held.

There should be a model stadium in every provincial capital, and stadia in all other towns.

ATHLETICS FOR WOMEN

The Council was strongly in favour of encouraging athletics for women and called upon every provincial association to take steps to organize them in a suitable manner.

Part of the scheme should be to provide all girls' schools and colleges with playgrounds.

INCLUSION OF OTHER GAMES

The Council was of the opinion that the scope of the bi-annual Indian Olympic games be enlarged to include any other game or sport for which four provinces were willing to enter teams.

Indian games, such as *ha-du-du-du* in Bengal, should be included.

SWIMMING CHAMPIONSHIP

The Council decided to hold a Swimming Championship every odd year from 1931 onwards in the month of May.

An Incorrect Viceregal Statement

At a state banquet given by the Nawab of Malerkotla Lord Irwin said

"Your Highness is at one with your brother princes and the preponderance of the people of India in giving voice to your approval of the Conference which is before long to take place in London."

All persons in India who have eyes and ears and use them—particularly those of them who are literate—know that, of all representative political bodies, the Congress has by far the largest following. And this body has declared itself against taking part in the Round Table Conference. The demonstrations held all over the country on January 26 in celebration of "Independence Day," in pursuance of the Congress mandate, show the influence of that body. If in spite of such facts, Lord Irwin thinks that the majority of politically-minded Indians are in favour of the Round Table Conference, his opinion cannot but be taken as a fresh illustration of the saying "None are so blind as those who will not

see, none so deaf as those who will not hear."

Failure of British Mandate in Palestine

The Times (London) in its issue of December 20th, 1929, publishes the following interesting letter in its editorial page.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—As members of the War Cabinet which was responsible for the Balfour Declaration 12 years ago and for the policy of the National Home for the Jewish people which it foreshadowed, we view with deep anxiety the present situation in Palestine. On the events of last August, which are now the subject of inquiry by a special Commission, we forbear to comment. But it seems clear that, whatever the finding of that Commission may be on the responsibility for the August outbreak, the work to which Britain set her hand at the close of the War is not proceeding satisfactorily.

The Balfour Declaration pledged us to a policy; the Palestine Mandate entrusted us with vital administrative duties; but causes which are still obscure have impeded the task of administration, and consequently the full carrying out of policy.

In these circumstances we would urge on the Government the appointment of an authoritative Commission to investigate the whole working of the Mandate. The Commission at present in Palestine was appointed with limited terms of reference to inquire into specific matters. This Commission, in our view, must, as soon as it has reported, be supplemented by a searching inquiry into the major questions of policy and administration. Our pledge is unequivocal but in order to fulfil it in the letter and the spirit, a considerable readjustment of the administrative machine may be desirable. Such a Commission would be an advertisement to the world that Britain has not weakened in a task to which her honour is pledged, and at the same time an assurance to Jews and Arabs alike that any proven defects in the present system of government will be made good. (Italics ours)

BALFOUR

D. Lloyd George J. C. Smuts

The Times in the same issue publishes an editorial entitled "The Palestine Mandate," in which occurs the following significant passage:

"The success of the Palestine Mandate is a major interest to the British Empire. Nor will the obligations of honour and the prompting of a natural sentiment inspired by the Holy Land counsel the abandonment of a plain duty."

So far as we understand, the Mandatory system was inaugurated for the supposed purpose of saving the people under Turkish and German misrule through the trusteeship of the League of Nations! Of course, it is well known that the Balfour Declaration championed the policy of establishment of the National Home for the Jewish People in Palestine; because by so doing Great Britain would secure the support of the Jewish

world in her international policy. This phase of the real purpose of the Balfour Declaration has been amplified by Col. Joshua Wedgwood, M. P., in his work "The Seventh Dominion." But the interesting and most important fact is that Lord Balfour, Mr. Lloyd George, and General Smuts are anxious to let the world know that Britain is determined to maintain the British Mandate; whereas the *Times* in its editorial makes it clear that for the promotion of imperial interests of the British Empire and also for religious reasons, Britain should control the destiny of Palestine.

What is the relation between the British control (Mandate) over Palestine and the promotion of British imperial interests. Is British control over Palestine a necessity for the preservation of the British Empire and its further expansion in Asia? Is the Mandate system nothing less than an instrument to promote imperialism?

T. D.

Are Indians Able to Assume the Responsibility for National Defence?

Sir Jadunath Sarkar and some other Indians have no faith in the Indians' ability to assume full responsibility for Indian National Defence. In the December issue the editor of *The Modern Review* has ably disposed of the principal arguments of Sir Jadunath. In this connection, I take the liberty of drawing the attention of the Indian public to the following opinion of a British admiral on Indian ability to master the problems of naval defence. *The Times* (London) of December 31, 1929, published the following:

Extracts from a review of the progress of the reorganized Royal Indian Marine, dated June 7, 1929, by Rear-Admiral H. T. Walwyn, Flag Officer Commanding and Director, during the first six months of his command, have been issued by the India Office. The chief points are as follows:

I arrived at Bombay, and assumed command on November 16, 1928, hoisting my flag in Dalhousie. The first matter to claim my attention was the acute shortage of personnel, both of officers and men. To remedy the shortage of men, approval was obtained to replace the trained seamen and stokers, 61 in all, serving in the Dockyard Police, by newly entered sepoys, so that the former could be drafted to ships. This has eased the situation for the time being, and the sepoys are satisfactory. A certain number of ex-Royal Indian Marine men were coming back to enrol in the reorganized Service, but recruitment from this source has now, to all intents and purposes, ceased. At the present moment the Service is still 184 men short of establishment.

A recruiting party was organized and dispatched with a lieutenant R. I. M. in charge to tour the Punjab districts. The Punjab was chosen, as many letters had been received from there concerning service in the Marine, and it seemed likely to prove the most profitable source. A most satisfactory result was obtained, many hundreds applying to be recruited. Fifty boys were entered, and a further 50 will be taken in October, as the training ship Dalhousie cannot accommodate more than 100 at one time. The present Punjabi boys are of excellent physique, and all appear to be happy and contented; they are quickly taking to their new surroundings.

The officers of the Royal Indian Marine are excellent. They are very keen on their service and only too anxious to be told what, to my mind, they do wrong. They are rapidly picking up gunnery, tactics, etc., and will do very well. They are all very glad that the period of doubt and shadow as to the future of their service is at an end. I am most favourably impressed with the men. Their discipline and bearing are excellent, and their behaviour on shore is exemplary. They are very keen and take the greatest interest in competitive exercises. They are good at boatwork and quite good seamen. They are not in the slightest bit "gun-shy" and only rather overkeen and excitable. I consider the present boys under training will be ideal material for the sea service.

From the many letters and applications I have received from good-class Indians to join the commissioned ranks of the R. I. M. I think that there will be no lack of volunteers. From what I have seen of the cadets of the Indian Mercantile training ship Dufferin I should be delighted to have the best of them for the R. I. M. I see a great future for the Indian youth who joins this service with his heart in it.

Commanding officers have rapidly improved in the handling of their ships, and, although at first there was much to be desired, by the time the Squadron returned to Bombay (after a month's cruise) they were quite good and will be a great deal better before long.

The signalling efficiency of the force calls for my outstanding commendation. The signalmen are really quite excellent, quick, accurate and most keen. Evolutions and tactics by day and by night were carried out with a rapidity to which every one was quite unaccustomed, but throughout the cruise the Signal Department never failed.

The gunnery has, of course, a long way to go before ships are satisfactory, but, from my personal and daily observation during the cruise I can safely say that by December next the ships will be efficient in elementary single-ship gunnery.

What the recruits from the Punjab have proved about their ability to master the problems of naval science, can also be accomplished by the youth of Madras, Maharashtra, Bombay, Bengal and other provinces; and it is to be hoped that recruits for the Royal Indian Marine will be chosen from all provinces. Lastly, it may be emphasized, to remove the curse of inferiority complex of Indians, due to their political slavery, *that there is nothing like "nordic superiority*

or racial superiority of certain European peoples over the Asians. Whenever equal opportunity has been afforded to Indians, they have proved that they can hold their own in competition with others. Indians need unfettered opportunity to master all branches of national defence: and then they will be able to give a very good account of their ability. In the meantime Indians will have to work harder to acquire efficiency in mastering the problems of national defence and developing the required conditions to assume responsibility for it.

T D.

Are Indians Inferior to the Siamese in their Ability to Assume Responsibilities of National Defence?

The Times (London) of December 31st publishes the following news item about the visit of the Siamese air-officers.

Colonel Phya Vachayan and Lieutenant Phalanusandhi, of the Siamese Air force, who are among the airmen visiting India at the invitation of the Government, made a forced landing on the banks of the Ganges near Curzon Bridge, Allahabad yesterday. The machine was badly damaged and the officers were injured, though not seriously, and are in hospital.

So there are Siamese Colonels in the Siamese national air force. Siam's population is about one-fortieth of that of India; yet Siam can develop a national air force manned and officered by Siamese, whereas in India, under the enlightened and progressive leadership of British military genius it is not possible for Indians to become officers in the Indian air force. The British masters of the Indian people and some Indians labouring under the inferiority complex may say that the Siamese are superior to the Indian people, but very few sane Indians will believe in this assertion. Let the Indian people have their own national military academies, Naval Colleges and Air Colleges, and let them have unfettered opportunity in mastering the science of National Defence and then they will be able to give a good account of their ability.

In this connection I may record the opinion of one of the foremost European scientists, who very recently visited India, about Indian ability to master pure and applied science. This scientist in answer to my question of what impressed him the most about India, told me that the most

astonishing thing of all was that within the last twenty-five years Indian scholars have shown marvellous ability in mastering various branches of pure and applied science. The world was told that the Indian people were meditative and could not master modern science, but this false assumption has been completely shattered now.

Those who are able to master pure and applied science are quite capable of assuming the responsibility of National Defence; because modern methods of national defence are nothing but applications of various branches of science in warfare. Let me again emphasize the point that Indians are capable of assuming the responsibility of national defence, if they only have the opportunity of acquiring knowledge. It seems to me that the British Statesmen are fully aware of Indian ability and for this very reason they do not wish to afford opportunities to Indians to acquire military, naval and aerial experience and knowledge.

T. D.

Lady Irwin and the Education of Women of India

The Nizam celebrated the visit of Lord and Lady Irwin by sending a cheque for £2,000, to be devoted to charities in which she is interested. "*Lady Irwin intends to give the whole amount to the All India Women's Education Fund of which she is President.*" The general appeal issued last year has so far met with a disappointing result and Lady Irwin is very anxious to raise sufficient money before she leaves India to make possible the initiation of at least one of the schemes urgently required for the advancement of Women's Education."

We heartily commend Lady Irwin's desire to promote the cause of education of the women of India, though it cannot be admitted that the efforts of Viceroy's wives to extract money from Indian rulers and capitalists for philanthropic projects prove the sincerity of the British-Indian Government's professions of zeal for India's welfare or are an atonement for its neglect of the same. It may be that Indian Princes and rich men and women will follow the example of her



Workers and Members of the All-India Women's Education Fund Committee

ladyship in encouraging the cause of women's education in India by establishing endowment funds in connection with the existing institutions and association devoted to the cause of education of women. Furthermore, we hope that her ladyship will be able to induce the Viceroy to take practical steps so that the Central Government of India and provincial governments will establish adequate number of state scholarships for the education of women of India. We may point out that even Afghanistan under King Amanullah appropriated a very large sum of money for state scholarships for women, when the resources of the government of that country are very much less than those of the British Indian government.

We have always heard that owing to lack of funds, the Government of India or the provincial governments cannot undertake far-reaching schemes for education. India's military expenditure is a great burden on her revenues, and the Indian Government has increased its expenses for its C. I. D. forces and sedition trials. It can borrow millions of pounds from foreign capitalists to meet such expenses as are not vital for the progress of the nation, but it cannot undertake much desired schemes for the education of the people. Let us hope that Lady Irwin will be able to do something to induce the Government of India to spend some money for the education of Indian women! Her pleas may be respectfully heard while Indian agitation on the question may be labelled as spreading disaffection!

T. D.

Dr. Kitchlew's Address at the Congress

The long address which Dr. Shaifuddin Kitchlew delivered at the Lahore Congress as chairman of its reception committee was a powerful and thoughtful one. He had evidently taken great pains to write it. Without meaning to underrate his opinions on other subjects, we may say that his pronouncement on communalism and connected topics was very timely, as the following portion of it will show:

The dreams of Hindu Raj or Muslim Raj are just as foolish, as wild and mischievous, as the false and meaningless cries of religion in danger. The talk of Hindu Raj or Muslim Raj is not practical politics. There is only one Raj—the Indian Raj which must be our goal and for the attainment of which we must be ready to lay down our lives.

People who talk so loudly of religion, do not really understand what they talk about. They only exploit the religious susceptibilities of poor ignorant men for their selfish motive, and personal gain. It is not religion that is in danger. It is the overwrought sense of religiosity that is in danger. Religion is a great moral force and is safe in India but religiosity as preached and practised by a selfish hierarchy or by pseudo-religious leaders is rotten to the core.

The Dacca Riots

The recent Dacca riots, like all other previous Hindu-Moslem riots, will no doubt be used by opponents of Indian self-rule to show what India will be like without British domination. But in reply, we must point out again and again that these riots take place *under British rule, not under Swaraj*, and, therefore, they cannot prove what India will be like under Swaraj. Should it be argued that if the strong arm of the Britisher were withdrawn, things would get worse, it would be open to those who believe that communal tension has increased because of certain British methods and measures, to answer that there would be at least an equal probability of things improving if British domination were to end.

As regards the origin of the riots, it is significant that the police anticipated communal disturbances on "Independence Day." As that day's celebrations were not a communal function but one in which Indians of any faith could join (and in fact did join in many places), it is open to any one to say that the very anticipation of evil may have served as an incitement to evil-doers.

Unlicensed processions were prohibited by the police in Dacca on that day. So, according to *The Statesman's* special correspondent, the Congress leaders made it known among their followers that there would be no processions that day, but the students announced by means of handbills that there would be. According to the same paper,

The handbills came to the notice of the police, who were placed in a dilemma. Eventually they decided that to attempt to stop the processions would be courting disorder and that the best policy was to let the processions alone and to prosecute their leaders afterwards.

This was a strange decision. At first unlicensed processions were prohibited by the police "to avoid any disturbance"; but when the prohibition was disregarded, such processions were let alone, i. e., allowed, in

future very seriously. But as regards the British Commonwealth of Nations we have a right to expect him to be closer to realities. His description of the "British Empire as a Commonwealth "where the diverse gifts of each constituent part may be linked for the common betterment of whole society and of the human race," leaves us absolutely unconvinced and cold. It is the sort of eloquent commonplace which, since the promulgation of the Report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee of 1926, it has become the proper thing to say about the British Empire in after-dinner speeches. And as regards the report itself, we have never had much respect for it on the score of logical consistency or even sincerity. That, perhaps, is a rather strong expression to use, but we do not think it is quite undeserved. There are many able English observers who frankly admit that the report of the Imperial Conference of 1926 was the outcome of an English inferiority complex in the face of the attitude of some of the Dominions. We find, for example, Sir John Marriott, the well-known constitutional historian, writing in the *Nineteenth Century and After* for January, 1930 :

The Imperial Conference of 1926 was greatly influenced by a desire to make the Imperial "yoke" as light as possible for the least loyal of the Dominions. Phrases, undeniably if not designedly ambiguous, were inserted in the Report on Inter-Imperial Relations in the interests of unanimity and in the hope of reconciling the irreconcilable. The central doctrine of the British constitution—the sovereignty of Parliament—was seemingly surrendered with similar intent. Is it worth while?

Are we not running a serious risk of poisoning the whole body-politic of the Empire for the sake of saving a diseased limb? Would not amputation be a healthier alternative?

Yet, we do not wholly deny that the pacifistic and cosmopolitan ideas of the post-war years have not played their part in the shaping of the new theory of the Empire. As a matter of fact, they have served a very useful purpose in the transition, having on the one hand helped the British people to the pleasant self-deception that they were acting upon magnanimous motives when they were really weakly surrendering to the rampant nationalism of the Dominions, and on the other, enabling the Dominion statesmen to cloak their ambitions under a thin disguise of loyalty to a typically illogical British edition of the League of Nations. This, in fact, is the farthest point

to which the interaction between two sets of ideas which respectively underlie the organization of the British Empire and that of the League of Nations can profitably be demonstrated. Beyond it they part company.

The analogy between the British Commonwealth of Nations and the League of Nations which seems to haunt the mind of Lord Irwin has also been drawn by other writers. But it is no more than a surface resemblance. The League of Nations is founded upon positive ideals, however weak, at the present moment, in their hold over the thoughts of the present generation; the evolution of Dominion status is a negative phenomenon, a progressive surrender to the self-assertiveness of the Dominions, an uneasy and unstable compromise between the two irreconcilable ideals of Imperial unity and Dominions Nationalism, a loosening of the central authority which once was effective, the dissolution of a super-state, a recognition, in fact, of the impotence of Great Britain, which no amount of lip-service to the ideals of international co-operation will hide from the eyes of the world.

An Anglo-Saxon Federation

These are the conclusions we cannot resist when we consider the centrifugal tendencies of the Dominions and the ever-growing defeatism of the people of Great Britain. But it would be a very inaccurate description of the British Empire as it exists today. Even after the resolutions of the Imperial Conference of 1926, Professor Berriedale Keith would not admit that any change has come over the basic powers of the Imperial Government. This we should think is a rather questionable opinion to advance, but leaving aside niceties of constitutional law we venture to think that the realities of the political relationship as between the Dominions and Great Britain are to be found reflected in the last paragraph of chapter 2 of the Report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee rather than in the theoretical declarations of equality, autonomy and perfect freedom from compulsion. The paragraph to which we allude runs as follows :

"Equality of status, so far as Britain and the Dominions are concerned, is thus the root principle governing our Inter-Imperial Relations. But the principles of equality and similarity, appropriate



The Sandstone Head—Left Side

bring the sculpture to the notice of scholars and the public.

The prominent nose of Samudragupta is the outstanding feature in his coin portrait. The feature descends into the pictures of

his descendants. The feature is also remarkable in this face.

Without much details, which are never resorted to by Gupta sculptors, the individual effect is marvellous. Art critics would probably agree that it does not deserve oblivion.

The Man Behind the Machine, Rest and Efficiency

By D. M. SEN, PH. D.

THE question of fatigue brings with it naturally the problem of rest. Work and rest must be balanced in a way so as to enable the worker to attain his maximum output with the least possible

exertion. A certain degree of fatigue is the natural consequence of all kinds of activity. Within a reasonable limit it is healthy and it is within everybody's experience that "that tired feeling" is anything but unpleasant. The

to status, do not universally extend to function. Here we require something more than immutable dogmas. For example, to deal with questions of diplomacy and questions of defence, we require also flexible machinery—machinery which can, from time to time, be adapted to the changing circumstances of the world."

If this passage means anything, it means that the so-called "equal partnership" of the Dominions with Great Britain is not a reality in some very important respects. Here we have also a justification for the practical supremacy of the mothercountry and a mental reservation which makes it easy for the people of Great Britain to go back upon the vague concessions they have made to the Dominions. Great Britain, no doubt, is only the managing director of the Company, but it is a managing directorship which she would not like to see go out of her hands. But what if the Dominions take it into their head to exercise their theoretical powers in right earnest? In spite of the illogical genius of the English people, of which we have heard so much, it would result, one is justified in thinking, in confusion worse confounded. As a matter of fact, the concessions already made by Great Britain to the Dominions have made the problem of conducting Imperial affairs one of transcendental difficulty. We are therefore not surprised to find political thought veering round to a tightening of the Imperial bond. Even General Smuts, the Imperialist representative of a potentially disloyal Dominion, felt called upon to raise his voice in warning against the extravagant nationalistic aspirations of the component parts of the Empire. Purely British opinion in this matter is as was only to be expected still more emphatic in its protest. "Augur" of the *Fortnightly*, for example, writes:

The Commonwealth—a free partnership of nations—by all means, but not a house, some of the inhabitants of which remain to set it on fire. The Dominions with centrifugal tendencies of this sort should be told: We are the strongest, richest and all round the most powerful member of the Commonwealth, which without us cannot exist. If you dislike our company, you are free to leave it. Such language we are certain will have the result of strengthening the Imperial bond, because those that protest today will then discover the advantage to them of remaining in the combination. (*Fortnightly Review*, January, 1930.)

No less outspoken is Sir John Marriott from whose article we have already quoted a passage:

Nationalism today is suspect, and it is the

primary function of a League of "Nations" to minimize its implications. And this is the moment selected for the re-assertion of an obsolescent and disintegrating principle in the bosom of an Empire which provides the most powerful instrument yet devised for the maintenance of world peace. The irony of the situation is manifest. Can anything be done to alleviate it? Of the legal links of the Empire the only two which possess much practical validity today are the Crown and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Of some of the Dominions the loyalty to the Crown is not above suspicion.

Most ardently do I hope that the ensuing Imperial Conference will take a stronger line than the last with the malcontents.

Perhaps it will. But will it not by pursuing that policy precipitate the very crisis it wants to avoid? This is a question which makes it incumbent upon us to look closer and explore the real sanctions of the unity of the Empire. It lies as everybody knows in the sentiment of solidarity of the Anglo-Saxons in the Empire which safeguards its unity against the disruptive activities of the Dutch, the Irish, the French Canadians, and the insurgent nationalism of the Blacks and Browns. It is this fact, which Prof. Arnold J. Toynbee had in mind when he wrote the following words which were quoted in the February number of the *Modern Review* (p. 236):

".....The fact that the Dominions were no longer held within the British Empire by any sanction imposed by Great Britain did not mean that they were subject to no sanction at all. The real sanction which practically precluded secession at this time, and would probably continue to preclude it for a long time to come, was the certainty that no Government, party, or national element in any Dominion could propose secession without splitting the country to such an extent as to imperil the national unity of that Dominion itself. In other words, the sanction to which each Dominion was subject was internal and not external: but possibly it was all the stronger for that."—*The Conduct of British Empire Foreign Relations since the Peace Settlement*, pp. 16-17.

And it will be this sentiment of Anglo-Saxon solidarity that Great Britain will have more and more to lean upon in the future in order to preserve even a semblance of unity in the Empire. As Lord Beaverbrook, the leader of the Empire Crusade, recently said:

"We who comprise the English-speaking peoples of the Empire, have ties of race, of loyalty and of outlook which must inevitably prove stronger than the chance of geographical neighbourhood, which indeed grows less important daily as transport is continuously accelerated and improved."

This is a clear indication of the lines along which British Imperial policy will

develop. The British Empire of the future must either be an Anglo-Saxon Federation or it will not be. It cannot remain where it is.

The Choice for Practical Men

If we have given a disproportionate amount of our space to the discussion of a more or less theoretical question it was because we thought it imperatively necessary, considering the looseness of thought the propaganda for Dominion status was giving rise to, to rid ourselves once for all of the hypnotic tyranny of a phrase and dispose of the specious legend that the British Empire stood for a comity of races and nations and cultures, in which even at some distant and hypothetical future, the diverse gifts of each constituent part could be linked for the common betterment of humanity. The British Empire stands for no such ideal. As Mr. Wells has confessed:

"For me, I live in the Empire as a man who occupies a house with an expiring lease. I can contemplate the disappearance of the last imperial links with equanimity. The Union Jack now signifies neither exceptional efficiency nor exceptional promise. Let us admit the fact. It did, but it does not do so any longer. The world would not wait for the British." (*The Realist*, September, 1929).

It seems our Liberals would. They still proclaim their faith in Dominion status and quote, as Sir Sankaran Nair did in the Council of State, the Report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee. It is this incurable complacency of theirs and their inability to perceive with what mental reservations Britons usually make *theoretical* concessions, which have compelled us to examine at some length the present state of public opinion in England on the question of Dominion status. Otherwise, the less we agree to be drawn into that spider's web of *theoretical* discussion the better for our sense of the realities of things.

We know what we want, and we know that it is not a phrase. Dominion status may mean complete autonomy or it may mean partial autonomy—a subsidiary, though honourable, position in the British Empire. In either case, the status has no meaning for us until it is definitely promised, and no one in touch with current events will, we think, claim for a moment that it has been. The utmost that the Labour Government has actually promised us, and is likely—considering all the forces of Imperial and British

politics—to concede at the impending Round Table Conference falls far short of the minimum demands of even the most moderate of Indian leaders. Expressing his strong disapproval of a speech made by Mr. W. L. Travers at the annual meeting of the European Association, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad said:

"Let Mr. Travers and those who think with him clearly understand that India is in no mood to have graded doses of responsible government. Autonomy in the provinces would be a mere shadow of self-government and would not be acceptable to any political party in the country. The only thing which would satisfy Indian opinion was the inauguration of Dominion status with such reservations and safeguards as were necessary during the brief transitional period.

India was in no mood to have her future tried and determined by Britain from stage to stage. Such an arrogant claim had been and would be repudiated by all thinking Indians."

But will Sir Chimanlal Setalvad claim that anything else has been promised in the Declaration of Oct. 31, 1929, in the subsequent debates in Parliament, in the Viceroy's address before the Assembly of January 25, 1930? If, on the contrary, the tone of the entire British Press and that blazing indiscretion—Earl Russell's speech—means anything, we may with confidence assert that the likelihood of India's being granted Dominion status within a predictable length of time has sensibly receded as a result of the discussions following the Viceroy's pronouncement. From this point of view the comment of the *Manchester Guardian* is particularly illuminating.

"There is, we fear, little use in speaking of Dominion status if the university student of to-day may not be encouraged to hope that he will live to feel himself the citizen of one of the co-equal Dominions of the British Commonwealth. If we cannot encourage such a hope it is certainly better to say so at once than to wait till the intended conference meets and then find ourselves charged with bad faith for having raised expectations which we never thought to see fulfilled. Indian politicians can truly assert that when they asked for an assurance about Dominion status they meant an assurance that they would be enabled to attain that status within a reasonable period of time. No doubt the Labour Government was naturally and rightly influenced by a desire to spare India the danger and folly of the threatened campaign of civil disobedience, and perhaps it hoped strongly that progress could be made more rapidly than Lord Reading contemplates. But it was not fair to the Simon Commission, to Parliament, or to India to gamble on a mere hope without waiting to study the evidence which has been laboriously collected in accordance with the considered decision of the British Parliament."

relations between these two countries. For this purpose this opportunity is being given to Prof. Sarkar to help Germany to form a correct estimate of the economic condition of India and to promote cultural relations between the German and the Indian people by lecturing on the economic condition of India at the culture centres of Germany.

Lahore Congress News in America

Mr. Ramlal B. Bajpai informs us that the "American Branch of the Indian National Congress made a determined effort to arrange for direct cable service from Lahore, reporting the proceedings of the Indian National Congress to the American press, as well as that of other countries served through the same sources. Thus the news of the Indian National Congress has been given first importance for a number of weeks recently. This is the first time that such a widespread and sympathetic account of Indian political views and activities has appeared in the American press. Of course this result was only achieved with considerable difficulty and heavy expense, but it was well worth the effort, since the people of the United States have become very much interested in India's programme of independence.

"American statesmen have now begun to take India seriously. A resolution declaring sympathy with India's demand for independence and recommending recognition of Independent India, has already been introduced into the U. S. Congress by United States Senator Blaine, with the approval of other senators.

He took the position that in order to arrive at disarmament it was necessary to do away with the causes that led to armament. He pointed out that Great Britain had to maintain a large land force and also a large naval force on account of the possession of India and that if India were free this would not be needful. He applied the same idea to the possession of the Philippines by the United States.

This resolution is now with the Foreign Relations Committee.

"It took Ireland, with its vast population, five years to get recognition, and there are other nations still waiting for American recognition. It seems, therefore, next to incredible that American sympathy towards India should have developed almost overnight. It certainly demonstrates the importance of press sentiment in creating public opinion.

"Thousands of newspapers all over the United States have daily carried long columns about India and her independence programme, showing the general attitude of sympathy and support which the American press has so recently expressed.

American Interest in India

According to a Free Press Beam Service message.

That the situation in India is drawing considerable attention of the international public opinion is proved by the interest shown in the press and on the platform in countries like Germany, America, Russia, etc.

Premier MacDonald, it would be remembered, was the recipient of representations of leading American citizens on the Indian question when he visited the United States.

Now, according to a despatch to the *Manchester Guardian* from its New York correspondent, a manifesto has been issued over the signatures of prominent members of the American Liberal group, appealing to the British nation on the Indian question in the name of world peace. The signatories to the appeal, it is stated, include Professor Dewey and the Editor of the *New York Nation*. Copies of the manifesto have been sent to both the American and British Governments.

The manifesto, it is stated, appeals to the British Government not to use force for dealing with the present crisis in India. The manifesto recognizes that neither the American citizens nor the American Government can claim to exercise direct responsibility or power, but declares that America cannot look unmoved, especially when it considers it an urgent duty to bring to bear on the situation the power of public opinion to which the national movement makes an appeal by its persistent adherence to non-violent paths. The manifesto appeals to the British Government to justify the world's confidence in Britain as pioneers of world peace by agreement and good-will.

The manifesto recognizes that the Indian non-violent national movement is in the nature of a lead to mankind as well as to the British Government.

The following telegram probably refers to the same manifesto:

Ahmadabad, Feb. 16.

The President of the Congress has received a cable from New York stating that twelve leading Liberals including Professor Dewey, Dr. Sunderland, Mr. Roger, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. John Haynes Holmes have issued a manifesto appealing to Americans to support the Indian movement for independence and demanding that as Indians are adhering to non-violence England should also avoid all violence and grant freedom.

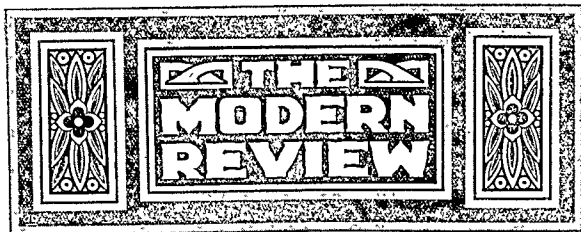
A cable received from London states that in his recent lecture tour in America Mr. Fenner Brockway, M. P., was surprised at the interest shown by Americans in Indian affairs. Though the subjects of his lectures did not relate to India, yet many among his

JAG DANCE OF GUJERAT

By Kanu Desai

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Industrial Reconstruction and Industrial Efficiency

BY RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.A., M.SC., PH.D.

THE most important method of achieving industrial efficiency is the reconstruction of industrial organization. The ability to apply the most up-to-date industrial technique, including both scientific discovery and mechanical invention, to productive processes is the greatest achievement of modern society, and it is the capacity of re-adjusting old industrial systems to modern conditions in which lies the secret of industrial success among advanced nations.* While improved health, regenerated society and benevolent government might form a solid background and create a favourable atmosphere, the industrial success of India depends entirely upon the reconstruction of her industrial systems in the light of modern science and art.

1. INDUSTRIALIZATION OF PRODUCTION

The fundamental principle of modern industrial organization is industrialization, of which the most conspicuous aspect is the factory system. The principal features of

industrialization are the application of machinery and mechanical power to productive processes, industrial undertaking on a large scale and on a corporate basis, and production for a distant market and much ahead of consumption. There are many advantages of industrialization, such as minute division of labour and its consequent specialization, full utilization of raw material and of the by-products, efficient organization and full employment of capital including machinery and industrial plants, economy in the purchase of raw material and in the distribution of finished products. In short, the efficiency of modern industrialism lies in its economy of land, labour and capital for productive purposes.

* The organization of industrial institutions has developed to such an extent in Western Europe and America that the whole society has assumed an industrial outlook. It is for this reason that modern society and civilization are often called "industrial".

all kinds of industries, such as mining, textiles, building, metal-working, banking and insurance, commerce and agriculture. Even the public services and public and quasi-public industries, have come more or less under its influence. In fact, scientific management can be applied to every form of business enterprise, however small as well as to all organized social institutions, including the household. The original home of scientific management is the United States, where it has made tremendous progress especially after the war, but it has now extended to almost all European countries, especially Germany, France, Belgium and Czechoslovakia.

Like rationalization, of which it is only the specific application, the introduction of scientific management is essential to India, not only for the sake of national economy, but also for the sake of industrial survival. Large-scale industrial establishments like cotton mills, jute mills, coal mines, iron and steel works, and engineering workshops, might immediately adopt scientific management. The recent depression in the cotton mill industry of Bombay and the coal-mining industry of Jharia and Raniganj have been partly due to lack of scientific management in these establishments.

The principles of scientific management should be extended to shops and farms. How to organize business, invest capital, purchase material, sell products and keep cost accounts

are some of the essential elements of scientific management, and without them no business undertaking can succeed in modern times. Business aspects of mathematics were highly developed in India and they can be easily revised for application to modern shops and farms. Since by far the majority of industrial undertakings in India consists of farms and shops, the scientific management of them is essential for the sake of national economy.

Nor should the household be excluded from the scope of scientific management. How to make the most out of the existing supply of commodities was the principle on which was founded the science of economics in ancient Greece. The same principle underlies national and political economy.

How to arrange the articles, including the furniture in the proper place, to distribute the work, such as cooking, sewing and laundering in the proper time, and to avoid unnecessary motions and activities are some of the methods of minimizing the waste of efforts and materials in the organization of household affairs. They not only lead to the savings of individual household, but to those of the entire nation of which it is composed. Since all production has for its end consumption, economy in consumption is equally important as in production. Moreover, like charity, rationalization or elimination of waste must begin at home.

(To be concluded)



Personal Magnetism

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

HOW many of us have pondered over the significance of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi's historical letter to the Viceroy announcing the intention to violate the Salt Law was delivered in person by a young Englishman, Reginald Reynolds? There is first the letter itself with its unconventional manner and its directness, its utter outspokenness and the great human love that will not tolerate a wrong, and next there is the dramatic choice of the messenger, a young Englishman entrusted with a cartel from a frail and aged ascetic whose religion is love for all mankind to the highly placed representative of England's might in India. Why did a cultured and patriotic Englishman consent to be the bearer of a message which is an open challenge to British supremacy in this country?

Neither the issue nor the merits concern me here and now. The single question for consideration is why should Mr. Reginald Reynolds have left England and betaken himself to the Sabarmati Ashram? Why is he content to be an inmate of the Ashram with its surroundings of severe simplicity and its rigorous discipline, and why has he placed himself unreservedly at the disposal of Mahatma Gandhi? It is obvious that he has been attracted by the personal magnetism of Mahatma Gandhi. This quality is distinct from the greatness of a man. Mere intellectual eminence may make a man great, but it does not necessarily make him the possessor of personal magnetism. Byron was great, so was Victor Hugo, but neither of them is said to have been gifted with a magnetic personality. Some of the greatest men of genius were personally repellent.

East and West have combined to pay a common tribute to the greatness of Mahatma Gandhi. In America he has been the subject of a sermon from the pulpit, a writer of such distinction as M. Romain Rolland has written a character study of Mahatma Gandhi, and the world has recognized in him a force rarely known in the history of the world. His attraction is the magnetism of the heart and the soul, the resistless power of love,

and men and women from all parts of the world have come to him as people go on a pilgrimage. It is an Englishwoman who is now in charge of the Ashram during Mahatma Gandhi's absence.

Men follow persons in power to seek their favour. A man holding high office or wielding great power may inspire awe but he has no magnetism. Strip him of his office or his power and no one will look at him. The garment of authority is his only attraction; without it he is nothing. A man's personality owes nothing to accident or any artificial accessory. It is innate in himself, it cannot be taken away from him. To look at Mahatma Gandhi he is almost a primitive man: he wears scanty clothing and would be mistaken for a mendicant anywhere. And yet he has been acclaimed in both hemispheres as the greatest man in the world, greatest by the splendour of his soul, the greatness of his heart.

The singular fact remains that the magnetism of the East has attracted the West even in our times. Nations and races in the West may call themselves the greatest in the world; there are the pride of empire, the possession of invincible power, the haughtiness of superiority. Germany claimed to be unconquerable on land, England on the sea. There have been great leaders in many countries in Europe, captains who led from victory to victory, gifted artists and men with silver tongues who swayed multitudes. But the magnetism I have in mind is not the call to glory and aggrandizement, the flame that feeds on the fire of ambition, but the higher magnetism that attracts to sacrifice and suffering, the renunciation of the very things that men most covet.

It would be wrong to deny that saints and men and women of charming personalities have appeared in the West. When a nation ceases to produce any such it is doomed to early extinction. There are men of the highest character to be found in Europe as elsewhere. They are not to be found among politicians who juggle with words and high

organism when physiologically sound is not adversely affected by hard exercise unless it be excessively heavy in nature and too long-drawn. If one is allowed to draw deductions from muscular tissue over which we have no conscious control, and take the heart as an instance of a perfect working system, it will be found that the heart is actively contracting for approximately nine hours out of the twenty-four and at rest for the remaining period. If efficiency be the aim of industry, then the nature of the work set should be such that the efficiency of the worker himself is unimpaired. Excessive fatigue is to be avoided at any cost. We are thus confronted with the question, what is the optimum duration of work in an industrial organization? The length of the working day and the length of the working week may be considered together.

The problem of the 'working hours' has occupied the attention of the industrial world from the beginning of the last century. That "shrewd, gullible, high-minded, wrong-headed, illustrious and preposterous father of Socialism and Co-operation" ran his cotton-mills at New Lanark for the twelve years from 1816 to 1828 on a 10½ hours' day as against the 15 and 16 hours' day worked elsewhere, and previously in his own, and found that the output of his mill did not fall materially below its previous level. Before the final reduction they were lowered first to 12½ and then to 11½ hours, and this second reduction resulted in a very marked improvement in the cheerfulness and alertness of the operatives.* Since then in England a general outcry has been heard towards the reduction of the length of the working day, which has resulted in a series of 'factory legislation' dating back from 1802. The motive behind the movement was humanitarianism rather than the spirit of scientific investigation. Hence to-day we are left without any data which might have been gathered from a careful comparison of the various stages through which the official working-day has had to pass. The first record in the comparison of longer and shorter working periods, which is of scientific value, is supplied by Mather and Platt's Ironworks, Salford, Manchester in 1891-3, when they reduced their working week from 53 to 48 hours. Official records during the year before and after the change showed that the output had been slightly higher. The authorities of

the firm were fully convinced "that as regards the comparison between eight and nine hours per day, the balance of advantage is in favour of the shorter period." Sir William Mather brought the results of this experiment to the notice of various Government Departments, and in consequence, the hours of labour of 43,000 workers in Government factories and workshops were, in 1894, reduced to 48 hours a week. The 18,600 workers in the Ordnance Stores, Army Clothing, Inspection, and Small Arms Inspection, had their working week shortened by 5¼ hours and the subsequent record of output showed no decrease.*

Another duration-contrasting study was that of Ernst Abbe's who after becoming the manager of the Karl Zeiss Optical Works in Jena, reduced in 1900, the working day from nine to eight hours. The hourly output of all the operatives rose considerably as a result and their percentage is shown in the following table.

OUTPUT OF OPTICAL INSTRUMENT WORKERS

Occupation	No. of Persons	Per Cent. increase in hourly output during 8-hour day
Hand Work { Lens-Setter.	21	16.6
{ Microscope Grinders	20	9.4
{ Grinders and Centers	59	16.7
{ Workers in Adjusting room	212	17.1
{ Polishers and Lacquerers	17	17.7
{ Engravers	5	19.3
{ Moulderers	6	14.9
Part Hand & Machine Work { Case Makers	6	12.7
{ Workers in Mounting Room	20	17.9
{ Carpenters	15	20.3
Machine Work { Machine Grinders	19	18.8
{ Men Turning and Milling	23	18.1

The hourly earnings of all the men, taken as a group were 16.2 higher and their total earnings, after allowance for the shorter hours worked, showed an increase of 3.3 per cent. †

A similar result was obtained at the Engis Chemical Works near Liège. The Company had a sick benefit fund which was constantly being depleted. The manager seeking a remedy for this unprofitable situation tried the effect of introducing three shifts of

* British Board of Trade Labour Gazette, July 1905.

† Vernon: *Industrial Fatigue and Efficiency*: London, 1921.

responsibilities, nor among the men who rule another people with a high hand. But even among the best men in the West are there any who attract disciples from the East, young or old enthusiasts who find no rest unless they are in the company of the master or saint they admire? If I am answered that men with magnetic personalities in the West have no use for admirers from the East I declare that it is not real magnetism. A magnet will pick up a needle, east, west, north or south. On both sides the attraction is unconscious; it is involuntary and irresistible.

It cannot be said that the West has no attraction for the East. Are not our young men who have been to the West languishing for another visit to modern Babylon? For them the magnetism is of the hectic life and the purple glamour of the West. There is no individual appeal, nothing to stir the finer nature of man. In the pursuit of pleasure no one will cast away a net and become fishers of men like the apostles Peter and Andrews.

Of personal magnetism we have had three striking instances in India in the last forty years. We know perfectly well, and the knowledge is a constant humiliation, that India has no place in the Commonwealth of Nations, and the very greatest Indian can be insulted and punished by any jack-in-office in this country. Swami Vivekananda was on the point of being arrested as a conspirator before he went to Chicago. Who can ever forget the effect of his magnetic personality on the West? How many people followed him from America and England to India! In what reverence and esteem was he held by his Western disciples! A woman of the intellectual acuteness of Sister Nivedita ranked him among the greatest of the prophets. Men and women used to come all the way out from America to behold the light of his countenance and listen to his words that were always with power. It was the magnet of the East drawing the needle of the West over across the seas.

Before he received the Nobel prize and the Knighthood (the latter, very fortunately, is no longer in his possession, or he might have been confounded with the very doubtful Knights of the New Round Table) Rabindranath Tagore was a suspect. He received a warning for having made what was regarded a seditious speech. His

movements were watched and followed and he was given a distinguishing number by the C. I. D. (these letters are the abbreviations for Copper In Disguise, on the high authority of Edgar Wallace). Since then the welcome accorded to this Indian poet in every part of the world has not greeted any one from the West, however famous or eminent. Rabindranath's fame as a poet does not account for his personal magnetism. That is a quality apart. There have been poets greater than him but they were not always magnetic. A man's genius is not necessarily a part of his nature, for a great poet may not always be lovable as a man. Rabindranath has attracted some good men from the West and they have found pleasure and instruction in his company in his peaceful hermit home.

Mahatma Gandhi has exalted suffering to the height of religion. In South Africa he was savagely assaulted by his own countrymen and left for dead. He refused to prosecute his assailants. As regards prison experience he was scarcely out of prison than he was in again. If his prison record count for anything he must be classed as a hardened criminal. In India, charged for the first time with the offence of sedition, a very polite judge courteously sentenced him to imprisonment for six years, but forgot to wash his hands before passing sentence. The greatest of English poets, Shakespeare, has said,

Most welcome, bondage! for thou art
a way,

I think, to liberty.

If any one is entitled to make this declaration with the fullest faith it is Mahatma Gandhi.

What does it matter if foolish Anglo-Indian scribes denounce him, or a number of his own countrymen hire another such to vilify him day after day? In South Africa his own countrymen struck him down senseless; in India why should some others of his countrymen deny themselves the pleasure of flinging mud at him? Since Mahatma Gandhi refuses to bear ill-will to any one his detractors will not even be answered.

In choosing an Englishman to carry his letter to the Viceroy Mahatma Gandhi has proved that he loves Englishmen in the same way as he loves others. The

British Government in India is another matter. Behind a system there is no personality and no magnetism can act upon it.

Is it necessary to add that Jesus Christ, the greatest personality in the West, also

belonged to an Eastern and subject race ? To the West belongs the compulsion of force, to the East the magnetism of personality. And therefore the East with all its affliction of subjection is greater than the West.

The Game of Constitution Making for India

By N. N. GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Law, University of Dacca

LAWS are the most directive and purposive of human institutions, and, of all legal institutions, the constitution of a country is that which bears the closest relation to the life of the community and to the well-being of the individuals who compose it. No social institutions afford a finer study of the inter-play of soul and body, of spirit and matter, than the constitutional and administrative laws of countries and peoples. These furnish the best object-lessons of the spiritual values of social institutions.

In the past, many varieties of personal autocracy, oligarchy and bureaucracy have been tried as forms of government. All have been found wanting and many even brought to a violent end. Latterly, men have been pinning their faith increasingly upon some form or other of democracy. The reason of this is that every other form of government, besides admitting all manners of abuses for the exploitation of the people as a whole for the benefit of a limited few, fail (even when most benevolently conducted) to hold out any hopes or possibilities of the realization of a fuller life in which all may participate. The English parliamentary form of government and its American variant, to mention the two most typical modern forms of democratic government, are also open to serious abuses, and in ways which are proving extremely disconcerting to all who honestly believe in democracy. A high place nevertheless has to be accorded to the parliamentary form, in the order of governments, not only because of its promises of a fuller and richer life to the people as a whole, but

also because from experience it appears to be the form of government which has carried with it the largest measure, as yet attained, of the living activities of the people intensively as well as extensively.

This indeed is the one standard by which the government of any country must be judged today. It is said that the first duty of all governments is to maintain law and order. That is true. But a government which can do only that and nothing more is and should know itself to be a very low form of government, for it just barely manages to be "government." That was the plight of the later Roman Empire, driven thereto though it unquestionably was by necessity rather than by choice. And yet does any student of history for one moment regret that this top-heavy, economically emaciated, military bureaucracy fell into pieces before the repeated assaults and onslaughts of the Barbarians ? In the midst of all its barbarism and lack of amenities and order, there was that in the Feudal jungle of the Middle Ages of Europe which made green life germinate and sprout. It was more congenial to life than the unrelieved arid desert of the later Empire.

The Government of India has gone through several phases since British statesmen and lawyers took a hand in its making. How does it, through all these phases, answer this test ?

Has not that Government established the the "Rule of Law," where previously there were anarchy and disorder ? Order has been established, but not the Rule of Law which is its better part. The Rule

of Law in England has served to provide appropriate channels through which, generation after generation, the growing powers of the people have sought accommodation in its strivings towards a fuller existence. The value of the English Rule of Law lies in its being the regulated self-rule of the people themselves. What is the Rule of Law worth if the will of the people is not able to express itself through it and if, on the other hand, it admits of being utilized chiefly to hamper and curb that expression?

The Government of India Act in its latest phase (that of 1919) is a perfect embodiment of "autonomy in fetters," of "checks and balances" as applied upon the creature which it took upon itself solemnly and in sonorous phrases to foster and develop into responsible manhood. It is, of course, the most colossal of all fallacies to imagine that the constitution of England is one of "checks and balances" in that or any other sense. The Rule of Law in England is indissolubly bound up with the sovereignty of the House of Commons. It is the body through which the soul of the people of England operates and works in rhythm and order. Does the constitution of British India serve to develop and energize the soul of the people of India in one-hundredth of the degree in which the English constitution develops and energizes the soul of the people of England?

From this point of view, apart from the special peculiarity of the latest Indian constitution just noticed, there is nothing to choose between the East India Company's Government before 1858 and the Government of today. For a variety of reasons, one of which is the peculiarity above referred to, the spirit has, if at all, worsened.

Before 1858, the Government at Home was at all times alive, at any rate, to the fact that the Company, a private corporation of trading people, was out for exploitation and self-aggrandizement and so needing to be kept strongly in hand by the Government at Home. Without the necessity of any urge in that behalf on the part of Indian politicians and publicists spoiled by English education (these had not come into existence yet), the Home Government was constrained to bring into the governance of India a considerable element of conscience for the very reason that the East India Company was suspect as an instrument of government. Whatever amelioration the theory of govern-

ment of the British Indian bureaucracy has undergone in its relations to the people of India was achieved really in the Company's Raj and not subsequently. The doctrine that the British Government was a trustee for the people of India had been announced long before the Mutiny.

But the moment the Crown "assumed the Government of India," and substituted its own agents and mandatories for the East India Company, all progress in that direction stopped. These agents of the Crown were not suspect as the East India Company was, and for half a century after 1858, everything was best in the best of all possible worlds, so far at any rate as the Home Government was concerned, specially as the Civil and the Political services, the Army, Trade and Commerce of India provided employment and even affluence to substantial sections of the very people who in England during this period dominated and controlled her Parliament. Though there has been no second Mutiny, is it to be wondered at that the discontent which the second seventy years of the British rule in India has fostered is more widespread and deep-seated than that which exploded in the Mutiny?

The travail began in the early years of this century and out of it at long last was born the Government of India Act of 1919. How does it answer the test? What scope does it offer to the people of India to live a fuller and ampler life of their own as compared with that secured or permitted by those which went before it?

The Government of India Act of 1919 is very fine machinery, finer far than the ramshackle English constitution, which is so uncertain as regards its parts and in the mutual fitting and adjustment of those parts and for that reason so difficult to understand and copy on the part of foreigners. But though it is (and perhaps just because it is) bad machinery, it draws all the soul of its owners to work it. It is a different story altogether with the Indian constitution.

As a piece of machinery, the existing Indian Constitution can lay claim to being as near perfection as human ingenuity can make it. They were cunning constitutional artificers who planned and adjusted its parts and fitted these up into a composite unit. The only defect of it is the defect of all mere machinery. It has no life and it has to be worked (and if the truth is to be told, when it had been finally licked into shape, it was not

intended to be worked otherwise than) by force imparted from outside. The autonomy which was to grow and develop within this machinery in fact got caught like a mouse inside a trap ran breathlessly about for as long as it could, looking for an outlet to freedom, and then collapsed. All these are figures of speech, but no figures are needed to show from the provisions of the Government of India Act themselves that whether the matter be one belonging to the reserved or to the so-called "transferred" departments, the responsibility for good government still rests wholly with the agents in India of the Secretary of State in Council. It is these who are ultimately accountable for all the mistakes of Government real or supposed by whomsoever committed. Whatever field is examined—administration, appropriation or legislation—every apparent move towards conferment of autonomy on the local councils is found to be immediately countered by the provision of multiple safe-guards, so thorough that given the least inkling of a disagreement, responsibility returns as by the rebound of a spring to the agents of the Secretary of State. The will of the Indian Civil Service still continues to be the will of the Government in every department; whatever outward semblance of subordinating that will to the wishes of the people's representatives may be momentarily conjured up from the staging of a show of parliamentary methods in the Council Houses. The more one studies the details of this wonderful machinery and the more he admires the perfection of its parts and their mutual adjustment from the point of view of the official engineers, the more elusive the "substantial" measure of self-government expressly offered as a first instalment in the Preamble of the Act of 1919 turns out to be. It is the story of the Local Self-Government Acts in which Lord Ripon's admirable intentions took material shape retold word for word, the persons, the arena and the background only being different. The engineers in either case spared no pains to make the machinery absolutely and completely fool-proof, honestly believing no doubt that those who were to have a first try in working it were incurable fools, so that care was taken that it should ultimately work, in every instance that mattered, in consonance with the tastes, wishes and the mature wisdom of the watchful official guardians planted in their midst, who at the proper moment must give the machine just that twist that would

make it run with the ideal official smoothness. The present Government of India Act, in so far as concerns the people of India, is dead machinery, all matter and no soul. It piles up official "veto" upon official "certification," which powers however are carefully denied to the only authority which "in the fulness of time" is to develop and absorb all power and responsibility, I mean the Legislative Councils. Not that the drama is entirely devoid of the human touch. It provides endless scope for lobbying and intrigue, besides that it offers the representatives of the people who may fail to enter into the spirit of the game unlimited opportunities to reflect upon the acts and motives of the officials, furnishing at the same time equal opportunities to the officials, through all possible modes and moods, of affirming their unvarying probity and infallibility and of sermonizing their critics on the latter's total lack of sweet reasonableness. Beyond mobilizing all honest public opinion against officials and the government of officials, the present Government of India Act has done no service to India that one can discover. And as if these multiple checks and balances which thwart the healthy flow of the popular will (piling up, one upon another, official vetoes and official certifications) were not enough, the Statutory Commission has been flooded with claims of other special vetoes urged on behalf, or in the interest, of "minorities" (the smaller and more insignificant the louder), on behalf of Feudatory Chiefs whose "Treaty" rights must be held sacrosanct, of foreign commercial interests and the "Services," in the specious guise of "guarantees of special protection" on the one hand and of "safe-guards against differential treatment" on the other. What little glimmering of a soul may still be dimly discernible within the present constitution, even that. I apprehend, will vanish, should the engineers get a chance of fitting these deadly little devices for inhibiting the healthy growth of communal life, projected from non-official sources, into a machine already rendered thrice impotent, so far as concerns the self-governing part of it, by a surfeit of similar larger contrivances of official origination.

Any one with the least capacity for discernment can see that the malady from which the present Government of India (as a whole and as also in all its parts) is suffering is paralysis of thought and action. It does not move, because it cannot make

up its mind on anything that in these days of organized international competition really matters but just "carries on." It marks time, it does not go forward. It cannot even shake off the innumerable parasites that are battenning on its body.

The two parts of the institution, the Governing and the Popular, are always at cross purposes. The latter appears to exist only to fly into a temper and create friction, and practically the whole of the energies of the former is spent in trying to neutralize and compose the other part.

To keep such a machinery going, the engineer has no difficulty in persuading

himself, that he at any rate is indispensable; and of course, the more friction there is the more indispensable he would discover himself to be. Accordingly, those who are loudest in preaching the doctrine of indispensability are, as it were by a sub-conscious logic, also the people who proclaim themselves the champions of all minorities, oppressing as well as oppressed. Will the Round Table Conference, when they meet, do so just to serve the turn of these "Indispensables" and their time-serving henchmen by conjuring up differences which do not exist and by exaggerating others which should be thrust for ever into the background?

Rammohun Roy in the Service of the East India Company*

(Mainly based on Unpublished State Records)

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

THE current lives of Rammohun Roy start with his service as "Diwan of Rangpur" under Mr. Digby in 1810, and have no light to throw on his career and movements before that year. Indeed we are quite in the dark about his early employments and his relations with European officers other than Mr. Digby. Yet, this formative stage of his career and his youthful experiences and travels would lend most valuable aid to a right understanding of his mental growth and his acquisition of wealth and position.

In 1815 we find a fully developed Rammohun settled in Calcutta and serving as a centre of light and influence in the society of the capital. It is the duty of his biographer to explain how he arrived at this stage. Happily, it is now possible to carry his authentic biography backwards by seven years to 1803.

At Dacca

From the Bengal Government's old records we learn for the first time, that Rammohun

"was in the confidential employ of Mr. Woodforde when Acting Collector of Dacca Jelalpur." This was early in 1803. The fact that Rammohun had once served at Dacca was not known to any of his biographers. In fact this is the earliest definite mention I have been able to trace of his service under the East India Company.

Thomas Woodforde became Acting Collector of Dacca Jelalpur* (the district now called Faridpur) on 1st February, 1803.† The nature of the appointment held by Rammohun while at Dacca Jelalpur will be found in the following letter which Mr. Woodforde addressed the Board of Revenue on 7th March 1803:

"Kishen Chand having this day voluntarily resigned the office of Dewan of this collectorship, I beg leave to inform your Board

* The Dacca Jelalpur Collector's office was removed in 1811 from Dacca to Faridpur, which latter name was substituted in 1833 for Dacca Jelalpur.

† Board of Revenue Con. 8th February, 1803. No. 63.

thereof and that I have appointed Rammohun Roy in his place. Rammohun Roy has given the security required by Regulation 3rd Section 15, 1794, and the name of his surety is Dulsing, a very respectable man.*

Thus we find that in March 1803 Rammohun—then about 29 years of age—was appointed Diwan to the Collector of Dacca Jelalpur. It seems highly probable that his acquaintance with Mr. Woodforde began much earlier than this year, but we do not know whether he had taught oriental languages to this Civilian or held some sort of appointment under him in the earlier days of his writership.

Mr. Woodforde continued to hold the collectorship of Dacca Jelalpur till 14th May 1803, on which date he handed over charge of the district to Mr. John Battye.† Rammohun, too, resigned his post of Diwan on the very same day, as will be seen from Mr. Battye's letter to the Board, dated 16th May 1803:—

"In the letter which I had the honor of addressing you on the 14th instant, I omitted to state that Mr. Woodforde, late Acting Collector of this place, informed me that Rammohun Roy had on that morning sent him his resignation of the office of Dewan of Dacca Jelalpur.‡

From Dacca Mr. Woodforde came down to Calcutta and on 11th August he was appointed Register of the Murshidabad Court of Appeal and Court of Circuit. But before assuming charge of his new office he was obliged to take leave on 8th September to proceed to sea for the restoration of his health.

From Dacca Rammohun must have come back to his ancestral home at Radhanagar, where his father, Ramkanta Roy, was then lying on his death-bed, as we learn from Mr. Adam's Memorandum:—

"R. Roy, in conversation, mentioned to me with much feeling that he had stood by the death-bed of his father, who with his expiring breath continued to invoke his God—Ram! Ram! with a strength of faith and a fervour of pious devotion which it was impossible not to respect although the son had then ceased to cherish any religious veneration for the family deity."

Ramkanta Roy died during the latter part of 1803. In the following year Rammohun

seems to have proceeded to Murshidabad to join Mr. Woodforde, who took up his new appointment sometime after February, 1804. A tradition is current that during his sojourn in Murshidabad, Rammohun got his *Tuhfat-ul-Muhammidin* printed.* In this connection it is interesting to note that the date of the publication of this pamphlet is given by one writer as 1803 or 1804.†

We shall presently see that Rammohun next proceeded to Ramgarh, owing perhaps to the illness of Mr. Woodforde, which necessitated his proceeding to sea again in August 1805. He was 'out of employ' in 1806 and must have gone home. Rammohun's superior, Mr. Thomas Woodforde, was in all likelihood, the same gentleman with whom he many years later maintained a correspondence while in England.‡

AT RAMGARH

* The name of Mr. John Digby has come down to us as an intimate friend of Rammohun. The first appointment held by him on his arrival in this country was that of the Register of City Court of Dacca in August, 1804. On 9th May, 1805 he was appointed Register of the Zila Court of Ramgarh and Assistant to the Magistrate. The following passages in a letter, dated 30th December 1809, addressed by Mr. Digby to the Board of Revenue, indicate that it was at Ramgarh, near Ranchi, that Rammohun first made his acquaintance with Mr. Digby (in 1805) and that he acted as Sheristadar of the Faujdari Court there during the period that Mr. Digby officiated as Magistrate of the Zila of Ramgarh:—

"Rammohun Roy.....acted under me in the capacity of Sheristadar of the Faujdari Court for the space of three months, whilst I officiated as the Magistrate of the Zillah of Ramghar.....The opinion I have formed of his probity and general qualifications in a five years' acquaintance with him"....

A reference to the State records shows that during the illness of Mr. Miller, Judge and Magistrate of Ramgarh, the Governor-General, on 21st August 1806, empowered the Register, Mr. Digby, to officiate as

* According to Dr. Carpenter, "He now quitted Burdwan and removed to Murshidabad, where he published in Persian, with an Arabic preface, a work entitled 'Against the Idolatry of all Religions'."—Mary Carpenter, 2nd ed., p. 4.

† See the Editor's note on p. 953 of the Panini Office edition of Rammohun Roy's English Works.

‡ Mary Carpenter's *The Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy*, (2nd ed.), pp. 97-99.

* Board of Revenue Procdgs. 11 March, 1803, No. 23.

† Board of Revenue Con. 20th May 1803, No. 3.

‡ Ibid., No. 23.

Magistrate of that district, while Mr. Miller was away from the station.* Mr. Digby acted as Magistrate for three months and handed over charge of the office to Mr. R. Thackeray on 18th October 1806,† reverting to his original post of Register.

We are therefore left in no doubt that Rammohun served in the capacity of Sheristadar of the Faujdari Court at Ramgarh from August to October, 1806, i. e., the period during which Mr. Digby officiated as Magistrate of the Zila Court of Ramgarh. The usual salary of a Sheristadar was Rs. 50 a month. It will be seen later on that an unfavourable mention of Rammohun's conduct while holding this post reached the Board of Revenue.

AT JESSORE

We next find Rammohun at Jessore. In his letter to the Board of Revenue, dated 31st January 1810, Mr. Digby wrote :

"...the knowledge he [Rammohun] evinced of the Regulations and of the general system to be adopted for the collection of revenue when with me in the capacity of a private Munshi, during the term of my acting as Collector of the district of Jessore."

We learn from the records that on 23rd December 1807 Mr. Digby reported to the Board of Revenue the fact of his having received from Mr. E. Parker the charge of the Jessore collectorates and that the former relinquished this office on 9th June 1808.** Thus, it is clear that the period of Rammohun's stay at Jessore as the private Munshi of Mr. Digby must have been from January to 9th June, 1808.

As Rammohun was merely in the private employ of Mr. Digby at Jessore, it is extremely unlikely that a search among the records of the Jessore collectorate will yield any information about him.

AT BHAGALPUR

From Jessore Mr. Digby was directed to proceed to Bhagalpur to take up the appointment of Register of the Zila Court

there.* Rammohun evidently accompanied him. His residence at Bhagalpur in January 1809 is mentioned in a petition against the behaviour of the local Collector which he forwarded to the Governor-General Mintock on 12th April 1809. He states :

"On the 1st of January last, your petitioner arrived at the ghaut of the river of Bhagalpur, and hired a house in that town."†

In connection with this petition the Collector of Bhagalpur made some remarks, the following passage of which indicates that in 1808-09 Rammohun was in all probability still in the private employ of Mr. Digby at Bhagalpur, although the latter nowhere mentions the fact.

"I turned to a servant of mine and enquired who it was coming along," he replied, Mr. Digby's Dewan, Baboo Rammohun Roy.‡

AT RANGPUR

On 30th June 1809 Mr. Digby was deputed from Bhagalpur to act as Collector of Rangpur in the place of Mr. Morgan.** On the 20th October following, Mr. Digby was appointed substantive Collector of Rangpur†† Rammohun also left Bhagalpur and followed him there.

At Rangpur the diwanship of the Collector's office fell vacant, and on 5th December 1809 Digby wrote to R. Thackeray, then Secretary to the Board of Revenue, that he had filled the post by appointing Rammohun Roy, "a man of very respectable family and excellent education, fully competent to discharge the duties of such an office."§§ It should be noted here that the post of Diwan—the principal native officer in the collection of revenue—generally carried a monthly salary of Rs. 150 to start with.

At the direction of the Board of Revenue, Digby next furnished the names of

* *Judicial (Civil) Procdgs.* 15 January 1809.

No. 1. This document—published by me in the June 1929 number of the *Modern Review*, pp. 62-65, is supposed to be the first English composition of Rammohun.

† *Ibid.*, p. 65.
‡ *Board of Revenue Procdgs.* 11 July 1809.

No. 49. *Ibid.*, 26th October 1809, No. 42.
§§ *Board of Revenue Con.* 14 Decr. 1809.
No. 23. Mr. Digby has wrongly dated his letter as 5th November 1809, instead of 5th December, 1809.

* *Judicial (Civil) Procdgs.* 21st August, 1806, No. 19.

† *Ibid.*, 30th October 1806, No. 18.
‡ *Board of Revenue Procdgs.* 29 Decr., 1807.

No. 23. *Board of Revenue Con.* 14 June 1808, No. 34.

* Rammohun's securities * and added the following information :

"Rammohun Roy, the man whom I have recommended to be appointed as Dewan of this office, acted under me in the capacity of Sheristadar of the Faujdari Court for the space of three months whilst I officiated as Magistrate of the Zillah of Ramghur and from what I saw of his knowledge of the Regulations, accounts etc. during that time and during the term of my acting as Collector of Jessore as well as from the opinion I have formed of his probity and general qualifications in a five years' acquaintance with him, I am convinced that he is well adapted for the situation of Dewan of a Collector's office." (30th December 1809). †

Digby's letter drew the following remarks from Mr. Burriish Crisp, then the Acting President and Senior Member of the Board of Revenue at Calcutta :

"I understand the man recommended by Mr. Digby was formerly in the confidential employ of Mr. Woodforde when acting Collector of Dacca Jellalpur. I have also heard unfavourable mention of his conduct as Sheristadar at Ramghur. Under the circumstances I feel averse to giving my voice for his confirmation as Dewan at Rungpur. Indeed, it may be sufficient to say as an objection, that a Faujdari Court is no school for knowledge in the Rev. Dept., and his three months of service as Sheristadar of that Court at Ramghur certainly cannot be considered as any qualification for the very important Revenue appointment of Dewan which Mr. D. proposes giving to him.

"I further consider the security offered as very objectionable on a general principle. The security of a zemindar should not in my opinion ever be taken for the Dewan of the zillah in which his lands are situated."

The President's observations afford us a glimpse into the actual reasons that ultimately led to the refusal of the Board to confirm the appointment of Rammohun. In fact, we learn for the first time from this source that an unfavourable mention of his conduct while Sheristadar of the Faujdari Court at Ramgarh had reached the Board, which chiefly influenced their decision.

The Secretary of the Board accordingly

wrote to the Rangpur Collector to nominate some other person for the diwanship, their ground for rejecting the nomination proposed by Mr. Digby being stated in the following passage :

"It is essentially necessary that all persons who may be appointed to the responsible office of Dewan should have been some time in the habits of transacting revenue details and also be well acquainted with the Regulations relating to revenue matters and the general system observed in the collection of the revenue. The service performed by Rammohun Roy as Acting Sheristadar of a Faujdari Court cannot be considered by the Board as rendering him in any degree competent to perform the more important duties of a Dewan which are in their nature totally different. . . . They are of opinion the security of a Dewan should not, if it can be avoided, be persons holding lands in the district, as they possibly might obtain an undue influence in the district." (15th January 1810). *

The man on the spot, Mr. Digby, really felt aggrieved at the failure of his recommendations, and he again wrote to the Board, on 31st January 1810. "I had imagined that such objection would have been sufficiently obviated by what I mentioned in my letter of the 30th ultimo, as to the knowledge he evinced of the Regulations and of the general system to be adopted for the collection of the revenue when with me in the capacity of a private Munshi, during the term of my acting as Collector of the district of Jessore. Moreover, I cannot refrain from observing that in many instances Dewans of Collectors have been confirmed by the Board, who had never been employed in any public office. I now beg leave to refer the Board to the Qazi-ul-Cuzzat in the Sadar Dewani Adalat, to the Head Persian Munshi of the College of Fort William, and to the other principal officers of those Departments for the character and qualifications of the man I have proposed." At the same time he informed the Board that Rammohun could procure securities from other districts to any amount that might be required. †

This letter ruffled the temper of the Board ; they not only refused to alter their decision, but entirely disapproved of the style in which Mr. Digby had addressed them on the occasion, and said that they "would certainly feel themselves compelled to take very serious notice of any repetition of

* "Joiram Sain the zemindar of Chachoiakh etc., and Marza Abbasally, an heir of the late Marza Mahomed Tuckey zemindar of Coolaghaut etc."

† Board of Revenue Original Consultation 15th Jan'y. 1810, No. 10.

* Board of Revenue Procdgs. 15 Jan'y. 1810, pp. 137-38.

† Board of Revenue Con. 8th Feby. 1810, No. 9.

Rammohun Sarma, as guardian of Kishenkishor, and Gourkishor Chowdhries, minors proprietors of 8 annas share of Odassy, who appears as *procurator* for that office, as I can expect to procure, for a salary of Rs. 8 per mensem, and trust that the Court will be pleased to sanction the appointment.*

On 21st August 1810 the Court desired to know whether Rammohun Sarma was a relation of the minors, and, if not, the Collector was directed to enquire if there was any of their relations fit for the duty of guardian who would undertake the trust for nothing.†

Mr. Digby supported his nominee on the following grounds :

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st instant, in reply to which I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of the Court, that Rammohun Sarma, the man proposed as a guardian for Kishenkishor and Gourkishor Chowdhries minors, does not bear any relationship to them and that as the first cousin of their father has already preferred a suit to the Court against the minors, for 3 annas share of their Estate, it being also doubted, whether the rest of their relatives have any particular regard for them, I do not consider it advisable to trust any of them with an office of such responsibility as that of guardian to the minors." (29 August 1810).§

The Court saw the propriety of the Collector's remarks and confirmed the appointment of Rammohun in November, 1810.**

Early in 1815 the two wards, having attained the age of majority, took up the management of their estate, as will be seen from the Collector's letter quoted below :

"Enclosed I have the honor to transmit a copy of a petition presented by the guardian of Kishenkishor and Gourkishor minor proprietors of 8 annas share of the Estate Odassy, soliciting to receive the management of the said estate into their own hands at the expiration of the current Bengal year and to have the amount of the deposits and Notes with the interest thereon delivered to them. Kishenkishor Chowdhuri has appeared before me and I am of opinion that he has already attained the age of majority. I also beg leave to add that the present farmer's lease expires with this Bengal year." (9 Feby. 1815).††

No mention of Rammohun's name as guardian occurs among the records of the

Court of Wards from March 1815 onwards. Thus, it is quite clear that Rammohun's residence in Calcutta dates from the early part of 1815 and not from 1814 as is generally believed.*

A search conducted among the Rangpur collectorate records may yield some correspondence exchanged between Rammohun Roy as guardian of the Udasí wards, and the Collector of the district.

RAMMOHUN ROY AND MR. DIGBY

Though a subordinate officer Rammohun was held in high regard by his superior, Mr. Digby. A sincere friendship sprang up between them, and they assisted each other in studying European and Oriental literature respectively. This laid the foundation of Rammohun's extensive knowledge of Western literature. In the following passage Mr. Digby describes Rammohun's attainments.

"Rammohun Roy, is by birth a Brahmin of very respectable origin, in the province of Bengal, about forty-three years of age. His acquirements are considerable to a thorough knowledge of the Sanskrit (the language of the Brahminical Scriptures) he has added Persian and Arabic and possessing an acute understanding, he early conceived a contempt for the religious prejudices and absurd superstitions of his caste. At the age of twenty-two he commenced the study of the English language, which not pursuing with application he, five years afterwards, when I became acquainted with him,† could merely speak it well enough to be understood upon the most common topics of discourse, but could not write it with any degree of correctness. He was afterwards employed as Dewan, or principal native officer, in the collection of revenues, in the district of which I was for five years Collector, in the East India Company's Civil Service. By perusing all my public correspondence with diligence and attention, as well as corresponding and conversing with European gentlemen, he acquired so correct a knowledge of the English language as to be enabled to write and speak it with considerable accuracy. He was also in the constant habit of reading the English newspapers, of which the Continental politics chiefly interested him, and from thence he formed a high admiration of the talents and prowess of the late ruler of France, and was so dazzled with the splendour of his achievements as to become sceptical as to the commission, if not blind to the atrocity of his crimes and could not help deeply lamenting his

* In his statement made in the Burdwan lawsuit in June 1823 we find that Rammohun "for the last nine years lived in the town of Calcutta." This also places the date of his final settlement in Calcutta early in 1815.

† Mr. Digby's official correspondence of an earlier date, however, tends to indicate, that he made his acquaintance with Rammohun at Ranggarh in 1805, and I have accepted this date as correct.

* Board of Revenue—Wards O. C. 21 August, 1810, No. 10.

† Board of Revenue—Wards Procdgs., 21 Aug. 1810, p. 317.

§ *Ibid.*, 30 Nov. 1810, No. 9 A.

** *Ibid.*, No. 10.

†† *Ibid.*, 23 Feby. 1815, No. 33.

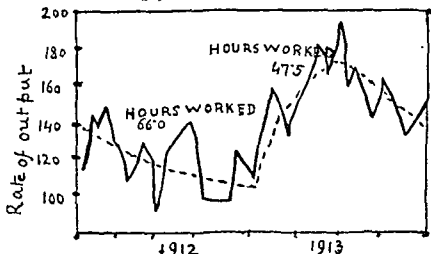
eight hours. The output equalled the previous output of ten hours' work, and the earnings, all piecework, equalled the previous earnings. The increase of output and wages per hour was about 33 per cent. Under the new system the sick benefit receipts tended to exceed expenditure progressively.

In recent years, scientific investigations entirely devoted to contrasting the effects of changing total durations of activity have been carried out by the British Health of Munition Workers Committee, the Industrial Fatigue Research Board, and the National Institute of Industrial Psychology of Great Britain. A considerable amount of valuable information has been compiled by the research workers employed by the above institutions. Below is given in full one of the tables prepared by Dr. Vernon, who is responsible for many such investigations.*

Studies of this type point to the fact that within limits, the shorter the duration of activity the more profitable it is for the industry. The reduction of working hours from 12 to 10 results in an increase in hourly and daily output, except in operations the speed of which depends mainly on the speed of the machines. This generalization is, however, susceptible to modification according to the specific relation between the operatives and industry; i. e., in so far as the industries are dependent chiefly on (a) human labour; or (b) more or less equally on human labour and machinery; or (c) on machinery. In determining the most suitable length of the

working day the human and the economic factors have to be reconciled. Vernon recommends the seven-hours-day for the coal miner, whose work is chiefly manual, eight hours per day for the engineering trade where the operation depends on machinery as well as his manual skill, whilst the operative who is chiefly dependent upon machinery, such as the textile worker, might be fixed at 9 or 10 per day. †

Though the shortening of the working day almost invariably results in the increase or improvement in the rate of output, it does not, as a rule, follow immediately; or at all events, it does not attain its maximal effect immediately. When the length of work is reduced, the rate of output may not show any change for the first week or two. Then it begins to rise gradually for a period varying apparently with the kind of work involved and it may be weeks or even several months before it attains a steady level, in equilibrium with the reduced working period.



A striking illustration of this slow response is given in the figure above which represents the curve of output of steel melters engaged in 40 ton open hearth steel furnaces. The ordinary line represents the work curve whereas the dotted line shows

* TWENTY-SEVEN MEN SETTING FUSE BODIES.

Statistical Period.	Average hours of actual work	Average (relative) hourly output.	Hours X output
6 weeks preceding Christmas (Nov. 8—Dec. 19.)	61.5	100	6,150
2 weeks at Christmas (Dec. 20—Jan. 2.)	38.3	89	
6 Weeks after Christmas (Jan. 3 to Feb. 13.)	51.1	109	5,570
8 Weeks later (Feb. 21—April 16)	55.4	122	6,759
2 Weeks at Easter, (April 17-30)	41.0	112.	
3 Weeks later, (May 1-21)	56.2	124	6,969

† These figures are not to be confused with the purely economic optimum, which can be obtained only by running the mechanical plant continuously. The cost of the plant and the overhead charges in general, vary in different industries. It is particularly high in textile industries and especially in spinning. Hence it is incumbent on the industries depending on costly plants that they should keep them running as many hours as possible. A short working day with multiple shifts seems to be the most feasible solution, in these circumstances.

India as an International Problem

By REGINALD A. REYNOLDS

Satyagrahashram, SABARNATI

WE are so used to hearing of the *Pax Britannica* as the crowning benefit of British rule in India that the legend has acquired a kind of hoary sanctity. Englishman and Indian alike, we imbibe it in early boyhood from school history text-books, carefully written to feed the pomposity of the one, and the servility of the other. It has always been a wonder to me that no one has invented a symbol for this pacific imperialism—a sort of eagle-dove, for example; a feathered Janus which would signify at once the two functions of Empire and the two-faced character of the Imperialist.

However, I will not anticipate an invention which is better left to the genius of some true-blue Christian missionary. My function, alas, is that of the *Advocatus Diaboli*; and it is my painful duty to make a critical analysis of the claim that the British Empire is a suburb of the Kingdom of Heaven.

History records that at the time of the foundation of the East India Company the power of the Great Moguls was nearing its end. It was such a period, as the world has often witnessed, when the destinies of nations are re-shaped. From the chaos that followed the breaking-up of the Roman Empire, a new and healthier civilization arose. In a later age the power of Spain was broken for the betterment of mankind. But in India the normal course of political evolution was frustrated at the most critical turn in her history, and the transient despotism of the Mogul emperors was replaced by a system that rooted itself deeply and rapidly by every available means. The dependence of India was to be not simply political but commercial, her subservience was to be not only outward, but inward and psychological, the product of a cunning system of education.

It is impossible to say with certainty what would have happened if India had been left to herself. The history of man-

kind is so full of surprises that none can tell whether India's development would have been swifter or slower than that of the West. Few would have dared to prophesy at one time that the Kingdom of the Pharaohs would one day become a dependency of an unknown island beyond the Pillars of Hercules. In more recent times Japan stood forth suddenly as the rival and equal of the Western Powers. And so the alternative destiny that lay before India must always be a matter of purest speculation. All that we know is the price that India and the world have paid for what actually happened, and the reckoning that yet awaits us, if cause and effect still hold good in the political world.

The early history of the British in India is bound up with the question of Anglo-French relations. Or perhaps it would be more true to say that Anglo-French relations at that time were bound up with British and French ambitions in India. It is in any case certain that Anglo-French rivalry had no solid basis in Continental affairs. England and France opposed each other in the War of Austrian Succession (1741-1748) as the sponsors of Austria and Prussia respectively. Seven years later they stood face to face once more; but in respect of the dispute that was still the main issue on the Continent (*i.e.*, the possession of Silesia) the two Powers had changed sides.

It was, in fact, apparent, both from this evidence and the known policy of the elder Pitt, who was all-powerful from 1757-1761, that the real quarrel between France and England lay in India and Canada. Pitt subsidized Frederick of Prussia to keep the French armies busy in Europe whilst he worked out his designs in the remoter parts of the earth. For over twenty years (1741-1763) England and France conducted their feud on land and sea, in what may be considered the first world war. In Canada the Red Indians were

Empire as a corollary of our Indian policy. Eleven years later Europe hovered on the verge of another war, when the bombastic imperialism of Disraeli threw us into a diplomatic conflict with Russia over the same issue. The atrocities committed by the Turkish Government in 1876 were probably unequalled in the whole record of the Ottoman Empire, and were made the subject of a vigorous political campaign by Mr Gladstone. However, in the words of Justin McCarthy,

"The cry went forth—that the moment the Turks went out of Constantinople, the Russians must come in. Nothing could have been better suited to rouse up reaction and alarm." *Short History of Our Own Times*, (p. 114). "Lord Beaconsfield was for maintaining Turkey at all risks as a barrier against Russia. Mr. Gladstone was for removing all responsibility for Turkey and taking the consequences" (*Ibid.*, p. 415).

The italics are mine, but the risks were doubtless felt by the world at large, and more particularly by the Sultan's subjects in Bulgaria.

This time, however, what Disraeli called "peace with honour" was maintained. "Peace with honour" was the work of the Congress of Berlin, where the British Prime Minister made, with the other delegates, a solemn statement that he was not bound by any secret engagements affecting the matters under discussion. In point of fact he was bound by two such engagements, of which one was a promise to maintain Turkey in all her Asiatic possessions against all invasion in return for the occupation of Cyprus by Great Britain. By such "honourable" means was the road to India secured once more.

The protection of this route had acquired additional importance by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Our continual interference in Egyptian politics which followed this event may be traced chiefly to the military necessities arising from the Indian Empire. For this reason Disraeli had bought the Khedive's shares in the Canal Company, and England, therefore, continued her aggression in the Near East after France had abandoned the dual control of Egypt. On the bombardment of Alexandria, the author of *The Development of the British Empire* writes, "France was unwilling to interfere... but England could not leave the Suez Canal to be dealt with as Arabi chose." Bloody campaigns followed as a result, in Egypt and the Sudan.

The year following the Congress of Berlin

was marked by a second attack on Afghanistan, as utterly unjustified as the first. "The Government," says Justin McCarthy, "determined to send a mission to Shere Ali... the ruler of Kabul, in order to guard against Russian intrigue by establishing a distinct and paramount influence in Afghanistan.... It (the mission) was so numerous as to look rather like an army than an embassy." The mission was stopped on the frontier, and this fact was made a *casus belli* by the British authorities. The war that followed was as unprofitable and discreditable as the first, but the cost (£ 15,000,000) fell mostly on the shoulders of the Indian tax-payer.

The more recent history of Anglo-Russian relations is common knowledge, and it largely concerns India. In 1885 a frontier "incident" at Penjdeh nearly brought on a war between the two powers, and in 1905 the opening of negotiations between Tibet and Russia was the reason for the "armed mission" sent to Lassa by Lord Curzon (Goode *History of Our Time*, p. 173). That "armed mission" is a real triumph in the history of official phraseology. I wonder how it would have done in 1914 to speak of Germany's "armed mission" to Belgium!

After the formation of the Triple Entente the fear of Germany largely replaced the fear of Russia in English minds, but once more there can be little doubt that our jealousy of Germany's activities in the East were closely bound up with this change. As early as 1835 Von Moltke and other Prussian officers had undertaken the reconstruction of the Turkish army. By the end of the nineteenth century German influence had acquired a stronghold over the Sultan's Government. In 1898 William II visited Syria and proclaimed himself the protector of Mohammedans throughout the world. Britain's distrust of this menace to her Eastern Empire showed itself in a refusal to assist in the German project for a railway to Baghdad. The plan was continued, however, with the co-operation of Turkey. But Russian ambitions were here threatened almost as much as those of England, and the historic rivals of the Near East drew into a firmer compact against the intruder. So did the Indian Empire play its part in bringing on the world war in 1914.

All this time, while the Indian frontier and the road to India had been disturbing the courts of Europe, the venom of imperialism had not been idle in the Far

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The truth or untruth of these charges is of little importance compared with the mentality that they illustrate. Russia is genuinely afraid of British ambition in the East, and in British minds Russia is still regarded as "the Enemy." It is, in fact, significant that by general admission the Bolshevik bogey in its guise as the symbol of World Revolution is being rapidly replaced in England by the older phantom of Russia, the aggressive military power of the Orient.

And what are the logical deductions to be made from such a wealth of evidence? We have seen that British imperialism in India has been the source of innumerable wars and contains in its continued existence the embryonic probability—some would say certainty—of further wars. For the moment we may discount the possibility of further aggression on Britain's part, and assume her to stand (as she appears to have done generally in recent years) for "Peace," on the basis of the status quo. Can we reasonably expect that other powers—a rejuvenated Russia, a paramount America, or an expanding Japan—will accept indefinitely a status quo whereby the lion's share of the world's produce and markets is held by Great Britain?

In a recent book on the causes of war, the distinguished French economist M. André Siegfried mentioned imperial rivalry as the prime cause of modern warfare. He spoke of emigration, the possession of valuable mineral deposits, and the control of markets as the three great factors in this rivalry, which resolved itself into a matching of forces. In the case of India the first factor is irrelevant, but neither of the other two can be ignored, though in this particular case a fourth cause might be added under the heading "Lucrative employment of the Upper Classes." With regard to the third cause we see that the shadow of imperial preference looms portentously in the near future. The Indian Government, that had already given preference to British steel, has now succeeded in forcing preference in the cloth trade as the price of protection to the indigenous industry. It is hardly likely that the rest of the world will long remain a disinterested spectator of this economic exploitation. Whether imperial preference

comes in its complete form or not, the possibility of its institution has always to be reckoned with by those other countries which consider their right to the Indian trade to be as great as that of England.

It is, therefore, amply clear that the very existence of such an empire as we have in India must be a perpetual cause of strife. It is not, for the moment, a question of whether we can rule India best; though testimony on this point is anything but unanimous in our favour. Most Englishmen believe that their rule as conquerors compares favourably with that of other Imperial Powers. They may be right, but their opinion is entirely irrelevant; for they cannot reasonably expect the other powers to take the same view of the case. Self-assumed and self-delegated authority, even where its objective results are beneficial, can (in the nature of the case) only claim the sanction of force, and is always open to challenge by equal or superior force. In other words, the principle of self-government is not only morally unassailable but it is also pragmatically indispensable; for, until the right of a nation to govern itself is recognized, the privilege of governing it must always be a matter of dispute between rival claimants.

So, in the case of India, since her "Trustees" are self-appointed they have no moral claim to put before the world, and centuries of *usus factus* cannot justify a system essentially unjustifiable. So long as India remains in the hands of Britain it will be coveted by those who started later in the race for empire, while our vested interest in the road to India must inevitably bring us into conflict from time to time with the rights and interests of others.

Empire, in fact, connotes military domination, pure and simple. It is derived from the word "Imperator," which meant (originally) a general. The "Peace" of an Empire is an armed peace, and an armed peace is a permanent invitation to war. That is where those shallow pacifists who try to establish the Kingdom of God without first rooting up the Dominion of Caesar make their fatal mistake. It is always easy to talk of peace when one has already grabbed the lion's share; in fact a maintenance of the status quo is inevitably to the advantage of the conqueror. In this sense the diplomats of the Congress of Vienna were great pacifists, for they aimed at a co-operation of the despots of Europe to perpetuate absolute

East. History records three disgraceful wars waged with China. In 1837 the "Heathen Chinoes" had vetoed the importation of opium and (in the words of Mr. Prothero) "*The English Merchants in India*,"* stimulated by the high profit made from its sale, smuggled it into the country," the Indian Government, meanwhile, protesting strongly against the loss of revenue occasioned by the reforms in China. The Chinese Government seized and destroyed the smuggled opium, and for the sake of these "English Merchants in India" we went to war. China was compelled to pay £1,500,000 for the cost of the war and £1,250,000 for the contraband opium destroyed, and forced to "open" five ports—i. e., to withdraw her prohibition against opium. That was the first Chinese War—the direct result of our economic imperialism in India. The second "Opium War" was no less discreditable and was condemned in the English Parliament at the time both by Radicals and Tories. The Jingoism of the "men on the spot" rather than Indian imperial enterprise was the immediate cause of the second and third wars with China; but inasmuch as they were rendered almost inevitable by the "treaty" that concluded the first war, they may undoubtedly be laid at the door of "our Indian Empire." No mention of Indo-Chinese relations would be complete without reference to the intervention of the Powers in 1927, when Indian troops were used against the express wishes of all parties in the Indian Legislative Assembly. It may be mentioned that this use of Indian lives and Indian rupees in the quarrels of England is not the least of the many indictments that are to be made against the British Raj: thus, for instance, India's "gift" towards the expenses of the Great War was £100,000,000, whilst another £100,000,000 is the estimated excess of her war budget during the years 1914-18 over her normal military expenses: her tribute of blood was poured forth in Flanders, Gallipoli, Iraq and East Africa.

If this article were to include in its scope all the wars into which Britain has entered in the last 200 years it could very easily be shown that every one of them was easily be shown that every one of them was fought either for the expansion or the preservation of her empire—or, in other words, that every bloody conflict in which we have engaged was entered into for the

maintenance of the *Pax Britannica*. The American Independence War was an unsuccessful attempt to maintain that "Peace," the Boer War a successful attempt (if the world can see any difference). But the present article is only intended to deal with the cost of this *Pax Britannica* in India; and by its cost I mean in this case not the economic drain and impoverishment of the country itself by an intolerably expensive administration, but the cost in blood to the whole world of a "Peace" that is based upon violence. So for our purposes even such wars as that with Abyssinia (for which India was compelled to find men and money, though it was in no sense her quarrel) are hardly relevant. On the other hand, the various aggressive campaigns in Burma, by which England acquired that country at the expense of India, were all conducted in the name of Imperial defence, and so were a direct result of *Pax Britannica* in India, although jealousy of French interests played some part in the matter. To these must be added the long series of wars by which we conquered India itself and the border raids and "missions" by which we kept it (numbering over 100 in the last century) and the tale is—for the present—complete.

The immediate future of India's part in world politics is hard to determine. But assuming that Britain retains her hold on the country, a renewed clash between England and Russia is more likely to arise from our rival ambitions in the East than from any other cause. Shrewd observers have noticed the tendency of Bolshevik Russia to revert in many respects to her ancient Imperial traditions; and though her present isolation has led her to seek friendly relations with Turkey, there is little doubt that her Asiatic policy in general has changed very little. An important cause of this is that in 1918 and after we gave the Soviet Government good reason to fear our own ambitions in Turkestan. That was the time when Britain and India (perforce!) pursued a glorious crusade in Central Asia with the noble object of restoring Czarism. The campaign failed, but had it ended otherwise, who is to say whether the grateful Romanoffs would not have rewarded us with some concession?

This was the cause of the profound suspicion aroused in Russia since the rising in Afghanistan against King Amanullah.

* Italics are mine.

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monarchy. This is the pacifism of the man on top telling the man underneath him to stop struggling. It is the pacifism of the thief who turns "honest man" without restoring his stolen property.

But there is only one sort of pacifism that can bring any lasting peace, and that is a pacifism that brings nobility to the serf and penitence to the tyrant. The principles of peace are, in fact, bound up both morally and practically with those of democracy. Nowhere is this clearer than in the conflict of East and West; nowhere is its recognition more urgent than in the affairs of India. I would not be so rash as to prophesy that a free India would automatically generate peace. The sincerest advocates of Swaraj contemplate the possibility of an interim of internal anarchy, which may have to come sooner or later when the unnatural alien government is removed, just as the habitual drug-taker or drunkard may find his system temporarily upset by a return to healthy living.

One may remark here, parenthetically, that it is a universal tradition to prefer such anarchy to servile peace. Thus the states of Europe, which are never tired of urging the benefit of their despotism in Asia or Africa, live themselves in a state of anarchy or the world's history. We are unequalled in the world's history. We persist in comparing Indian antagonisms with those of England or Ireland, whereas in point of numbers India ought to be compared with the whole of Europe. It would then be seen that India was a paradise of concord and unity compared with the mad-house that we showed the world in 1914. In all parts of the earth we desire greater harmony, but we of the West would scarcely relish the suggestion that this should be achieved by means of the Pan-European dictatorship (including Great Britain) of a Mussolini or a Pilsudski. Yet this is closely analogous to the "solution" that we have offered India.

The prospect of anarchy is to be reckoned with, and so is the fundamentally peaceful character of the country, deepened and spiritualized by the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, which must eventually produce a better state of affairs. But both these aspects of the question are temporary, local and speculative. Far more fundamental to the problem of world peace is the fact that self-government provides the only condition

upon which a solid foundation can be built. The virtue of such a settlement lies not in its immediate results but in the fact that it is the only settlement that can be justly and universally recognized as permanent. And that is the foundation stone of Peace.

It is here that international authority enters as a factor. No international authority that had any pretence to morality could guarantee Great Britain in the perpetual possession of her Indian Empire. But the League of Nations or any other International body both could and would guarantee Indian independence as a condition of our withdrawal. And if such a guarantee were made to include in some way the protection of "minority" interests in India, it would probably be welcomed by most of the present Indian leaders.

One word of warning is perhaps worth offering in conclusion. During the last 50 years a large number of Indians have themselves emigrated to other parts of the world—notably Africa—where, in spite of their oppressive treatment by the white people, they have succeeded in securing for themselves a status which is generally far superior to that of the indigenous population. In Kenya, especially, there seems a tendency for the Indian to aim at sharing the "trusteeship" with the Englishman, and, in fact, to associate himself with a system that he has condemned in his own country. Should India ever fall into this trap, it will be one of the great tragedies of history. The crumbling democracies of the West and the rise of military dictators is an object-lesson in the fact that one cannot easily preserve self-government at home and pursue despotism abroad. Even in England the necessity for "continuity" in imperial policy had proved a formidable obstacle to reprehensive government; while in those countries whose dominions are less firmly held or who (like Italy) look to further colonial aggrandizement, the civil power has been necessarily subordinated to the military, with the inevitable result of dictatorship.

In connection with this problem of India's future foreign policy it is worth noting that a resolution on this subject was submitted to the All-India Congress Committee of March 21st, but it was at that time referred to a later date owing to pressure of work in a time of emergency. The resolution proposed included the following points:

- (1) Repudiation of present Government policy,
- (2) Condemnation of political or economic domination of any country over another,
- (3) Repudiation of secret diplomacy,
- (4) Disarmament.

Some of these points have been distressingly familiar on the lips of politicians out of office. But in a state which looked for its ideals to Mahatma Gandhi such words might prove after all to have some real significance.

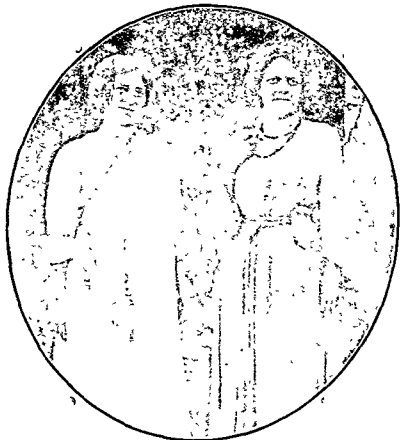
Sister Christine

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

WITH the passing away of Sister Christine on the 27th March last in New York, we have lost one of those sincere lovers of India who, at the clarion call of Swami Vivekananda left their life of ease and comfort in the West behind and devoted themselves to the cause of our motherland. She, in collaboration with Sister Nivedita, founded the girl's school at Baghbazar which is now known as the Sister Nivedita Girl's School, the premier institution of the Ramakrishna Mission for promoting education among the Indian girls along national and modern lines.

Miss Christina Greenstidel, lovingly known since her adoption of the life of consecration as Sister Christine, held a lucrative post in the education department of the city of Detroit where she first came in contact with Swami Vivekananda in 1894. The Swami was the "man of the hour" in Detroit that winter. Society smiled upon him and he was much sought after. The daily papers recorded his comings and goings. Even his food was discussed, one paper gravely stating that his breakfast consisted of bread and butter sprinkled with pepper! Letters and invitations came pouring in, and Detroit was at his feet. Sister Christine first came in contact with this Hindu monk in Detroit. She, like other ladies, was surprised to find a man so white, so chaste as he was.

It set him apart from other men. He was intimately known to the most brilliant and beautiful women of the United States of America, mere beauty did not attract him, but he would often say, "I like to cross swords with your bright intellectual women; it is a new experience to me, for in my country the women are more or less secluded." His casual acquaintance with Sisters Nivedita



Sister Christine with Sister Nivedita

the roughly calculated average. It is interesting to note that due to some unascertained factor the production during the two years of 12-hours-day was falling gradually.

When the shift was shortened there was no definite improvement for a couple of months; then the output rose steadily, reaching its maximum some thirteen months after the change. This was followed by another fall, which Vernon is inclined to attribute to the deterioration of plant. However, if the output be averaged, 'it was an increase of 14 per cent on the 1912 average. Similar phenomena were observed in the Salford Iron Works, which has already been mentioned.

This peculiar nature of response to the change of work-duration is attributed by Myers and Vernon to the process of conscious or unconscious adaptation of the worker to his day's work. They maintain when the hours of shift are suddenly reduced, the worker requires a considerable amount of time in so changing his rate of production as to balance his working capacity with the right poise to the new condition of work. No doubt a number of other factors intervene. The tradition of the workshop and the rate of work of the other operatives influence every individual considerably. The conclusion, however, is drawn that the industrial worker guards himself more or less unconsciously against fatigue by regulating his rate of output in proportion to the length of the day he has to work.

On the other hand if operatives are aware that an increased output is expected of them with the reduction of hours, they may respond to the call consciously without delay by making deliberate effort to improve their rate of production, but even then, it takes them some time to adapt themselves to the new cycle of work. When the 9-hours-day at the Zeiss Optical Works at Jena was changed to eight hours, the workers were informed of the employer's desire for an improved rate of work and they were observed to make a vigorous rally to increase their output. In the first week after the change the manager recorded an improvement of 19 per cent. on the previous average, but found also the workers had overshot the mark. The following week brought down the excess to 5.5 per cent. Their enthusiasm had carried them beyond the limit of normal fatigue. During the next two weeks, however, it mounted to 10.2 per cent. and 12.9 per cent.

respectively and settled down to a fairly steady level.

Curiously enough, whereas it is a slow process to get into equilibrium with the reduced hours, adaptation to lengthened spells may be quick. For example, in the case of millmen engaged in tin-plate industry, while it took eight to ten weeks to reach the equilibrium at the higher rate of output after the reduction of an eight-hour to a six-hour shift, on going back to the eight-hour shift the output fell at once approximately to its previous level without any appreciable period of adaptation.* Reference is not here made to the deliberate slowing down of the rate of work, which occurs in the *ca' canny* policy, where for various reasons there follows a voluntary restriction on output, but to an entirely involuntary, possibly to an altogether unconscious psychological process.

Various other factors of appreciable economic importance, reveal themselves in the comparison of longer and shorter working spells. Here it is only possible to mention them briefly. Not only the quantity but the quality of production improves. The amount of spoilt work varies in direct proportion to the length of the shift. Spoilt work is less when the hours are shorter.

Errors increase rapidly as the day advances. Pieraccini's report on the output of four type-setters shows errors multiply inasmuch as five-fold during the last hour of the working day.† The Industrial Fatigue Board report that a firm trying to run its mills for fifteen hours a day discovered that in four months spoiled work had doubled while the output had diminished by 10 per cent.

So, too, the number of accidents varies with the length of the day. "I found," writes Vernon, "that when the women at a fuse factory were on a twelve-hour day and a seventy-five hour-week, their accident rate was three times greater than when they subsequently went on to a ten-hour day."‡ "It is perhaps obvious that the total number of accidents must of necessity be less in a shorter working shift. Investigations, however, point further that with shorter days accident rate per hour shows a decline.

Again the hours of work affect the 'lost

* I. E. R. B. No. 1. *The Influence of Hours of Work and of Ventilation on Output in Tin-plate Manufacture.*

† Pieraccini: *Proceedings of the First International Congress of Industrial Diseases 1906: Milan.*

§ Memo. 21. H. M. W. C. 1918

and Christine, Miss Waldo, Mrs. Ole Bull; Mrs. Bagely and other brilliant ladies thus ripened into lifelong friendship and devotion.

After one or two meetings with Sister Christine the Swami was much impressed with the innate purity of her heart. Even then he could foresee that this lady would be of inestimable value to him in his future plan of work for India. Regarding those who wished to have a part in his life-work he would say, "they must be pure in heart." He evidently noticed in Sister Christine great possibilities for renunciation and sacrifice. One day he asked a friend of the sister many questions regarding her life, habits and environments and then wistfully said, "And she is pure, pure in soul, is she not?" The friend simply replied, "Yes, Swamiji, she is absolutely pure in heart." His face lighted up and his eyes shone with divine fire as he said with enthusiasm, "I know it, I felt it, I need have her for my work in Calcutta." Swami Vivekananda had in his mind a plan for starting a school in Calcutta for the training of Indian girls. The sad contrast of his illiterate and ignorant sisters and mothers of India with the advanced women of the West weighed heavily upon his mind and he was on the look out for some Western women who would dedicate their lives to the advancement of the Indian womanhood.

Sister Christine had no chance to meet him in a personal way at the time, but she pondered in her heart over all that she heard, him say, resolving to find him sometime, somewhere, even if she had to go across the world to do it. She lost all trace of him for nearly two years and even thought that he might have returned to India. But suddenly she was informed that Swami Vivekananda had been staying in the Thousand Islands Park with a band of chosen disciples for the purpose of recuperating his health and also initiating them into the deeper mysteries of spiritual life. She started next morning with Mrs. Funke, resolved to seek him out and ask him to teach them. The account of this first meeting at Thousand Islands Park may best be told in the words of Mrs. Funke:

"At last after a weary search we found him. We were feeling very much frightened at our temerity in thus intruding upon his privacy, but he had lighted a fire in our souls that could not be quenched. We must know more of this wonderful man and his teachings. It was a dark and rainy night and we were weary after our long journey, but we could not rest until we had seen him face to face. Would he accept us? And if he did not,

what then could we do? It suddenly seemed to us that it might be a foolish thing to go several hundred miles to find a man who did not even know of our existence, but we plodded on up the hill in rain and in darkness, with a man we had hired to show us the way with his lantern. Speaking of this in after years, our *Guru* would refer to us as 'my disciples who travelled hundreds of miles to find me. And they came in the night in the rain.' We had thought of what to say to him but when we realized that we had really found him, we instantly forgot all our fine speeches and one of us blurted out, 'We came from Detroit and Mrs. P. sent us to you.' The other said, 'We have come to you just as we would go to Jesus if he were still on the earth and ask him to teach us.' He looked at us so kindly and said gently, 'If only I possessed the power of the Christ to set you free now!' He stood for a moment looking thoughtful and then turning to his hostess who was standing near said, 'These ladies are from Detroit. Please show them upstairs and allow them to spend the evening with us.' We remained until late listening to the Master who paid no more attention to us, but as we bade them all good night we were told to come the next morning at nine o'clock. We arrived promptly and to our great joy were accepted by the Master and were cordially invited to become members of the household."

Those summer months at the Thousand Islands Park were a period of tender memories to those twelve disciples who had clustered round their beloved teacher. It seemed as if Pentecostal Fire descended and touched the great Swamiji. He told them of the glory of renunciation, of the joy and freedom of those of the ochre robe. One day in the midst of such a conversation he suddenly left them and in a short time wrote his "Song of the Sannyasin," a passionate poem of sacrifice and renunciation. His teachings and talks were related to the deepest mysteries of spirituality and all of them felt for the time being a taste of Life Eternal. These teachings of the Swami have been recorded in his immortal book, *The Inspired Talks*. Though a great teacher explaining serious and profound things, he was like a boy in other matters. What impressed most of his disciples in those days was his infinite patience and gentleness—like a father with his children, though most of them were several years older than he. He would often crouch for them Indian tit-bits leaning over the stove with great patience. He was at those times so gentle and benign.

Sister Christine's next meeting with Swami Vivekananda was at the Belur Math where she arrived, with the Swami's consent, in the early part of 1902 a few months before his passing away. She came to India with the expressed desire of helping Sister Nivedita in

her educational work among the Indian women. The Swami was eager to take advantage of her educational experiences in America. In addition to this there was the magnetism of her personal character, purity of heart and an inborn spiritual fervour. Perhaps a worthier choice could not be made. "A few months' stay with the Swamiji helped a great deal in the inflorescence of her many latent sterling virtues. She was imbued with a passion for serving this great country.

In the autumn of 1903, the whole work of Indian women was taken up and organized by Sister Christine, and "to her," writes Sister Nivedita, "and her faithfulness and initiative alone, it owes all its success up to the present. From the experiment which I made in 1898 and 1899 was gathered only my education." Her interest in the work was as deep and close as that of Sister Nivedita. Before her advent the school consisted of classes for little girls, in which Kindergarten methods were practised with more or less success. When she, however, took up the management at the end of 1903 it was with the intention of devoting herself specially to the cause of married women and widows. Her single-minded devotion greatly expanded the scope of the work. It was at first quite a question whether well-born orthodox women of respectable families could be persuaded to enter the house of two Western women, even for the purpose of lessons, on two afternoons each week. To the utter amazement and great delight of all it was found, on making the experiment, that they were accepted so entirely as recognized members of the community that orthodox ladies of the strictest tradition were perfectly willing to come to the foreign teachers accompanied by their younger sisters and daughters-in-law and that, in fact, the only limitations upon the management of the school lay in its lack of further means for teaching and conveying to and fro. A new class was opened for young wives — whose age ranged from sixteen to thirty-two years — who did their needle-work at home and came daily, at their own request, to

receive ordinary elements of literary education. In many things, the two sisters received much valuable help from the ladies of the Bramho Samaj.

It is needless to say that Sister Christine met with many insurmountable difficulties at the beginning of the work. There was a paucity of funds. She was also a stranger to this country. The language difficulty was also there. The Hindus of that time, particularly the ladies, were most orthodox and



Sister Nivedita

conservative in their views and outlook of life. But her indomitable energy and inborn optimism, love and tradition for Indian culture and above all a sincere passion for serving the country swept away all obstacles before her. Swami Vivekananda had foreseen all these difficulties and known that the path before Sister Christine bristled with thorns.

her fascinating character than by mere words of the mouth. She possessed the pith of the oak and the fragrance of the sandal-wood. She has bequeathed to us a pleasant memory to be always cherished and she is like one

of those rare flowers which though faded leave behind their sweet aroma.*

* Read at the memorial meeting of the monks held at the Belur Math on the 3rd April, 1930 in memory of Sister Christine.

Beginnings of English Education in the Punjab

By PHANINDRANATH BASU, M.A.

IT is necessary to describe the condition of education in the Punjab in the early sixties and seventies of the last century, before we essay to portray the life and character of that eminent scholar Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu, because not only Sris Chandra, but also his father Babu Syama Charan Basu were intimately connected with the educational activities of the Punjab for many years.

In the early fifties and sixties of the last century, education had not made much progress in India, and much less in the Punjab, which was a very backward province specially in educational matters at that time. It was necessary to take special measures to create a taste for high education in the people of the Punjab. Lord Lawrence was not in sympathy with the requirements of the inhabitants of that province.

Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854 was a landmark in the history of Indian education. It brought into being the Educational Departments in the different provinces of India. The Punjab also got its own Department of Education. But the man who was appointed to guide the destinies of the Education Department was not an Educational expert. Mr. William Delafield Arnold, the first Director of Public Instruction of the Punjab, possessed no other qualification for this high post than that of being the son of his father, Dr. Thomas Arnold of Rugby. Mr. Arnold was at first a military officer, but on the creation of the Punjab Education Department was appointed its head on a salary of Rs 1,200 per month.

Not only Mr. Arnold, but also his successors, namely, Lieutenant Paske and Captain Fuller, unfortunately were not

educational experts, though occupying the highest post in the Education Department. It was rather fortunate for the province, that the gentleman who was selected as their assistant not only knew the requirements of that province, but possessed great sympathy for its inhabitants. The assistant in question is no other than Babu Syama Charan Basu, the father of Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu, who devoted his life for the furtherance of the cause of education in the Land of the Five Rivers.

Even after Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854, no systematic attempt was made in the Punjab for the spread of higher education. The province had to wait about a decade before a move was made for the establishment of the Government College at Lahore. In his letter No 14, dated 8th April 1861, the Secretary of State for India wrote to the Government of India :

"The formation of a school of a superior order at Lahore, which will serve as the nucleus of the college, which, under the original scheme sanctioned in 1856, will hereafter be constituted for the Punjab, has my approval." (*A Collection of Despatches*, etc., from 1854-1868, p. 160).

This need for "the formation of a school of a superior order at Lahore," was felt because education in the Punjab schools till this period was free. It is evident from the following quotation from the letter of the Secretary of State for India, from which the above extract is given :

"It is stated by the Lieutenant-Governor that sanction has been separately given to the proposals of the Director regarding the demand of schooling fees from the pupils in the several classes of schools. There do not seem to me to be any circumstances which would justify the continued exemption of the Punjab from the rule prevailing in other parts of India, under which schooling fees are universally exacted." *Ibid.*, p. 161.

At last the Government College was established in Lahore in 1864, ten years after Wood's Educational Despatch had been written. Dr. Leitner was appointed its Principal. As his appointment was made in an irregular manner, it called forth the following letter (No. 10, dated 24th March 1864) from the Secretary of State for India to the Government of India :

"The following advertisement has recently appeared in several successive issues of the Times newspaper :

"Educational appointments in India.—A Principal on £792, and a Professor on £660, per annum, are required for the Government College at Lahore in the Punjab. £200 will be allowed to each for passage money and outfit. For one post equal to those of a medium Cambridge wrangler, and for the other, excellence in classics, at least up to the standard of a good Oxford Second Class and proficiency in English language and Literature. Proficiency in other subjects, such as History, Law, Mental and Moral Science, or the Oriental Languages, especially Arabic, Persian and Hindoostanee, will render a candidate, otherwise qualified, still more eligible for appointment. Early applications with copies of testimonials should be sent, either direct to Captain Fuller, R. A., Director of Public Instruction for the Punjab at Lahore; or to Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co., Cornhill, London, who will forward them by the next overland mail, and supply any further information that may be needed."

"I have to request that the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab may be called to the irregularity which has been committed by the Director of Public Instruction; and that he may be directed in future to conform to the prescribed course of submitting to the Secretary of State any occasion which may arise for the engagement of a gentleman in this country for the Educational Service in the Punjab."

Here we find the Secretary of State pointing out "the irregularity" committed by Captain Fuller, the Director of Public Instruction of the Punjab. But this "irregularity" was not rectified. It is doubtful whether he would have been selected for the job, if the selection for the appointment had been left to the Secretary of State for India, who, in the letter referred to above, observed that "The above advertisement is...open to the further objection that a decision passed at Lahore on the applications of individuals supported by testimonials sent from England would afford a very insufficient security for the selection of the best candidate." This "irregularity" however, brought out Dr. Leitner to India and he was appointed Principal of the Government College, Lahore.

The establishment of the Lahore Govern-

ment College was the first step towards the spread of higher education in the Punjab. But this first college of Lahore did not have a very promising beginning. It did not fare well in the first year of its existence. Mr. A. M. Monteath, in his "Note on the State of Education in India during 1865-66," regarding the Lahore Government College, writes :

"It has been found difficult to get students, and still more difficult to keep them. . . . p. 25.

In a marginal note he remarks that—

"There was in 1865-66 an average attendance of only 8 students in the Lahore College." p. 26.

This was rather a disappointing state of affairs for the Government College, Lahore. It was thought necessary to attract students to the new college by offering scholarships. So it was proposed to grant scholarships to all the students who attended the college. The Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, therefore, wrote on 20th April 1865, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab :

"By orders of the Supreme Government in the Home Department under date the 15th April 1864 sanctioning establishments for the Lahore and Delhi Colleges, Rs. 200 per mensem in all, i.e., Rs. 100 for each college, were passed on account of scholarship. . . I now beg that the Government of India may be solicited to sanction the proposed increase to College scholarships of Rs. 200 per mensem for the year 1865-66, and that a similar increase may be allowed for each of the two years succeeding. . . Thus, when the colleges are in full working order, with four classes in each, the whole cost of scholarships, will be Rs. 800 per mensem, or Rs. 400 for each College."

The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab in forwarding this application of the D. P. I. to the Government of India wrote "that the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor supports this application."

Lord Lawrence was then the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. He was, unfortunately, not in favour of this proposal. He objected to sanction this paltry sum of Rs. 400 a month to the Lahore Government College.

In his letter of 31st May 1865, the Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, wrote to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab that—

"The proposed sum of Rs. 400 per mensem would apparently suffice to give to every one of the students in the two colleges a monthly stipend of about Rs. 13, being one Rupee more than the average value of the Bengal Junior Scholarship; for exactly the same class of students (first and

second years) and open to be competed for at the University Entrance Examination by the numerous candidates from all schools, Government and private, in the Lower Provinces of Bengal...

"Even admitting the possible propriety of extending a more than ordinarily liberal encouragement of this sort during the infancy of college education in the Punjab, the Governor-General in Council would suppose that scholarships for about one-third of the total number of students ought to be amply sufficient. This would give about 10 scholarships which, at an average of Rs. 12 each (the average amount of the Bengal Junior Scholarships), would make a total charge of Rs. 120 per mensem for the students of both colleges, being less by Rs. 280 than the amount proposed and falling short by Rs. 80 of the amount (Rs. 200) already sanctioned."

Thus, it seemed for the time being that the fate of the Lahore Government College had been sealed, because, in the event of the proposed scholarships not being granted, the condition of the Government College would continue to grow worse.

Moreover, it did not seem probable that a subordinate Government and the various departments under it would venture to argue out the case with the Supreme Government, even if the Government of India would happen to take a wrong view of the situation. It has rightly been observed by Mr. Ludlow that—

"No officials in the world would have greater temptations to sacrifice everything for the sake of a quiet life, than the Indian ones. The climate is enervating; they have no permanent connection with the country, no abiding incentive to activity, whv, unless from higher motives than any which constitute the ordinary springs of Government, should he trouble himself to do the right and fight the wrong?" (Ludlow's *British India*, vol. II pp. 40-41.)

Thus the fate of the Government College, Lahore, was hanging in the balance. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the D. P. I. would have allowed the matter to rest there, because they had "no permanent connection with the country," and "no abiding incentive to activity."

Fortunately for the Punjab the province then had Babu Syama Charan Basu as the Head Clerk of the Education Department. He realized the calamity that would befall the land of his adoption, if the question of scholarships was allowed to drop. He, therefore, induced the D. P. I., his chief, to ask the Government of India to reconsider the decision. It was Babu Syama Charan, who drafted the reply to the Government of India's letter, which was forwarded on the 24th July 1865 to the Punjab Government for transmission to the Government of India.

In this reply, signed by the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, it was said :

"My proposal undoubtedly was, and is, that for the present, every student of colleges in the Punjab should receive an allowance from Government just sufficient to maintain him there, unless he or his parents have the means themselves of providing for his maintenance. For this is the only way in which we can hope at first to keep the colleges, supplied with a sufficiency of students and prevent the time of the Principals and Professors being wasted in lecturing to miserably small classes."

The Government of India had to recognize the force of this argument, because they wrote to the Punjab Government that "the argument is undoubtedly a strong one;..."

The Director went on to say :

"I readily admit that scholarships, properly so called, should be awarded to the meritorious among a host of competitors, as is the case in every country that can boast of even moderate intellectual development. But in the Punjab, colleges have only just been opened, and the advantages of University Education are not yet properly appreciated, because they have not yet in any case been realized here, as elsewhere, by the advancement of those so liberally educated to posts of the highest dignity and emolument. Moreover, the inhabitants of the Punjab, as compared with the other parts of the Bengal Presidency, are decidedly poor, especially the upper classes, from which our college students ought chiefly to be drawn, as most likely to possess the requisite leisure and means for pursuing so long and advanced a course of study as is required by the University for its degrees. In the Punjab then, I submit, that scholarships must be, for sometime to come at any rate, regarded rather in the light of stipends or subsistence allowances to poor but willing and laborious students than as rewards to the meritorious out of a host of competitors."

"I would, therefore, most earnestly solicit His Excellency the Viceroy in Council to reconsider the supposition that scholarships for about one-third of the whole number of students ought to be amply sufficient." If two-thirds of the present scholarships were, under the foregoing rule, withdrawn, two-thirds of the students would infallibly disappear. Or, to be plain, after sanctioning so large an expenditure to start the Punjab Colleges, the Supreme Government, for the sake of one or two hundred rupees a month more, would utterly prevent the due development of those institutions; and the previous and current heavy expenditure, instead of being turned to the best account and made to yield the largest return of well educated college men, would, on the contrary, be lamentably wasted on the education of a very small number."

The Bengal system of awards of scholarships was sought to be introduced by the Government of India in the Punjab. In the course of the letter, drafted by his assistant, the Director put forth the following argument

against the introduction of the Bengal system in the Punjab :

"I would invite the consideration of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor and His Excellency the Viceroy in Council to a closer comparison of the status of the Punjab and of Bengal proper in regard to this matter of college scholarships. I select Bengal, because constant reference is made throughout the Supreme Government's letter to the state of affairs there, and it is evidently held up to us as a model, to which we should strive to attain.

"Now I find that, in the province of lower Bengal, according to its Educational Report for 1863-64, no less a sum of Rs. 61,752 is annually spent in college scholarships....

"If then, the comparatively richer province of Bengal, where English education of a higher standard has been going on for years, say in the ratio of about a quarter of a century to every year that it has been at work in the Punjab, is found to require this pecuniary stimulus, *a fortiori*, must a proportional stimulus of this kind be needed in the latter province, which suffers under the disadvantages of want of wealth, as well as dearth of education of a high standard. In short, if the 40 millions of inhabitants in Bengal are allowed to draw Rs. 61,752 annually by way of college scholarships, the 15 millions in the Punjab are, by a simple rule of three, seen entitle to Rs. 23,157 annually for the same purpose.

"This amount would admit of senior or junior scholarships at the Bengal rates being established in the Punjab. I should be very glad to see the Bengal system of awarding the scholarships, as far as they will go, among all candidates, whether belonging to Government or private colleges, affiliated to the Calcutta University, by open competition, and on the results of the University Examinations."

In forwarding the above letter to the Government of India, the Punjab Government observed that—

"It is certain that much of the heavy outlay which has already been incurred on colleges will be in a great measure sacrificed, if the additional stimulus now solicited be withheld at the present critical period."

At last the Government of India had to admit the strong arguments advanced in the letter of the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab. Had they foreseen that higher education would not be appreciated in the Punjab, they would not have given their sanction to the establishment of two expensive colleges in that province. They observed :

"There was nothing in the original recommendations by which the immediate necessity of establishing two expensive colleges in the Punjab was supported, that could have led the Government of India to expect a result such as is now reported ;—

"The Governor-General in Council would ask the Punjab Government to impress strongly upon

Captain Fuller the impropriety of pressing forward educational projects without, as in the case of the Punjab Colleges, giving the Government to understand the real extent of the expenditure to which he was practically pledging it."

Though the Government of India found out "the impropriety of" Captain Fuller in pressing for the scholarship, they at last sanctioned the grant of stipends. They remarked that—

"To every deserving student in the Government Colleges who does not obtain a scholarship and whose parents are unable to maintain him at College, a subsistence allowance of Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 per mensem might be given for the present."

Thus the long drawn-out controversy of awarding scholarships to all the students of the Lahore Government College came to an end. Some provision was at least made for awarding "a subsistence allowance of Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 per mensem" to attract students to this expensive college of the Punjab.

We cannot conclude this brief survey of the condition of education in the Punjab in the latter half of the last century without touching on the movement for the establishment of the Punjab University.

Though the Calcutta University was established as early as 1858, the Punjab could not boast of any university at that early period. The movement for the foundation of the Punjab University was of very late growth. The movement originated in the time of Sir Donald McLeod, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. This Punjab satrap was strongly in favour of orientalizing the system of education in that province. He did not like the spread of Western education in the Punjab. In a letter to the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, Sir Donald McLeod put forward his view of orientalizing the system of education of the Punjab. The Director of Public Instruction asked the opinion on this question of his assistant, Babu Syama Charan Basu, who had received a sound training under the celebrated educationist, the Rev. Dr. Duff and who was well acquainted with the famous controversy between the Orientalists and Occidentalists, in which Raja Ram Mohan Roy had also taken part. To orientalize the system of education would have meant throwing the Punjab backward in the onward march of progress. It would have meant a great disaster to the Punjab. Babu Syama Charan, therefore, opposed this retrograde proposal of Sir Donald McLeod. The letter was at his suggestion sent for consideration

to the *Anjuman-i-Punjab*, which owed its origin to the efforts of Babu Syama Charan and Dr. Leitner. When the letter was placed before the *Arjuman-i-Punjab*, Babu Syama Charan proposed the establishment of an institution for the encouragement of the vernaculars of the Punjab. We read in the *Tribune* of 5th December, 1885 :

"The Punjab University was the creation of almost an accident. A meeting was one fine day held in the Siksha Sabha Hall somewhere about the beginning of 1865 and there was some conversation about Oriental education. Babu Shama Charan Bose in course of the conversation suggested the formation of an institution which

should foster the cultivation of Western as well as Eastern learning. The keen foresight of Dr. Leitner looked through the suggestion and he eagerly caught hold of it as capable of indefinite expansion. A scheme was shortly after drawn up, matured and the proposal of a University was set afloat."

The Punjab University was established shortly afterwards, though unfortunately Babu Syama Charan did not live to see its foundation. He had done his best to organize the Education Department of the Punjab. He was connected with the Siksha Sabha, Anjuman-i-Punjab, Lahore Government College and the Education Department, Punjab.

Indian Fine Arts

By SRIS CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

AT the present moment there is quite a strong movement in certain quarters in the country for inclusion of at least an elementary training in art in the curriculum of the universities. It seems that by art is principally meant the fine arts of painting and sculpture. There can be no doubt that the training of the eye for the cultivation of the sense of beauty, for the development of our aesthetic faculty, which is one of the greatest gifts of God to man, can best be effected through the plastic arts—painting and sculpture. The fullest development of the aesthetic faculty is the sign of health and intellectual well-being in any nation, and this faculty may be either conscious or unconscious. Every one will sincerely agree with the plea for art education which has been put forward with such zeal and erudition from some of our foremost art critics and art lovers. The question is—how to do it? Education in order to be an effective force in life must not be cut off from life. What we learn in the class-room or laboratory or museum must be nourished and strengthened by what we see and do outside. An education in art, with the help of pictures and casts and slides, is all very well. But unless there is a world of beauty around us, such an education will remain a hot-house plant. Two or three hours' lecture or study or drawing and painting

in a week, and then the dreary surroundings in the city, devoid of all art,—that surely is not a helpful state of things. Art must be brought to the door of all; "he who runs may read," it is said: so we can say, art should be so widely dispersed as never to fail to attract and ennoble even the most busy. Art is not an affair of mere taste for the luxury of connoisseurs, but is an affair of deep and wide-spread human concern for society at large. It is no longer to be regarded as an embellishment of life but a thing necessary to redeem life from brutality. Then only an art education can be made fruitful. This can only be done if we have a noble architecture, the mother as well as the repository of all the plastic arts. Painting and sculpture cannot thrive or develop if the stream of architecture ceases to flow. The history of the world has several times witnessed the phenomenon that great national awakenings were characterized by the regeneration of the fine arts and literature, and there was always a revival of architecture which held the fine arts in its embrace. It was architecture that stimulated the imagination of the artist to produce a statue or a picture as a thing of beauty to find harmony in and bring in an additional note of beauty to its surroundings. Only from harmony in all conditions and environments results the state of perfect æsthetic happiness. Architecture is

of human sentiments is minimized. When a newspaper of unnecessary length advertises the great event of the publication of its two further daily editions, then it merely exploits this childish crudity in the modern mind, its fascination for the more and more in numbers. It helps to add another huge organization to a host of others and in order to startle its readers' minds into a spirit of veneration declares how a few more inches have been added to the length of its columns and how a few hundred copies more can be printed in a minute by its own up-to-date press than by any other. Thus it arouses to a pitch of ecstasy the feeling of worship for the record-breaker. Modern civilization is piling up the non-essential to an immense height, and that foolishly staring altitude itself is appearing sublime to the present-day crowd.

When the cannibal eats up his fellow beings, it is some satisfaction to know that it allays his hunger and nourishes him. But when we realize that not only we, who belong to alien continents, but numberless individuals of the West, are made to offer their very life-blood, not to fulfil human need, but to help in the increase of the record-breaking height of the non-essential, then we cannot help hoping that God's vengeance will strike these idolators to the dust and with them the blood-stained altar of their ugly image, the fetish of organization for production or profit that is superfluous, and the hungry spirit of possession that is unmeaning.

When a people begins to seek its safety principally in the augmentation of its armour and the increase of its material wealth, then it is a race of death for that people. For these things have no end in themselves; they are dead, and therefore their weight kills. They have their perpetual suggestion to us that our safety is in mutual suspicion and a destructive spirit of combat. We forget that the constant effort of maintaining this ugly attitude of pugnacious rapacity strikes us at the root of our life. There was a time when the profession of fighting and the business of profit-gathering were restricted to especially trained groups of men, while the rest of the people had full freedom to cultivate their human personality. But because the scientific facility of communication to-day has spread its conquest in every realm of the elements, the field for fighting and profit making has also become boundless in dimension. And therefore the organization

of offensive and defensive measures is taxing a large part of the resources of the whole population of the country. It means that what is merely technical is crowding out to a narrow corner what is purely human. From the outside it offers an imposing spectacle. For organizations can be made symmetrical and perfect in their accuracy. You can make them enormously big, if only you have enough materials; they are voracious in their hunger for materials. To satisfy the growing claims of your military machine of a monstrous proportion you need an amount of money which is almost farcical in its absurdity. And for that you need to multiply your money-making machines, which again in their turn, in order to keep pace, need a parallel organization of whips and shouts in the donkey race of military expansion.

I ask our people, who suffer from an infatuation with the complexity and immoderate bulk of organization in the West, to take notice how it produces the ludicrous and yet tragic mentality that has its worshipful tenderness for the automaton. The money that is recklessly lavished in order to manufacture and maintain the unproductive military doll is forcibly snatched away from the hungry, from the sick, from the tillers of the soil, who must sell their plough-bullocks to make their contribution.

I have had my experience of what water-scarcity means for people who live under the tropical sun, when drinking water has to be extorted from the grip of the miserly mud, when a chance spark burns down a whole village to ashes with not a drop of water in the neighbourhood but tear-drops for quenching the fire. The daily suffering, during the sultry months of summer, of numberless men and women is intense and widespread. But care is taken that this suffering must not, in the least, touch the imperfectly human, who dwell in the doll-house barracks and the offices of the organization agency. I blush to mention the paltry sum that is allotted in my country by the high priests of Organization to provide the thirsting millions with a mockery of water-supply.

What stupendous cruelty is implied in all this is never realized by the devotees of the Machine who cannot even imagine where lies the inequity of turning human blood into oil for the smoother working of their engine. Those whose function it is to carry on the unbroken stream of life from age to age are

time' to a very great extent. The question of time lost through 'industrial sickness,' lateness, accidents, etc., has given rise to the distinction between *nominal* hours and *actual* hours. Nominal hours are the hours scheduled whereas actual hours represent the period equal to those hours minus the time lost through slackness, sickness, etc. It has been observed that these two periods vary in inverse ratio. As the *nominal* hours rise the *actual* hours fall and that if the

nominal hour rises about a certain limit, even the *number* of actual hours may fall abruptly. In a workshop when *nominal* hours were decreased from 62.8 to 56.5, *actual* hours rose from 50.5 to 51.2. Similarly elsewhere though *nominal* hours were changed from 63.4 to 54, *actual* hours decreased only from 56 to 51. The following figures, compiled after the reports of the Industrial Fatigue Research Board illustrate the point.

Work	No. of weeks.	Average hours worked Nominal.	Actual.	Average hourly output.	Total output Hours X output per hour.
<i>Boys boring top caps</i>	11	76.6	70.6	105	7,413-(100)
<i>Light</i>	46	60.1	54.5	127	6,922-(93)
<i>Women turning</i>	10	74.5	66.0	108	7,128-(100)
<i>fuse bodies</i>	16	63.5	54.4	131	7,126-(100)
<i>Moderate</i>	24	55.3	47.5	169	8,028-(113)
<i>Men sizing</i>	6	66.7	58.2	100	3,820-(100)
<i>fuse bodies</i>	10	60.2	51.0	120	6,120-(103)
<i>Heavy</i>	11	55.5	50.4	137	6,905-(119)

The most striking evidence of time lost through sickness alone, was obtained by Vernon in one of the shell factories, where for the first nine months men worked 63.4 and women 44.4 on average per week, which was followed by a period of seven months when both men and women averaged 54 hours a week. During the first period men lost no less than 7 per cent of this time through sickness whereas the women lost only 2.8 per cent. But with the change the 6 men's 'lost time' fell to 4 per cent whereas the women who worked 9.4 hours more than before rose to 4.3 per cent.

Our enquiry so far has been confined to the total duration of workspell. There still remains the important question of distribution of these hours throughout the week and within the working day. It is essential that the interval between one working day and the next should be sufficient to ward off fatigue altogether; and at the end of the week it is equally necessary that the worker should have a couple of days' rest. As regards the other holidays at definite intervals of the year, it will be universally agreed, that of all the workers the need of the industrial workers is the greatest. To a superficial observer, these periods may be nothing but 'lost time,' yet the effects on the whole are paying to the industry. Leaving this general question for the moment, let us

inquire how are operatives to engage themselves throughout the working day that the output is maximum with least possible exertion? Are they to be left alone to look after themselves as best as they can except for the officially regulated meal times? Recent industrial investigations claim that by re-adjusting alternating periods of work and rest the efficiency of the individual can be definitely increased.

On a close study, an ordinary work curve of a labourer, taking the output as the measure of his capacity, is seen to fluctuate. It starts at a fairly low level, then rises as the agent 'warms up' to his work, and shows a gradual decline as midday meal time approaches. A similar curve is often found during the afternoon, although the final drop is more pronounced. The steadiness of the curve is liable to decrease as the day advances. The fluctuations are at times quite violent towards the end of the day. Sometimes the awareness of his diminishing efficiency and perhaps the lesser exertion from the slower rate of work will lead to a temporary improvement in the curve. In monotonous work, it is assumed, the curve falls as boredom sets in and then a spurt from the consciousness that the dragging day is nearing its end makes it rise steadily.

Roughly, though the above holds good of

negligible factor—in fact, it becomes often the only controlling factor. My interest is primarily that of weaning the Indian public from the non-Indian and hybrid styles in vogue. My aims are mainly educational, without myself forgetting the responsibilities to the science of Engineering which is the basis of architecture as a fine art, when I design and construct. Public bodies like municipalities have got to take up the movement for the revival of Indian architecture in its educative aspect. The Corporation of Calcutta has a large department dealing with the question of building. There are apprentices in training in this department. Those young men while in training might be made to know both in theory and practice something of Indian architecture so that they may not feel themselves wide at sea when later on they may be called upon to deal with buildings with real architecture about them. A little study of Indian and other architectures side by side with the technical training that may be imparted to them will not harm them in any way. The Corporation can make a beginning in this way. And as a corollary to such a decision, viz., to teach Indian architecture and architectural drawing to its Building Department apprentices, will be the inauguration of a series of practical handbooks and architectural drawings of details and decorations in the various Indian styles, or pre-Mahammadan, Hindu or Rajput, or Pathan or Bijapur, or Mughal or Chalukyan or Pallava or composite and newly evolved styles suiting modern conditions which may be called into being. Such books of details should in the domain of practical building and architecture ultimately take up at least an equal rank with the standard P. W. D. treatises.

Preparation of standard types of designs for buildings of all sorts, public and private, can be another line in which the municipality can serve the people in both directing them how to build usefully and elegantly and at the same time bringing home to them the beauty and the suitability of the Indian styles. A stereotyped form for anything would kill the soul out of it. Standardized types held up before the public by the municipality might bring the risk of killing initiative and freshness of creation which is the soul of all art. In spite of the same, for the present, as a guidance to all our builders and contractors, who usually have no ideas about this matter and to our masons and carpenters, who are equally

or just a little more deficient in them, it would be a great boon and a great advance in the interest for the recapturing of the national fields of architecture. And when in that longed for future architectural genius or at least facility would be a common thing in India, such treatises on standard types would become useless. Till then the municipalities would only do their duty to the public in showing it the way.

The character of the citizens is expressed by their architecture. There are no special laws now in vogue (although formerly there were) in the matter of proper dress to wear. The law only insists that a man must be decently clad. It is cultured society which sets the standard in dress. In architecture similarly in many cities of Europe and America, there are laws against bad architecture like laws against indecent dress. The high level of culture among engineers and architects as well as their clients sets the fashion or taste in architecture, and consequently the tone of architecture in the West remains high. In the general absence of that cultured body in India, both among house-builders and house-owners, the municipality owes it as a duty to the public to act as its conscience-keeper in this matter. It should make garish and parvenu architecture, such as unfortunately too plentifully disfigure our public streets and avenues, an impossibility—not by refusing to sanction buildings, which would be a harassment to builders in its designs for whole avenues what could be done. There should be some attempt from now to have the new streets and *boulevards* which have now been begun made into an architectural paradise. This can be done if the Corporation were to rise to the occasion and do something. A single such avenue laid out by the Calcutta Municipality would serve as a model to other proposed avenues of Calcutta, and even of other cities of India. Indian architecture does not mean exclusively Hindu or any sectarian style. Muhammadans, Parsis and other communities inhabiting India should feel the same interest in the revival. Indian architecture can boast of several styles contributed by the different culture streams which have poured into India from the earliest ages. The revival of Indian architecture will therefore, mean the revival of all these different styles and will, at the same time, make it possible for yet new styles and developments.

to be evolved in the future. Of all the arts, architecture alone has kept step with progress. It has met the imperative demands of the inventive masters of the age. It has built to fit their needs. To the structures created it has imparted beauty, dignity and complete utility.

I want to bring up once again in the present connection the suggestion for starting an architectural crafts school. The municipality has municipal workshops for supplying appliances for many of its departments. This comes out cheap in the long run. The corporation is also a builder. It can easily start a craft section to supply its building construction department (and also to the public) various building parts. If it can turn out carts, buckets, lamp-posts, etc., in its workshop there is no reason why it cannot do the same for its tiles, pillars, balustrades, *jalis*, brackets and the terracotta and wood and metal works. If it can turn out standardized articles of good quality it would give a tone to local manufacturers. The municipality may not, with an avowed intention, start a factory as a business concern. It can, however, open a school where some of the handicrafts which are associated with house building can be taught. Drawing and painting can also be taught in addition. Architecture is a mother art which alone can nourish a great many fine arts as its dependants. The decorator, the carpenter, and very often the sculptor, the metal worker and painter can flourish only when the house building trade flourishes. A school of artistic crafts teaching terracotta work, ornamental carpentry and wood carving and bronze and metal casting would enable a number of young men to learn some artistic crafts for which, as my experience with a little establishment of mine dealing with these crafts shows, there is a growing demand. Thinkers also share the same opinion with me. The bread problem of our unemployed young men who are driven to the university, because they cannot get the training in a decent and paying trade anywhere, can be partly solved if a central school can be opened for these crafts for which there is demand. A small beginning can be made any time. The details can be settled easily. I need not for the present deal with it elaborately. By taking up the work of beautifying the city as a practical proposition and with that end in view, by estab-

lishing a store yard and workshop as suggested, such a practical school of crafts and sculpture and painting in connection with the work of actual construction of buildings can be started as a matter of course. As such combination takes place, the corporation will work both as manufacturers and suppliers of material and will be in a position to erect and decorate and furnish buildings, if required at considerably lower costs than the P. W. D. or other private firms. And I am perfectly convinced that such an arrangement will pay its way, and if the public are won to an appreciation of beautiful buildings, will relieve considerable distress through want of unemployment. With the growing demand for Indian style of buildings, the store yards and workshops and kilns of the corporation may be developed and as the corporation is organized properly and strengthened in all its branches the Public Works Department will ultimately cease to be necessary. To control the Public Works Department and to carry on its functions should be the ideal of our municipalities as it is in all civilized countries, barring of course large engineering schemes affecting the whole country, which can be taken up by Trusts like the Calcutta or Bombay Improvement Trust and the Port Trust, etc. The bigger engineering and building firms should co-operate with the corporation by sending their apprentices to the municipal school of architecture. Government should be properly approached in the matter and we are confident that the Government will extend its support. This work of co-operation will obviously win us *Swarajya* in the direction of house-building.

It is a matter of gratification that at last the Corporation of Calcutta have turned their attention to a revival of Indian architecture, and have been arranging to give a permanent footing to the same.

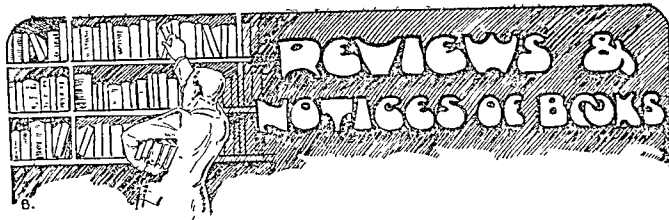
Progressive states like Mysore, Baroda, and Jaipur have done a lot to conserve and strengthen the old architecture of the land. Bombay is going ahead in this matter. Madras is also not sitting idle. The premier municipalities of India can—if they cannot organize early for a municipal museum in their respective centres—immediately do one thing which will help towards changing the taste of the public; they can spare one room each in the central municipal office, where building plans and designs and

artistic crafts in Indian styles can permanently be exhibited. Indian architects, craft-men and modellers will thereby find a scope to display their designs and their artistic creations which will be useful in architecture. Let big municipalities lead in this matter, and the entire country will follow their example.

These are my suggestions and they are based on personal experience. I give my opinion for whatever it is worth. I invite criticism and questions and further suggestions from persons with a practical interest in the matter. Now that the fear of cost, that so long stood in the way for erecting buildings in the Indian styles has been removed through actual constructions Indian arts can no longer be treated as museum treasure only or a subject to write theses on or recorded and catalogued scientifically by archaeologists, but must be made actually living. It may not be at present possible, neither it is desirable, to eschew foreign ideas completely or to build in strictest conformity to the grammar and convention of our *Silpa Sastras*, but any way the demands of free-thinking and artistic tradition have to be harmonized as far as possible. It is expected that a new synthesis suitable to our present needs will evolve in the near future. Our immediate duty is to turn the tide of our wayward ideas. Our duty is to unite and co-operate with each other forgetting our self-interest. A combined and sustained effort has to be made to save Indian architecture and other fine arts from starvation.

In conclusion, I would say a few words to the authorities of the Indian universities. They should know that even our modern engineers, trained in the European principles of architectural composition, are feeling the glow of enthusiasm for the great national architecture. The imagination of the people whose profession would seem to give little scope for the exercise of this faculty has at last been touched, and the

spirit of curiosity is also abroad among them. The necessity for giving greater prominence to architecture, especially to Indian architecture, in the engineering college curriculum is being acknowledged universally. The principle has been accepted and is waiting to be carried out in practice. The principals of some important Government engineering colleges have told me that they are agreeable to its inclusion. Every year houses with elevations with an Indian feel are being erected, and the scope for the builders in Indian styles are growing brighter and brighter every year. The municipalities also are interesting themselves in this matter, which augurs very well for the real development of Indian architecture in our country. I think the universities and the engineering colleges and schools should now take the lead. Private engineering institutions can also be run on these lines. We understand that one such "Calcutta Engineering College" has recently been established with Dr. B. N. Dey as its President. Indian architecture both in its historical and in its constructive side should form an important subject in the engineering college and school courses and a properly qualified professor of architecture with special practical knowledge of Indian architecture as well as teachers of architecture with requisite draftsman assistants can at once be provided for. Arrangements have to be made for teaching the allied arts of sculpture and painting side by side. Libraries and model rooms, photographic collections and other accessories necessary for proper teaching will also have to be provided for. Practical training excursions to important seats of architectural remains in India are also to be organized as part of the training. Other details can be worked out and formulated if the idea takes shape and receives the support of the authorities. I conclude with a very optimistic view of the whole situation and I feel quite confident that good times are in store for the future of architecture in this country.



[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

THE BHARAT JOURNAL OF DR. F. BUCHANAN.
Edited by C.F.A.W. Oldham pp. XL+262. Rs. 10.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICT OF PURNEA IN 1809-10, by Francis Buchanan, ed. from the I. O. L.M.S.S. by V.H. Jackson. (Patna: B. & O. Research Society, 1928). Pp. 630+48 Rs. 10.

Dr. F. Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton) made a statistical survey of Bihar and North Bengal in 1807-11, during which time he wrote a personal *Journal* and a *Report* of each district that he studied.

"An ill-conceived and ill-executed abridgment of the Reports" was published by Montgomery Martin in 1838 as *Eastern India* in three vols. The Journals "have a greater personal interest in them we get a view of the man, his tireless energy, his wide scientific interests, his topographical acumen, his powers of observation and of accurately recording what he saw and heard, and his most methodical system of work" (as Mr. Oldham rightly points out). These last had remained in MS. in the India Office, London for nearly a century, until Messrs. Macpherson, Jackson, and Oldham—three distinguished and scholarly officers of the Bihar service, set to work on them. The importance of these papers for the study of the economic social and ethnological condition of Bengal and Bihar and their antiquities before modernization had begun, cannot be over-stated. The Government of Bihar and some local noblemen deserve the thanks of the scholarly world for financing the publication and the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for supervising the editing and printing of both *Journal* and *Report*.

The *Patna* and *Gaya Journals* have been published edited by Mr. V. H. Jackson, and the *Shaharal and Bhagalpur Journals* by C. F. A. W. Oldham, each of whom made himself, while in India, the supreme authority on his subject. The *Purnea Journal* appears to have been lost, but the *Purnea Report* opens the series of the full and

correct text of the *Reports* which the B & O. Research Society has now undertaken to print. The *Reports* on the four Bihar districts mentioned above will next follow.

On the subject of the Sontals, Buchanan's account is the earliest and most valuable (Bhagalpur volumes), while the studies of Hindu castes in the Shahabad and Purnea volumes are indispensable to the ethnologist, as his exact and detailed collection of economic data and statistics is to the student of economics. In short, these well-printed, well edited and helpfully illustrated volumes touch the high watermark of modern scholarship and will find a place in every library on Indian history, ethnology, economics or sociology. The B. & O. Research Society and these editors have at last done justice to the memory of Dr. Buchanan and established his fame on a high pedestal as the father of Indian ethnological survey, on the same level as James Rennell, the father of Indian Geography.

J SARKAR

THE PLACE OF MAN AND OTHER ESSAYS: By Nagendranath Gupta: *The Indian Press.*

This is a volume of thoughtful and suggestive essays by an author who needs no introduction to the readers of the *Modern Review*. The essays are on a variety of subjects,—chiefly on art, literature and religion,—extremely well written and illustrated. The intellectual quality of the author. The discussion of "Art in the West and the East" tackles a vast subject and the author's literary powers are best evident in his being able to compress as many ideas as he has done within such a short compass. The sketches of Ramkrishna and Vivekananda have an added interest because of the writer's personal contact with these leaders of the religious revival in Bengal and one can visualize them fully after noting Mr. Gupta's suggestive touches. In condemning "Mazalomania in literature" the writer does not mince matters and

his straightforward talk is extremely interesting and enjoyable for all students of literature. The essay on Rabindranath was not intended to be a complete analysis of the poet's greatness as a man and a poet; but within the limits marked out by himself the writer shows how fully and adequately he has appreciated the poet's work.

The whole volume, one must repeat, is of extraordinary interest to every thoughtful reader and will repay the labours of an intensive perusal and re-reading.

N. K. S.

THE MOTOR MECHANISM OF PLANTS: *By Sir J. C. Bose, London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1928, pp. xxv, 429, 2s. net.*

Sir J. C. Bose, the world-renowned scientist, has brought out one more of the series of volumes in which an account of his researches in plant physiology has, from time to time, appeared. In this volume the author deals more particularly with the investigation of the motor mechanism of plants as compared and contrasted with that of the animal. The author's investigations in this direction date so far back as 1901 when in a Friday evening discourse before the Royal Institution in May the discovery was announced "that every plant and each organ of every plant respond to stimulation, the excitation being manifested by an electric response of galvanometric negativity." A detailed account of the method of experimentation and the results are to be found in the author's "Response in the Living and Non-Living," published in 1902. In his "Comparative Electro-Physiology," published in 1907, the method of electric response is employed in order to confirm and extend the results obtained by the method of mechanical response. Since then, the author says, a mechanical response has been collected, and great deal of new material has been collected, and that notably within the last two years. The volume under review contains a complete and up-to-date account of all the important results that the author has obtained on the motor response of plants, has obtained at the same time with their functional importance in the life of the plant.

The book is divided into thirty chapters all containing very interesting materials which would repay one's perusal. It has, in the first place, been demonstrated that the movements of 'sensitive' plants are accompanied by all the physiological signs, e.g., electromotive variation, behaviour under change of external conditions and under the action of anaesthetics and other drugs, reaction to stimulation—which are characteristics of the contraction of animal muscle. From this, the author thinks, the conclusion is inevitable that the mobile organs of plants include a tissue closely resembling animal muscle in its properties. This is true not only of the 'sensitive' plants, but also of the 'non-sensitive' ones. It has also been shown that their responses are accompanied by all the physiological signs which are characteristic of that of the sensitive plants. It has been further demonstrated that all the experimental conditions affecting the movement of the heart or the stomach of the animal affect in just the same way the activity of the tissue effecting the propulsion of the sap in the plant. Here also "similarity of behaviour" justifies the assertion of physiological identity. This identity, the author remarks, is not surprising.

"for there is a common factor in the motor mechanism of plant and animal, the moto-excitability of the protoplasm of which they both consist." (p. 416)

The book has been written in a very clear and lucid style, of which the author is a past master, and even those uninitiated in science would find little difficulty in making a general estimate of the experimental accounts. The experiments of the author are really ingenious and epoch-making. Sir J. C. Bose has for a long time enjoyed a very high reputation in this respect, and it is not surprising that one of the greatest scientists of the present day, amazed at his practical demonstrations, recently paid him a high tribute remarking that a monument should be raised to his honour. While there is no gainsaying the fact that Bose's experiments have astonished the whole scientific world, the difficulty has all along laid in the acceptance of the interpretation he has offered of the phenomena under his observation. The European mind is rather sceptical about it. It has been thought in certain quarters that his interpretations of the various phenomena are opposed to recognized principles of plant-physiology.

Sir Jagadis, on the other hand, claims that his interpretations are wholly in accord with the principles of physiology, in general, the tendency of which is towards the recognition of the essential similarity of the vital processes in animal and plant." (Preface). The highly sensitive instruments made it possible to solve various outstanding problems in plant-physiology, which have again all gone to establish his claim on a very firm footing. The scepticism of the European mind in this respect may properly be attributed more to orthodoxy than to open-mindedness, which is quite respectable and all the same unfortunate. The researches of the author have not only advanced the cause of animal-physiology, but the cause of idealism in philosophy also has thereby gained ground. The banishing of the barrier between the 'organic' and the 'inorganic,' which the author did a long time back, by showing the similarity in response-phenomena, in its various aspects, of both the 'living' and 'non-living,' and about which I have had occasion to write before, went a very long way in removing the obstacle that lay in the way of the establishment of a true and consistent idealism. The sceptical mind might reasonably argue that even admitting this there still remained to be shown that similarity of constitution actually existed. But this was now proved. This the author has now been able to do. But this, we may say, is only the beginning, and much more is to come out, for which we shall all be too eagerly waiting.

J. K. MAITRA

MAN AND THE UNIVERSE: *By Hans Driesch, translated by W. H. Johnston. Published by George Allen and Unwin, London. Pp. 172. Price 6s.*

The author is an eminent representative of the movement known as "Neo-vitalism." His philosophical and psychological teachings are based on brilliant biological studies and experiments continued for a long period. He became known to the English-reading scholars through his famous

Gifford Lectures delivered at Aberdeen University in 1907-1908.

These lectures were published under the name *The Science and Philosophy of the Organism* (A and C. Black: 2nd ed. 1929). His other important works published in English are *The Problem of Individuality* (Macmillan, 1914), *The History and Theory of Vitalism* (Macmillan, 1914), *The Crisis in Psychology* (Princeton U. Press, 1925), *The Possibility of Metaphysics* (The Faith Press, 1926), and *Mind and Body* (Methuen, 1927). Some of these books are written for thoughtful students of Philosophy and experts. But the book under review is meant for general readers and written in popular and non-technical language. The book is divided into four principal sections, *viz.*, (a) The Apprehension of the Universe, (b) The Nature of the Universe, (c) Man as a member of the Universe, and (d) Conclusion: Man and the Universe. The author believes that "man cannot be considered 'first' exclusively as a mechanical system, 'secondly' exclusively as an organic living being, 'thirdly' exclusively as a social ethical entity, as though these were different methods of contemplation applied in turn to the same object. Rather, Man is one extremely complex structure in which one part (Soul, Spirit, life) enters into contact with other (material) part; and here the popular view, that man consists simply of body and soul, is much nearer to the truth than are many of the statements of philosophers who hold the 'point-of-view' theory" (pp. 6-7).

Being a vitalist, the author affirms the irreducibility of Life to physico-chemical terms. In discussing the question of immortality, he says that "moral consciousness can have force only for those who accept immortality in some form. For the philosopher this will of course be no childish form. He must think of no 'reward,' such a consideration would be the negation of ethics. But he may consider Justice and he may strive to cause Joy to some highest principle which he loves in its sublimity. But he can do all this only on the assumption that he will persist and that he has a refuge in this supreme principle, which does not stand over against him as an alien force of which he is the plaything and the gull" (pp. 162-163). "What is important is that the individual shall know that he is a permanent member of Reality working towards a moral end" (p. 164).

Plato called the body the grave of the soul. Our author does not go so far. According to him "the body is the material prison of man, and as such it is at once his good and his evil fortune" (pp. 164-167). "It is his evil fortune since his prison is a barrier to the possible range of his knowledge, and also to his actions, and further to the manifestations of his moral disposition. For his senses are pretty inadequate instruments. And the body is also the source of many ills" (167). But body and matter in general are also the good fortune of man. For man was created to be a willing and striving being and he can act only through the instrumentality of matter" (p. 167).

An English poet (Montgomery) called the world "this vale of tears." But Keats with deeper insight described it as "The Vale of Soul-making." Our author goes back to the idea of the ancient poet and says—"It is certain that the world is a vale of tears." (p. 170).

According to him "a true deliverance is impossible in life; for all evil attaches to the body, and the body cannot be escaped so long as life proper remains. To this extent life on earth with all its manifestations is discord within the harmony of the whole, of knowledge and of volition. Evil, error, disease, and incompleteness are rooted in it. It is as though in the midst of this confusion we had to fulfil a task completely mysterious in its ultimate foundation, as though it were our task to improve whatever can be improved in the realm of the dualistic bond, from which there is no escape as long as we have life" (pp. 169-170).

But he is not a thorough-going pessimist: according to him the ill of the world can be alleviated. He writes—"We are its inhabitants, whose task it is as it is our privilege to alleviate the ill even if we cannot dry the tears. That doctrine is nefarious which denies to man even the capacity of alleviation. It is true that man is bad, but he is not so bad nor so weak that he cannot alleviate if he has the will. We can never fashion a realm of pure Spirit on earth. But we have the power to strive after it and to realize it if only fragmentarily. The first demand here is that selfishness, whether personal or national be cast off. Let us believe in freedom and in our power to alleviate. "God's fellow fighters on earth" is an old and noble aim, let us hold the faith that we are the fellow fighters of the Spirit; let us believe in the worth of our great task and in our victory on the field of earth" (p. 170).

So he is a "meliorist."

The book is well-written and worth reading

MAHES CH. GHOSH

PRACTICE OF YOGA—HIMALAYAN "YOGA" SERIES:
By Swami Sivananda (Rim Ashram Rishikesh, Himalayas) Volume I. Ganesh & Co., Madras.
Price Rs. 2.

This book discusses the theory and practice of Yoga and is meant for English speaking readers. But unfortunately the Swami is under the impression that his readers will have no difficulty in understanding the different technical Sanskrit terms he uses so freely. His peculiar ways of expression make the book quaint reading though his writing is not without an element of unconscious humour. In describing a saintly man the author writes: "He is a follower of Lord Jesus in this respect that his left hand does not know what his right hand does. He is Sannyasin's genuine friend. He is a rare radium. He is a rare Tibetan musk. He is a rare French saffron. He is a rare Cashmere saffron two saffron. He is a rare Kaivilya Mukti." (sic). I wish him Santi and Kaivilya Mukti." The author writes from practical experience and his book will be of interest to those who care to cultivate Yoga. The book gives a list of different places where Yogic methods can be practised with advantage. He is rather hard on medical men. "Foolish doctors make lot of vitamins theory, etc. It is all mental imagination." Again, "If you consult with an allopathic doctor on the subject of giving up salt he will unnecessarily alarm you. He is a foolish man." Describing the bliss of "real rest in meditation" attained by the Yogi the author compares it with the pleasures of taking 10,000 Benzal. It is interesting to note that "the Rasazullahs." It is interesting to note that the success in the life of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the establishment of a grand Hindu University at Benares is all attributable to his "gayatri jap" and also that "Sri Arabindoo of Pondicherry can draw energy directly from the Will to support his body. He was taking very little food some time ago. Now, he might have entirely dispensed with the food. Recently, he materialized with his Linga Sarir in Africa, just to convince one of his earnest admirers and to convince one of his earnest admirers and sincere Sadaks. We are at a loss to know how many miracles he is going to exhibit. He can change the world. Hail, hail, to Sri Arabindoo." There is a bibliography attached to the book which will be of help to the student of Yoga philosophy.

G. Bose

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF RAMENDRANATH: By Sochin Sen, M. A. B. L. with a foreword by Mr. Pramatha Chaudhuri. Calcutta 1928.

This useful book, containing clear evidence of hard work, is marred by definitely faulty English and puerile phrasing, such as anyone writing a serious critical book for a word-wide audience should have taken pains to remove. We strongly hope that a second edition, should the necessity for one arise, will find the young author tackling this aspect of his work with greater seriousness. The book is composed almost entirely of extracts from Tagore arranged under suitable headings with occasional comment. This has been wise, for it is good to let Tagore explain himself. As Mr. Chaudhuri makes it clear, Tagore's politics, being

those of a poet, do not lend themselves to severe systematizing. The passages show, to quote words which have been used by a great critic about Landor, flashes of thought rather than sustained thinking. Most passages have been written on the stimulus of great events, particularly in India since the Partition days; but there are general reflections on property, capital, the industrial mechanism of today as well as socialism. New thought makes a quick imaginative appeal to Tagore and is readily grasped by him on the emotional and even on the intellectual plane; but in pronouncing his own verdict, he shows great caution. He is not, for example, even a lukewarm supporter of socialism; he is inclined to condemn it. Great service would be rendered, if Mr. Sen gives us the bare extracts in a better arrangement and concentrates his own comments in an introductory or concluding chapter, in a future edition. This will give the book the value which, in its present shape, it has not.

B. B. Roy

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ: G. A. Natesan & Co. Madras. Price Rs. 1. 1930.

The book is too highly priced, but the contents will prove eminently readable to those Englishmen who care to know something of the latest phases of the movement. Sir P. C. Sethna contributes a well-written introduction. The history of the movement has been summarized without overburdening the book with quotations, though important speeches by statesmen and publicists have been freely drawn upon. The author begins with the Ilbert Bill and ends with the present demand for full responsible government. The book is well bound and neatly printed, and contains over 300 pages, and will prove highly useful to those who are employed in political work in the councils, and also to laymen who are too busy with their professional work to read the daily papers.

POLITICS

THE SHORT STORY: By Neelanth V. Gokhlay. B. A. The Vishramban Stores. Publication Department, Poona, No. 2. Price Rs. 10.

In this small book the technique and principles of the short story have been dealt with. It is a handbook mainly written for students, and may serve as a useful introduction to the study of the form and features of the short story.

HINDU SHASTRAS ON MARRIAGE OF WIDOWS: PART I: By Murali Dhar Kacker, B. A., LL. B. Allahabad. Price Rs. 8.

The author has tried to set forth the views expressed in Hindu Shastras about the marriage of virgin widows. He has discussed the shastric texts and has arrived at the conclusion that there is absolutely no justification for enforcing widowhood on twenty-five lacs of these innocent girls. But it seems really a bit strange that he has not once mentioned in this book the name of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the originator of the movement in favour of the re-marriage of Hindu widows.

S. LAW

BENGALI

RANGALAL (A Biography): By Manmathanath Ghosh, M. A. F. R. E. S. Gurudas Chatterjee & Sons. Price Rs. 4.

This book, the result of painstaking researches of Mr. Ghosh, may well be styled: "A history of Bengali literature in the Nineteenth century," as it throws a flood of light on the literary society of Bengal during the time of the Poet Rangalal.

It is an unfortunate fact that the very period that saw the birth of present-day Bengali literature—recent as it is—is one of the darkest, as far as connected history is concerned. What light is being thrown on those chapters at the present day, is due to the selfless and tireless efforts of a very few eminent literateurs of the type of Mr. Ghosh.

This book should attain the status of reference book in every Bengali library.

K. N. C.

PERSIAN

ZAFAR-NAMA-I-RANJIT SINGH: By Diwan Amar Nath, edited with notes and Introduction by Sitaram Kohli, M. A., Lecturer, Govt. College, Lahore. (Punjab University, 1928) Pp. 308+xl.

We are glad to see that Prof. Sitaram Kohli, who has made a name for himself by his erudite study of Ranjit Singh's military organization on the basis of the original Gurmukhi and Persian records, has given to the world this history of Ranjit Singh written by one of his hereditary officers. The editor's work is scholarly and helpful to the reader, and his critical and descriptive introduction and glossary of non-Persian words deserve special praise. The type is clear and large, being evidently of the same fount which is used by the celebrated Baptist Mission Press in printing the Perso-Arabic section of the Bibliotheca Indica series. A careful list of corrigenda has been added.

As for the book itself, it stops at the year 1836, three years before the death of Ranjit. The author was a son of Diwan Dina Nath (a Kashmiri), who was Ranjit's Minister of Finance and as such had the entire charge of the civil, military and political records of the Maharajah's Government. The author was born in 1822 and wrote his first historical piece—a panegyric on the Sikh conquest of Peshawar, at the age of 12! He began his history in Ranjit's lifetime, by order of that monarch, but death cut his work short at the age of 45 (in 1867.)

The early history of the Sikhs as a political power, i. e., their doings from the suppression of Banda to the unification of the Panjab under Ranjit Singh, is shrouded in mystery. Probably no authentic records of this period have been preserved or indeed were ever penned. What we can learn of them from indirect sources such as histories of the Mughal empire, has been compiled by Williams—but only with reference to one region—in his account of Dehra Dun. It is a painful and dry record of raids and massacres with dates. The formative stage of Ranjit Singh's career—i. e., the period before 1801—would yield a fascinating narrative if its authentic history

could be now reconstructed. But that is evidently an impossible dream. The *Zafar-nama* begins as late as 1800, when Ranjit was already well established in power, and it passes very rapidly over the next eighteen years, about which we should have been glad to learn more, as English records are plentiful about the Maharajah after 1818.

J. SARKAR

MARATHI

CHUKALFLA ITIHAS (Mistaken history). Writer Mr. P. K. Savalapurkar Editor and publisher Mr. S. N. Huddar, Nani Shukrarani, Nagpur. Price Re. 1-4-0.

Both writer and publisher are Graduates of the Tilak University. This book contains 232 pages or 20 chapters. But each chapter is an independent one. The writer has once more reproduced the admitted facts, such as Umchand's story, Nandkumar's execution, persecution of Begums of Oudh etc. in a vehement and abusive language, but shown utter disregard for the research of the Maratha period. The reviewer is sure that his request to the author to use his intelligence for better work than this, will not fall on deaf ears.

V. S. WAKASKAR

GUJARATI

POYNAM: By Jayendra Rao B. Dhalal, M. A., Professor of English and Gujarati, Arts College, Surat. Printed at the Shanhar Printing Press, Surat. pp. 240 cloth bound Price Rs. 2. 1929.

The title of the book means water-lilies. In the author's own words it is "a collection of essays on Life and Letters." The essays range over a wide area, and embrace such widely unconnected subjects as the Sun, the Moon, Literature, factories for husking rice and mosquito-net. All subjects are placed, however, in their appropriate surroundings aided by philosophical reflections or humorous touches, serious thought, or close and intimate observation, as required by the situation. Prof. Dhalal has written two or three other books before this, but we think that this is his best effort at popularizing his way of thinking and looking at things in general.

(1) *BRAGAVAN JADFSIWAR*, (2) *SAMVADIKHA*, both by Popatlal Punjabhai Shah, printed respectively at Wankar and Rajkot, paper and cloth bound, pp. 18: 141+96: Price 0-1-3; Re. 1. 1929.

There is a very well-known temple of Shiv near Wankar in Kathiawad, to which pilgrims flock in large numbers, in the month of Shravan for worship. It is a pretty place, picture-quely situated away from inhabited towns, and is attached as a sanitarium also. The origin of the place is mythological and the first little book narrates that origin. The second book is a collection of dialogues, divided into two parts, those meant generally for every body and those meant for Jains specially. The introduction gives a short history of this branch of literature. The dialogues furnish delightful reading and many of them have been successfully acted on the stage at school gatherings.

K. M. J.



Tomatoes and Potatoes Grown on the Same Plant

The "tomapoto," a new plant demanding a new name, which produces potatoes at its roots below the ground and tomatoes on its stalk above the earth, has been developed after twenty years of experiment by Oscar Soderholm, foreman of a



The remarkable "tomapoto" plant, ten feet tall, overtops its creator, Oscar Soderholm.

florist's greenhouses at Worcester, Mass. The plant is no freak, but is the demonstration of Soderholm's theory that, as the roots of the potato plant are deeper than those of the tomato, the combination would produce better tomatoes. His results have proved the soundness of the theory, he claims, for he does his hybrid grow potatoes but the

grafted tomato section attains a height of ten feet, if supported, and bears more fruit than a normal plant.

In grafting his queer plant, Soderholm starts by planting a piece of potato, containing at least two eyes, in the ground, and planting tomato seeds in a pot. When both have grown to vines about one quarter of an inch in diameter, he makes a cut diagonally across each, then he matches them and ties the grafting together with a thread. Special care must be taken to prevent wilting.

Soderholm now plans experiments in grafting cucumbers on Hubbard squashes, the roots of the squash being much the stronger of the two.

Umbrellas Sold by Slot Machine



If caught in the rain, Berlin pedestrians now can deposit the equivalent of fifteen cents in a vending machine and pull out an umbrella. The folding emergency umbrella comprises a hood of oiled paper and a handle of wood.

Catching Wild Elephants

More exciting than Wild West rodeo, and more perilous, is a wild elephant hunt in the hill forests

of India, as pictured here in close-range photographs. Decoyed by tame elephants, the angry, trumpeting beasts are rounded up in herds, roped with enormous "la-sos," and captured alive. The



Subdued and roped together, these wild elephants are enjoying their first bath in captivity. The Indian elephants require plenty of shade and water and no animals enjoy a bath more thoroughly. They are good swimmers and by means of their trunks, can breathe when their entire bodies are beneath the surface.



A futile fight against the rope that holds him. These wild Asiatic elephants become dangerous only when disturbed or attacked. Then they charge and seek to trample their foes to death.

all work curves, there are specific variations. The curve for heavy manual work differs from the curve of light manual labour; the curve of chiefly mental work is different from that of simple repetitive work. There may be distinct specific variations owing to the peculiar nature of the work or to the environmental factor in which it is being done.

It is obvious, however, that within the working spell there are optimum durations when the productive capacity of the labourer remains at a reasonably high level. Efficiency demands that the curve should remain as such. The problem is to fight the falls in the work curve. When such falls are fairly regular it cannot be attributed to any other factor but the onset of fatigue. The only way to alleviate such temporary fatigue is to introduce rest pauses at the requisite intervals.

In recent years numerous experiments to investigate the effects of introduction of rest pauses have been carried out in various industrial countries. It is now generally admitted that when a long continuous shift of work is interspersed with rest pauses at suitable intervals the output increases and, if the testimony of the workers can be accepted, fatigue is removed. The beneficial effects of such rest intervals, for the industry as well as for the workers, have been fully demonstrated by the Industrial Fatigue Research Board and the National Institute of Industrial Psychology in Great Britain.

There are two main schemes of distribution of the working hours adopted in Great Britain, the so-called "one-break" system and the "two-break" system. On the former scheme the workers begin at 7.7-30 or 8 a. m. with

a single break in the course of the day, an hour for lunch. Thus they are on two equal spells of work the length of each varying 5 hours, 4½ hours, or 4 hours as the case may be. On the other hand, in a two-break system work is resumed at 6 a. m. or in some cases at 6-30 or 7 a. m. for a spell of two hours at the end of which there is a break for half an hour for breakfast. The lunch interval comes between 12-30 to 1-30 thus dividing the day into work spells of 2, 4 and 4 hours, or at times of 2½, 3½, and 4 hours.

The chief defect of a one-break system when working hours range from 9 to 10, is the length of the two spells. Convincing proof of the evil effects of such lengthy spells is to be found in the Final Report of Health of Munition Workers Committee, 1918. The evidence is that of no less an authority than Vernon. "As the result of conversations with workers, and of my own limited experience of five-hours spells in munition work, I am convinced," he adds, "that five hours of continuous work are too much for a man, and considerably too much for a woman. Even 4½ are too much, and all work spells ought, if possible, to be reduced to four hours or less." To avoid the lengthy spells, the nine to ten-hour-day may be profitably divided into 4 hours, 2¾ and 2¾ hours with a lunch-interval and a tea-interval of one hour and a quarter of an hour respectively. The whole shift will thus occupy from 8 a. m. to 6-15 p. m. and the workers start after finishing breakfast. The advantage of this method lies in the fact that workers have the longest spell when they are fresh and vigorous and their shortest spell when they are most fatigued.

The Indian Crisis In Ceylon*

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

Colombo, April 10, 1930.

I

FRENZIED energy is at present being put into the movement to keep Ceylon Indians in political and industrial servitude. Success has not actually crowned the efforts of the anti-Indian agitators: but they believe—and not without reason—that it is nigh.

The Governor of Ceylon (Sir Herbert Stanley), who, out of the richness of his South African experience suggested to the Colonial Office some months back that Indians in the Island should be sacrificed in order to placate certain Sinhalese politicians, is on the point of proceeding "home," ostensibly on holiday. It is, however, definitely known that he will confer on the subject of the impending reform of the Ceylon Constitution with the Fabian Socialist who presides over the Colonial Office in Downing Street—the Baron Passfield, better known to us as Sidney Webb.

Shortly before the Governor of Ceylon was due to depart from the shores of Ceylon, information bearing upon its face the semi-official impress was filtering in to assure the Sinhalese politicians that the Colonial Office would not let the Governor down in respect of imposing qualifications patently framed to prevent all but a negligible minority of Indians in Ceylon from acquiring the vote. Lord Passfield, we were told with almost oracular authority, was willing to alter "the formula" regarding Indian franchise to soothe Indian hurt feelings: but he was not disposed to make any material alterations in the actual conditions. To do so, would, in his opinion, constitute a "breach of faith" with the Ceylonese politicians.†

* This article must not be reprinted or translated, in part or in whole, outside India without first securing the written consent of the author.

† The London correspondent (an Englishman) of the *Hindu* (Madras) sent a telegram to his paper which was published in the issue of April 3rd, and read as follows: "I gather that Lord Passfield stands firm in adhering to his decision on Indian franchise in Ceylon and refuses to admit that any injustice to Indians is involved in the proposed arrangements. He is understood to be willing to

Even if statements of this tenor emanating from London are without foundation, the chances of the Colonial Office dismissing the plea that the Governor of Ceylon will make personally even before these words are printed, are, I should think, remote. Sir Herbert Stanley will no doubt represent to Lord Passfield that the Sinhalese politicians who were opposed to "essential" proposals contained in the Donoughmore Commission Scheme for the reform of the Ceylon Constitution modified their obstructive attitude only on the condition that definite steps would be taken to prevent Indians—particularly Indians living in certain parts of the Island which the Sinhalese regard as their very own—from pulling anything like their full voting strength. He will, I am convinced, point to certain passages in the despatch that he forwarded from Colombo on June 2, 1928, to that Office, then headed by the Rt. Hon'ble Colonel L. C. S. Amery, M. P., in which he stated "that a majority of the unofficial members of the Legislative Council will be ready to accept" the Donoughmore scheme "if only the (Indian) franchise question can be settled to their reasonable satisfaction."

The despatch sent in reply by Lord Passfield will be quoted as implying that the Governor's recommendations in that respect had been accepted—so at least the Sinhalese legislators who ate their words must have told His Excellency, even though most of them refused openly to say so in the Ceylon Legislative Council. Sir Herbert Stanley can, in any case, be expected to lay emphasis upon that point.

The Governor is sure to condemn as a quibble unworthy of acceptance by any honest person the construction placed by the

modify the formula, but will make no real concession and if he is responsible for the Order-in-Council, franchise provisions will remain substantially as indicated in his despatch. He would regard any other course as a breach of faith with Ceylon. The final decision, however, will await the Governor of Ceylon's arrival and as Mr. Benn is equally resolved, to protect Indian interests, a minor Cabinet issue seems likely to arise."

Indian member of the Indian Civil Service (Mr. G. S. Bajpai), who acted as the Government of India spokesman in the Indian Legislative Assembly during the debate on the subject, upon the language actually employed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Mr. Bajpai sought to make out that Lord Passfield was only "disposed to accept," but had not actually accepted, the Ceylon Governor's recommendations regarding Indian franchise.

There is room for difference of opinion as to whether or not the Sinhalese politicians would have backslided if they had not derived the impression that the Colonial Office had sanctioned the Governor's proposals severely to restrict the Indian franchise. People who are capable of eating their words will do so, even if those words are not spiced with a relish specially manufactured for the occasion.

The prestige and lucre attached to the ministries to be created under the Donoughmore Commission scheme—largely empty of power though they will be—was, in my opinion, sufficient bait to tempt a number of Sinhalese M. L. C.'s to abandon their original position in respect of the Donoughmore Commission proposals. Members of the privileged classes (Britons and Ceylonese) who stand to gain through the adoption of the scheme, with which the Ceylon Legislative Council is crowded—reinforced with these backsliders—would have passed the resolution expressing assent to it.

Evidently the Governor did not feel so sure about this matter as I did. With his mind steeped in prejudices entertained by South Africans towards Indians, he recommended that Ceylon Indians be sacrificed with a view to winning over the anti-Indian Sinhalese opponents to the scheme.

That bargain was struck by the Governor. It is only to be expected that he will press the Colonial Office to stick to it, and if he finds that Office obdurate, may indicate his intention to resign.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies should have had nothing to do with so unholy a bargain when it was suggested to him in the first place. I will not insult his intelligence by believing that he at that time was, or now is, unable to perceive that it involves any injustice to Indians in Ceylon.

The injustice is palpable. The Governor's recommendations will, in practice, require from Indians—and from no other British

subjects—definite and explicit surrender of their original citizenship as the price of franchise in Ceylon. Even then only a percentage of Indians—a small percentage at that—will be able actually to acquire the vote, while all adults among the non-Indian British subjects who care to register will become enfranchised. Hardly a single Briton in Ceylon who has attained the age of twenty-one will, for instance, go voteless unless he so chooses.

If Sidney Webb has become so blind as to be unable to see so glaring a piece of discrimination and injustice, the sooner he resigns from his office the better for his reputation. Any one of us who happens to know him has, however, to admit that he is an obstinate man and having made a decision, no matter how wrong it may be, it is difficult, if not impossible, for him to change. It would, nevertheless, be folly to believe that chances for securing the withdrawal of the unjust and discriminative proposals respecting Ceylon Indian franchise would be improved by calling his attention to a phraseological loop-hole of which advantage can be taken to crawl out of a difficult situation only at the cost of self-respect.

Lord Passfield's refusal to stoop to such a machiavellian subterfuge may, in fact, be taken for granted. Knowing his obstinate nature, I have, at no time, been sanguine that he, of his own accord or through pressure exerted by his colleagues, would modify the proposals so that they would be just to our people in Ceylon.

If Mr. Ramsay MacDonald possesses the will to overrule the Secretary of State for the Colonies, he will show a species of courage of which he, until now, has given us no exhibition whatever, so far as India is concerned. I am, of course, prepared for a political miracle to happen any day; but it is much more likely that the Colonial Office will be allowed to have its way, and the South African minded Governor of Ceylon will triumph.

II

I am gravely mistaken, therefore, if humiliation is not in store for the Indian Legislative Assembly. During the Delhi session it passed, at the instance of Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, a resolution voicing its refusal to permit Indians in Ceylon to be subjected to the South African twist that Sir Herbert Stanley was then—and is still—bent

upon giving to the proposals governing Indian franchise in Ceylon submitted by the Donoughmore Commission. Even Sir D'Arcy Lindsay—the trusted lieutenant of the Scottish financial potentate, Lord Inchcape, who has, both in India and Ceylon, extensive interests of many kinds in addition to shipping—gave his blessing to this motion, which was unanimously adopted by the Assembly.

Humiliation seems, I fear, to be in store also for the mighty Government of India, which unreservedly accepted the Kunzru resolution. The Indian I. C. S. official who acted as its spokesman, helps to run the department charged with the administration of affairs, connected with Indians overseas—a department which is said to be so much under Indian domination as to be a bit of Swaraj “in action.” The debate showed, however, that either its agent in Ceylon had kept it in the dark in regard to the march of events in the Island and it had not taken the trouble to inform itself even by scanning the newspapers that it receives, to my knowledge, from Colombo and other places; or that it had chosen to pursue a policy of *laissez faire* until the motions put down by Mr. K. C. Roy and Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru made it impossible for it to continue to follow the line of least resistance.

III

Pandit Kunzru did not press a heroic measure upon the Indian Legislative Assembly. He did not ask that the basis of franchise in Ceylon should be such that it would permit as large a proportion of Indians to acquire the vote as that of the other communities—at least the Ceylon Britons. He did not insist even upon action that would wipe the stigma of semi-slavery from the face of three-quarters of a million Indian plantation workers. He merely urged the Assembly to recommend—

“... to the Governor-General in Council that the proposals of the Government of Ceylon regarding franchise, which have been accepted by the Colonial Office, in so far as they make possession of a certificate of permanent settlement and renunciation of the protection of the Government of India by Indian emigrants a condition of eligibility to vote should not be put into effect and that immediate steps should be taken to secure the adoption of the original recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission making five years' residence the basis of franchise.”

In asking that the Ceylon Government be compelled to go back to the Donoughmore

Commission proposals relating to Indian franchise, the mover of this resolution seemed to be utterly unconscious of the fact that those proposals were, in themselves, framed by persons who, on their own admission, were seeking to weigh the political saddle against Indians in the Island. Had Pandit Kunzru realized that fact, his patriotic sense would, I am confident, have led him to recommend a far different line of action.

Since this point has been missed even by persons in the position of leaders in India, it must be explained at some length. In so doing I shall endeavour to avoid, as much as possible, going over ground that I have already covered in contributions on this subject to this *Review*.

At the time the Earl of Donoughmore brought his team to Colombo at the behest of Colonel Amery, who, though born in India, is none too anxious to make Indians or Ceylonese self-sufficing, politically or otherwise, the position in respect of Indian franchise was this:

(1) Indians in the Island possessing the requisite income (or property) and literacy qualifications had the right to elect their own representatives two in number on the “communal” principle.

(2) Concurrently with that right, they were given the competence to vote in the territorial electorates on *exactly the same terms as the Sinhalese*, Ceylon Tamils, Ceylon Muslims and Ceylon Britons.*

It is to be noted that no disability was manufactured at the time Indians were incorporated in the general electorate purposely to handicap them. The restrictions governing franchise were to apply to everybody, else exactly as they did to them.

IV

This was the position when the Donoughmore Commission arrived in Colombo in November, 1927. After receiving evidence in the capital and other towns during a stay of some fourteen weeks, they returned to London. The steamer that took them away from the Island “happened” also to carry an exceedingly resourceful Irish member of the Ceylon Civil Service who, for years, had been

* An account of the events that led to the incorporation of Indians in the general electorate will be found in my article: “Moves to make Indians in Ceylon Political Helots,” in the *Modern Review* for June, 1929.

serving as Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour under the Ceylon Government, and who, in virtue of his office, had appeared twice before the Commission—the first time in public and the second time *in camera*.

In the report to which the Chairman and members of the Commission set their hands, they recommended "manhood suffrage" and a limited measure of "womanhood suffrage." Both were to be subject to

"...two reservations. In the first place we (Chairman and members of the Commission, Ceylon Constitutional Reformers) consider it very desirable that a qualification of five years' residence in the Island (allowing for temporary absences not exceeding eight months in all during the five-year period) should be introduced in order that the privilege of voting should be confined to those who have an abiding interest in the island."

The Commissioners took pains to add: "As will be seen later this condition will be of particular importance in its application to the Indian immigrant population."

This reservation was, in other words, manufactured specially to keep down the number of Indian voters. Before, however, I turn to this reference I will state the second "reservation" which the Commissioners proposed.

To quote from their report:

"Secondly, we (the Commissioners) consider that the registration of voters should not be compulsory or automatic, but should be restricted to those who apply for it, the method of application being of course definitely laid down and widely published."

Lord Donoughmore and his colleagues were not so candid as specifically to mention that this restriction would particularly affect the "Indian immigrant population": but as I shall show, that will certainly be the case.

The question of the Indian vote is discussed at some length on pages 95-97 of the report, under the sub-head, "The Indian Tamils." That sub-head shows that either the Commissioners were oblivious of the fact that there was a considerable non-Tamilian Indian population in the Island, or that, for some reason best known to them, they wished to ignore it. According to them:

"The problem of Indian immigrant labour is a serious and difficult one and arises here in connection with communal representation of the Indian community. There are at present about 700,000 of these people in the Island, most of them employed on the tea and rubber estates at the higher levels where Sinhalese have hitherto been unwilling to work in large numbers. Indian Tamils

are also engaged as labourers on Government, Municipal or other work in towns, and are also to be found as traders and shop-keepers."

I skip over certain *obiter dicta*, some of which is only a paraphrase of matter that is used to stimulate recruitment of Indian labour for Ceylon plantations. I am surprised particularly at statements concerning conditions existing in India which the members of the Commission had no opportunity of personally investigating.

Despite the bias that the Commissioners showed in favour of the planters (most of them their own countrymen—Britons), they were compelled to admit that Indians in Ceylon were in an "economically helpless condition" (p. 96) and that though their number was large, there was an "utter lack of organization among them" (p. 96). In view of their helplessness the Ceylon Indians had been given "Indian communal representatives" when the Constitution was last revised. "As to whether the two Indian representatives have been able to secure improvements in the conditions on the estates" the opinion expressed before them was divided. They, nevertheless, felt that they were doing no injustice to the utterly helpless and unorganized masses of Indian workers in recommending the abolition of these (as well as other) "communal" seats.

It was "fairly clear" to the Commissioners that "the pressure" exerted by "the Indian Government (they must have meant the Government of India) had, among other influences, proved instrumental in securing improvements in the conditions of Indian plantation labour. They were certain that this (pressure) will be continued to be exercised." They then went on to state that:

"...a large section of these immigrant labourers—said to be from 40 per cent to 50 per cent—may be regarded as permanent residents of Ceylon, and that a substantial number of the estate workers have actually been born in the country." At present only a small fraction, mainly the supervisors, called kanganies, and some of the coolies who work in the Government or municipal service, have the necessary income qualification to vote at the elections for the Legislative Council. We believe that, with the changes in the franchise recommended in the earlier part of this chapter, (already noted by me) even when there is a necessary five years' residential qualification, a considerable number of these people will become entitled to a voice in the election of a territorial representative, and in that way should be able to secure, perhaps a more effective expression of

* How can a person born in a country be an "immigrant labourer?"

their grievances and difficulties in the Legislative Council than under the present arrangement."

Just two inferences can be drawn from these statements, namely :

(1) While every adult male and all adult females above thirty (since reduced to twenty one) years of age among the Ceylonese were, under the Donoughmore proposals, to be entitled to a vote, the great bulk of the Indians were to be excluded ; and

(2) that exclusion *would not just happen*, but would be **DELIBERATELY** produced.

While the commissioner talked so much of "Indian immigrant labour," they did not publish the information that, according to Government of India regulations as interpreted by the Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour (an official of the Ceylon Government), Indian labourers lose the status of immigrant after they have been away from India for five years. For at least three years, to my knowledge, that Ceylon Government official, who appeared twice before the Commissioners and, just by chance, sailed the seas on the same ship with them, has been contending that all Indian labourers who have been in the Island for five years pass outside the control of the Government of India Agent in Ceylon. The first "reservation" designed by the Donoughmore Commission (the five years' residential qualification) would, if accepted, automatically debar *all* "Indian immigrant labourers"—in this sense of the term—from acquiring the vote.

Since seven out of every nine Indians in Ceylon live on plantations in conditions of semi-slavery, the second "reservation"—namely the registration of voters at their express request and not through automatic process, as in England, would operate specially against Indians. Huddled in one-room "lines" situated on private property from which ingress and egress are regulated according to the will—and even the whim—of the owners, they would find it difficult to get away and register unless, of course, it suited the planters to have them registered, in which case, however, their vote would be used to fasten upon them tighter than ever the shackles of semi-serfdom.

V

The question of "protection by the Government of India" is not merely academic. Indian workers on Ceylon plantations live in industrial serfdom, as stated again

and again in the Ceylon Legislative Council. According to a letter read by one of the Sinhalese M. L. C.'s, our people are, in fact, prisoners. In this circumstance the right conceded to the Agent of the Government of India to enter any plantation employing Indians and to make enquiries is of considerable importance, especially if the present practice of sending young Indian Civil Service men with little experience—"i. c. s. kids" I call them—is stopped and India publicists of proven patriotism and independence of character alone are appointed to the post.

It must, moreover, be remembered that the lot of the Indian plantation workers—far from satisfactory today—would be infinitely worse if certain regulations placed on the Ceylon Statute Book under pressure from our people in India had not been enacted expressly for them. Anything that would have the effect of taking any of these labourers outside the scope of these regulations would menace their very existence. It would, for instance, place them entirely at the mercy of the planters in respect of wages and make them liable to arrest for debt. It has been claimed in the Legislative Council that "benefits" of this nature cannot legally be claimed by Indians in Ceylon if they have lost the "status of Indian immigrants"; and no spokesman for the Ceylon Government in that Council has so far denied the validity of that contention.

Persons with the intelligence of the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues must have been alive to the importance of this question. They, however, took care to make no mention of it in their report.

VI

The leaders of the anti-Indian movement in Ceylon are mostly planters. As soon as they realized that the Donoughmore Commission were for politically handicapping Indians, they set up an agitation which would *definitely* relieve them of such obligations as were imposed upon them in respect of their Indian labourers by ordinances passed under pressure from India.

The Sinhalese planter-politicians knew that any agitation to curtail the usefulness of the Government of India Agent would appeal quite as much to the British planters, who were none too anxious to submit to the special regulations forced upon them from India. An obliging Governor who had gained

his administrative experience in South Africa advised the Colonial Office to insist upon conditions that would secure to the planters their hearts' desire in this respect.

To sum up : The twist, given by Sir Herbert Stanley to the Donoughmore Commission proposals relating to Indian franchise has certainly worsened them. The proposals, as they stood, were, in any case, designed to discriminate against our people.

VII

Mr. K. C. Roy's motion, while somewhat indefinite, did not err in urging the adoption of proposals regarding Indian franchise which were, as I have shown, designed with the deliberate intention of disqualifying a large number of Indians in the Island. The speech that he made in the Assembly showed that he was for manful action.

If Lord Passfield refused to heed the Indian protest against the "tentative sanction" * that he had given to the Stanley modifications of the Donoughmore Commission recommendations regarding the franchise, this Indian legislator would have the Government of India take retaliatory measures. If the Ceylon Government persisted in doing injustice to Indians—and the Colonial Office supported such action—India, he suggested, should immediately cut off supplies of food materials and labour.

The Ceylonese may, in a pinch, be able to make alternative arrangements for securing rice, curry-stuffs, etc. The making of such arrangements would not be an easy matter and might, besides, add to the cost of importing foodstuffs. Some years ago there was a threat of stoppage of rice from India and the Ceylon Government and people alike were at their wits' end as to what to do in such a contingency.

Supposing, for the sake of argument, that the Ceylonese could get along without food supplies from India, the plantation industries in the Island certainly could not dispense with Indian labour without becoming bankrupt. Close upon 800,000 acres, I estimate, are cultivated, to a greater or less extent, with the aid of Indian workers. I put the

capitalized value of this land at forty crores of rupees—really a low estimate. The number of Indian workers, together with their dependents, of both sexes and all ages, cannot now be far short of 800,000 persons.

If India were to withdraw supplies of Indian labour, little tea would be produced in Ceylon. The output of rubber would decrease probably by half. Ceylon would soon fade from the map of the world.

Enormous wastage takes place all the time in the Indian labour on Ceylon plantations. Something like 70,000 of our people return annually to India—many of them broken-down wrecks, to be a burden upon Indians for the rest of their life, since no "old age" pension, sickness benefit or other grant is payable to them from their former employers in the Island or from the Ceylon Government. Here are the figures relating to the five years ending with 1928—figures published under orders from Sir Herbert Stanley :

Year	Departure of Indians from Ceylon Plantations
1924	56,116
1925	53,203
1926	61,265
1927	87,481
1928	93,596

Total, 1924-28 351,661
Yearly average, 70,332 persons.

If the Government of India were to order all the camps maintained by the Ceylon Government—a "foreign government," in strict legal parlance—on Indian soil, to be closed, bid the Ceylon planters' organization known as the "Labour Commission" but which the Ceylon Government would like to have us regard as semi-official, shut down its depots at Trichinopoly and other centres and put in jail every *langany* (agent) that the planters sent out to recruit Indian labourers, the natural wastage would soon deplete Indian labour on Ceylon plantations.

The threat uttered in the Indian Legislative Assembly, at least regarding the withholding of labour supplies to the Island, can certainly be executed. India has a formidable weapon, ready to use the moment need arises.

Stoppage of further recruitment of labour in Southern India for plantations in Ceylon would, moreover, greatly benefit those Indians who elected to stay on in Ceylon. Their wages would go up automatically. They

* I quote the phrase from memory. It is not improbable that the interpretation placed by the Government of India upon the language used by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in respect of the acceptance of the Ceylon Governor's proposals regarding Indian franchise was suggested by the terms of Mr. Roy's motion.

would, in fact, be able to exact their own terms from their employers.

VIII

But for the threat about the stoppage of food and labour supplies to Ceylon flung by Mr. K. C. Roy from the floor of the Indian Legislative Assembly the debate in the Assembly would, I believe, have had little repercussion in the Island. The Ceylonese anti-Indian agitators do not think much of the Indian Assembly. They, at the same time, profess to be worth at Mr. Roy's threat, and declare that India has no right to menace prosperity in Ceylon. In their estimation our motherland is only a door-mat—for them to clean their boots upon.

The general opinion in Ceylon is that the threat is idle. It is said that the Government of India is predominantly composed of Britons who will never take action calculated to ruin the planters, most of whom are Britons.

It is true that many influential Britons own plantations in Ceylon. An Englishman who served not long ago as the Viceroy and Governor-General of India is, for instance, part-owner of one. Some members of the two Houses of Parliament or their relations—have proprietary interests in tea and rubber estates in Ceylon. Thousands—probably hundreds of thousands—of Britons—highly placed and otherwise—own shares in companies in the Island. Ninety per cent. of the tea and fifty per cent. of the rubber—probably more—are grown on plantations belonging to Britons and operated by them.

For this reason, it is said, the Government of India will never dream of interfering with the labour supply from India to plantations in Ceylon. If it were to show any sign of so doing Downing Street, they add, would soon compel it to stay its hand.

To make assurance doubly sure, the anti-Indian agitators, on the eve of the Governor's departure, have been holding many meetings to protest against the resolution passed by the Indian Legislative Assembly, and particularly against the threat uttered by Mr. Roy. Though care was taken to select places where there is intense hatred of the "Damilas" (Tamilis)—descendants of despoilers of Sinhalese homes and temples in centuries gone by—the attendance has, at least in some cases, been disappointing to the conveners of the meetings.

The speakers have been the same at practically all these meetings. They either themselves or their relatives own the newspapers in Colombo which, in consequence, have been devoting columns to reporting the orations made to half-empty halls and also to printing anti-Indian letters.

Lord Passfield is not supposed to know these little details and will no doubt be greatly impressed when presently the Governor places before him files of newspaper cuttings. The Colonial Office is already being bombarded by certain anti-Indian Sinhalese who have gone to London for "reasons of health."

Indians in Ceylon, on the other hand, have been apathetic. The Hon'ble Mr. K. Natesa Aiyar, who represents the well-to-do Indian element in the Ceylon Legislative Council, has been anxious to go to England to make representations: but so far the means to enable him to make the journey have not been placed at his disposal. His colleague—the Hon'ble Mr. Ignatius Xavier Pereira—being a wealthy shop-keeper, has been able to sail.

Both these Indian M. L. C.'s kept silent in the Ceylon Legislative Council when the Stanley modifications of the Donoughmore scheme were being debated. They have, broadly speaking, failed to give a strong lead to the people whose cause they should have served single-mindedly. It, however, Mr. Pereira can forget that he derives custom from the Sinhalese and adopts a bold course, even at this late hour he may be able to accomplish some good.

IX

Personally I have little hope that Indians in Ceylon will receive justice so long as the planters can, without difficulty, have all the cheap Indian labour that they require or desire. Only when they become convinced that their supplies will be withheld from them until decisive action has been definitely taken to lift our plantation workers from the conditions of political servitude and industrial semi-slavery in which they are at present compelled to live, can we expect fair play for our people in Ceylon.

As I have often written, the region of the purse is the tenderest spot in the British anatomy. Any appeal that is not directed towards that region cannot have much chance of proving effective.

The Salt Monopoly in India

By Mrs. G. D. MOHUN

FEW people outside India can understand the significance and object of Gandhi, in selecting the salt laws as his first objective for his civil disobedience campaign. They may well ask for proportion between the fight for freedom and violation of this petty, local penal law and how a step, so restricted in its scope and action can lead to the attainment of such a high aim.

The object of a civil resister is to undermine the prestige of the Government and to create in the minds of the commonalty a feeling of active non-co-operation against the same, by his suffering against the tyranny of its unjust laws. To bring success to his mission, he must win sympathy of the whole populace—at least the intelligentsia, and bring round a majority to his active co-operation. To attain this point, he must begin by striking the most common and responsive chord in the minds of his objectives, until the success which accompanies the efforts of his first following, fires such an enthusiasm in the environments, that the waverers and the cautious are, by the sheer force of circumstances forced to throw their lot with the forerunners. It is only when this stage is reached, that a campaign of mass civil disobedience becomes possible and practicable. In fact, the latter is a necessary corollary to the success of the former and comes to pass without any effort on the part of the initiator. When this stage is reached, strangely enough, the blind masses lead the so-called leaders, and diverse fields of action spring up spontaneously. The primary and immediate concern of the leader, therefore, is to initiate his campaign in a field of action sufficiently wide and comprehensive to strike and arouse, nay, shake the feelings of the slumbering masses to the highest pitch.

The salt tax is the most oppressive, inequitable and scandalous of all the indirect taxes, under which the teeming poor masses of India are literally groaning. Salt is as much a necessity of life as light, air and water and it is as absurd to tax it as it would be to bring the latter within the purview of the Customs and Excise schedules.

It forms a part of almost every morsel of food of human beings and cattle alike and a great part of the loss of the latter from murrain in India, has arisen for want of salt due to high prices. The poor peasant, who in spite of his scanty requirements—perhaps his economic place in the world polity is at the lowest rung, finds it difficult to make both ends meet, can ill-afford to provide this luxury for his cattle. The unnaturalness and grotesqueness of the salt tax is better illustrated by the fact that it is more than twenty times the cost of its otherwise saleable price. Its dead weight falls on high and low, rich and poor, prince and peasant, human beings and cattle, all alike. The inequity is further aggravated by the fact, that the tax did not exist in free India before it went under British domination.

The Government monopoly for its manufacture, is the most grotesque part of the affair. Not that the Indian soil or waters are short of the necessary ingredients for excavation or manufacture of this necessary element of life and the monopoly is retained by a benevolent Government to ensure prompt and copious supplies to the people at a reasonable rate. India is bounded by the sea on half of its border, and the waters of many tidal rivers in their lower courses are impregnated with salt. Nay, the heavy deposits in the Punjab and other parts of the country, if properly worked, may alone feed India for a long time to come. Before the advent of the British people, India was quite self-supporting in the matter of salt. Its import originated with their occupation and has increased with their rule. The frequency of occurrence of salt in the country is patent from the fact, that the 'War Councils' adumbrated in all the provinces, for civil disobedience against the salt laws, have found natural and convenient centres for its manufacture simultaneously. They are so common, that the protagonists did not think it worth while to consider this aspect of the case previously.

The political motive behind the tax is not far to seek. It is the familiar tale of Imperial

The Rajputs in the Mughal Empire

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, C. I. F.

I

A thoughtful survey of Indian history brings home to the mind one fundamental difference between the Hindu and the Muslim monarchies of the land, as a general rule. No doubt, Hindus too have had empires in the past; no doubt, Muslim monarchies also did, in the last stage of their decline, split up into independent principalities. But, on the whole, a deep and extensive study of the history of the two creeds convinces one that the Hindu in general cannot be happy unless he isolates himself in a small local State or special community of his own sub-section of a caste or clan,—within whose narrow parochial limits he can range at will and indulge to the full in the specialities of his own particular caste-group or sect. The Muslim, on the other hand, generally speaking, has flourished as part of a much wider political or social organization and can easily make himself a full member of a vaster homogeneous body. In short, the Hindu loves to live within his shell and contract his *secular* activities within its narrow circle, jealously exclusive of all others outside it,—though his *spiritual* liberality embraces the whole mankind in a vague Platonic way. The Muslim naturally prefers a wider field and feels fully at home in the universal communal life of the brotherhood of Islam (subject to the difference between Shias and Sunnis when external dangers are absent.)

Therefore, the mentality of the Muslim is more favourable to the winning of wide-spread empires, while the Hindu's psychology favours the formation of small States (*khanda-rajya*). This view is not really at conflict with the historical fact of every Hindu Rajah's "earth-hunger" and his recognition of "extension of realm" (*rajya-vistar*) as a duty. That was, however, the aim and work of the individual Hindu king, while the building of the Muslim empires was a work to which the Muslim community as a whole—soldiers and statesmen, no less than the king,—contributed. In fact, the

typical Muslim sovereign was in reality the Commander of the Faithful, not the paymaster of a mercenary army nor the chieftain of a clan related by the blood-tie only and therefore incapable of assimilating new recruits from outside the strictly limited brotherhood of common ancestry.

II

In political matters, therefore, the Hindu has thought parochially, the Muslim imperially, and the political organizations of the two have been contradistinguished by this polar difference in their outlook, and also by the fact that the Muslim monarchy was essentially a military State in which every Faithful is theoretically a soldier, a voting citizen, and a member of the congregation (*Janud* and *jamait*) and the sovereign is necessarily a dictator whose autocracy is limited only by the Sacred Law (*Shara*.)

The different departments of the State and branches or divisions of the national army, in a Muslim empire, have therefore been more closely co-ordinated and have co-operated more effectively and regularly than in Hindu empires. This explains the success of the Muslims, not only in Northern India in the 13th century, but also in the Deccan in the 17th, in crushing out the Hindu empires and principalities,—though in the Deccan the Musalmans were a mere handful in comparison with the Hindus who fell before them, as I have shown in my paper on "The Ruin of the Hindus in the Madras Karnatak" in the August 1929 number of this Review.

The Muslim States being generally larger political units than the average Hindu States, could usually give peace and security to their subjects over wider areas and for longer periods than the latter could. Moreover, they could afford to create larger and more advanced centres of culture and development of the fine arts,—though the culture was necessarily Islamic or a mixed product of Islamic and pre-existing Hindu types, and the arts contributed only to the enjoyment of the Court and the nobility. Their superior

commerce with India thus rests solely on salt imported from that country and this is the key to the problem.

Every wrong loses its sting with age, and the lapse of more than half a century under these circumstances has blunted India's sensitiveness to this injustice. Its inequity has been obscured and has lost its force simply because Indians are now accustomed to buy salt just as wheat, gram and cereals. Mr. Gandhi, with the wideawake instinct of a Messiah, has rightly selected for attack, the weakest, yet the most precious, chord in Britain's fiddle. Both high and low have

tolerated its jarring of note slavishly for long, and he has well counted on the support of all to snap this string. The strength and success of a cause lies in the masses and if the newspaper reports are a true index of the country's response, he has begun well. The inequity of the tax has roused the slumbering masses and success in this sphere is sure to be the precursor of mass civil disobedience. Perhaps the latter event may be averted, since the salt tax is so serious a factor in British commerce, that any failure in its enforcement, may result in truce, followed by peace in days to come.

The Government Opium Monopoly in India

By C. F. ANDREWS

THE account which appeared in the *Modern Review* some time ago concerning the present opium situation in India, specially with regard to internal consumption, appeared to me to be a fair and just criticism of a sentence in a speech which I delivered *extempore* in New York last year. This sentence was somewhat unguarded in its praise of what the British Government had already done with regard to the external opium traffic. I spoke strongly in the same speech of what the British Government had failed to do in Assam with regard to internal consumption; and if I had known how remiss the Government officers had been in carrying out the progressive policy that opium reformers had recommended *within* India I should have referred to that as well and modified my speech accordingly. Fortunately I have been able to correct in a public manner the statement made in that speech, and have sent for publication to the Press in America a fuller account which seems to me to cover the ground which I omitted. Let me add that my time allotted for speaking on that earlier occasion was a bare twenty minutes and I only made a side reference to opium. On very many other occasions I have been asked questions concerning the opium traffic and have been able to give a much more

detailed answer. The point that has shocked most of all the Western public, which I have frequently mentioned has been the opium 'doping' of little babies with Government monopoly opium in Bombay. It has made a very deep impression in America that Lady Wilson herself condemned this crime against humanity, and that Earl Winterton contradicted her statement in the House of Commons, making an egregious blunder while doing so.

This is what I have sent to the American Press :

"The opium situation in India has already been considerably improved as far as *external* opium is concerned. According to recent reports, the reduction of the export of opium from India, steadily taking place at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum. At the present moment, the revenue of the Government of India appears not to have fallen in consequence, because the price obtained for the reduced percentage of opium has been much higher than that received in earlier days when the supply was more abundant. But this increase in the price will not compensate the Government of India for long; and when the 10 per cent. reduction has gone still further, the income derived from the remainder will be much less than the previous income received by Government for external opium in spite of the rise in price. In the year 1935, this income from external opium will vanish altogether because this is the last year of the ten years during which the 10 per cent. reduction is to take place.

While this continual reduction of the sale of

Though all this was pointed out nearly two years ago, it seems that final action in this matter has not yet been taken. It is time, therefore, that the Government of India was clearly warned that opium consumption in excess, from whatever cause, is not a matter that concerns India only, but rather the whole world, now that opium has become one of the subjects dealt with definitely by the League of Nations.

One further point may be mentioned which shows how vigilance of the most detailed kind is still needed. We had recently learnt that there was a danger that the register of opium addicts in Burma which had been closed might again be re-opened. The re-opening of the register would clearly stultify the whole process of cutting down opium consumption to the narrowest possible limits with a view to ultimate prohibition. The reason for re-opening the register was declared to be the increase of illicit consumption. In reply, we demanded that whatever profits were derived from the Government opium monopoly should be used for a close inspection of opium smuggling into Burma with a view to its detection and prohibition. Partly owing to this protest and the action taken on the spot by Mr. Tyabji, the Government of Burma, which is a province of British India, decided to drop the whole question of re-

opening the Government registers. The League of Nations Commission to the Far East has recently visited Burma in order to investigate opium smoking, and those who have been steady supporters of the opium prohibition demand, such as Mr. Tyabji and others, have given evidence before the Commission.

It is noticeable that at first Mr. Tyabji's name was not presented along with others to the League of Nations Commission to offer evidence and was only included after a protest. It is very unlikely now that the Government of Burma will attempt in the future to re-open the register of those opium addicts who are allowed a limited consumption per month.

In conclusion, it may be said that while progress has been much slower with regard to the reduction of the consumption of opium within the boundaries of India than it ought to have been, nevertheless important steps have been taken and the Government of India has begun to feel the effect of outside opinion. In the end, if only we have world publicity and world support given us to the full, we may be able to reduce at length the opium consumption in India to a figure which will not be far in excess (as it is at present) of the League of Nations index ratio.

Orissa States And British Policy

By PROF. P. C. LAHIRI, M. A.

I

THE history of the Native States of Orissa appears to go at least as far back as before the Maurya period. The areas are full of archaeological interest and the legends of some of these dynasties associate them with the Aryan culture of the north. The later historical origin of the present-day states may be definitely linked with the three important dynastic groups that flourished in these areas during the Hindu period as suzerain powers: the Gajapatis, the Bhanjas, and the Haihayas. As yet no continued history has been traced to prove them as having contracted direct relations, social and political, with northern India, the seat of Aryan culture. The chief reason that lies at the root of this, is their geographical isolation from the main current of civilization.

The very same reason accounts for their lack of political importance during the

Mughal and Maratha periods of Indian history. At that time, to all intents and purposes, most of these states exercised independent authority in their secluded fastnesses, and they were only bound under the Mughals, as also under the Marathas, by fixed sums of tribute and military service when necessary. Regarding their relations with the Maratha power it may be said that, whatever the general nature of the policy followed by the Marathas in their home provinces, their administration and government of the farthest and out of the way conquered regions, except in the matter of levies, were mostly as loose and fitful as the very method of the conquests themselves.

Coming down to the British period, a peculiar nature of complicated relations between these states of various shades of power on the one hand, and the Raja of

Nagpur or Berar and the East India Company on the other, becomes apparent. These complications further developed when these principalities were assigned a place on the diversified treaty map of India under the British. To make the point clear, let us begin by quoting from the Montagu-Chelmsford report the definition of 'Native States':

"The expression 'Native States' is applied now, and has been during the past century, to a collection of about seven hundred rulerships which exhibit widely differing characteristics, which range from States with full autonomy over their internal affairs to States in which Government exercises through its agents, large powers of internal control, and even down to the owners of a few acres of land."

In these words the joint authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford report on Indian constitutional reforms describe the great diversity that characterizes the collection of territories known as Indian States. The Butler Committee divide them into three classes: I. States the rulers of which are members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right, numbering 108; II. States the rulers of which are represented in the Chamber of Princes by twelve members of their order elected by themselves, numbering 127; and III. Estates, jagirs and others, numbering 327. Among the second of these classes, the group of Oriya-speaking States, at present in direct political relations with the Government of Bihar and Orissa, is perhaps the most important in point of number, area and possibilities for future development in the economic sphere. And here again is to be found among the individual states constituting this cluster that wide divergence in size and importance which has been observed in the case of the Indian States as a whole by the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford report. For the Orissa States cover, at one end of the scale, Mayurbhanj with 4,243 square miles in area, a population of 7,54,457, and an annual revenue of 30 lakhs of rupees, and, at the other end of the scale, Tigiria with an area of 46 square miles, a population of 19,534 and an annual revenue of 32,000 rupees. The Orissa States proper, numbering 21, may be broadly divided into two groups, according to certain historical circumstances; but two more States originally belonging to Chota Nagpur and now attached to the same political agency as the Orissa States, belong for all practical purposes to the same category. It

must not be understood, however, that all these 26 states are homogeneous in point of historical or political evolution, nor is it the object of the present article to deal with the historical development of each state in detail. These states are:

Athgarh, Athmallik, Baramba, Baud, Daspalla, Dhenkanal, Hindol, Keunjhar, Khandpara, Mayurbhanj, Narasinghpur, Nayagarh, Nilgiri, Pal Lahara, Ranpur, Talcher, Tigiria, Bonai, Gangpur, Bamra, Kalahandi or Karond, Patna, Rairakhol, Sonpur, Saraikela and Kharsawan.

The first group includes states that were originally known as Tributary Mahals of Cuttack, later, Tributary States, and finally included under the general description of Feudatory States of Orissa. Treaty engagements were entered into with most of these states by the East India Company about the time of the treaty of Deogaon in 1803, by which claims over them had been renounced by the Bhonslé Raja of Nagpur. Since then these states have remained in subordinate alliance with the English. The second group of states were brought into political relations by Wellesley by virtue of the treaty of Deogaon (1803) along with the States of the first category, but were returned in 1805 to the Bhonslé Raja, to be ceded finally in 1826. This group includes those states that belonged to the Central Provinces administration from 1861 to 1905 when they were attached to the Orissa Division along with Kalahandi, one of the old Nagpur zamindaries which presents certain common characteristics with them. The last two states, Saraikela and Kharsawan, were added to the Orissa administration even later. Both of these were granted as fiefs to the junior branches of the ruling family of Singhbhum (Porahat), and gradually rose into importance, from the position of subordinate chieftaincies, specially after the downfall of Porahat during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, when their services to the British Government were well rewarded. Since 1820, these two States came under the protection of the British, although no formal engagement can be traced.*

As already observed most, if not all, of these States came into formal political relations with the East India Company on the decline of the Maratha kingdom of Nagpur.

* *Bengal District Gazetteer*; Singhbhum Sarai-kela and Kharsawan, pp. 229, 230.

Orissa was ceded by Nawab Aliverdi Khan to the Bhonslé Raja of Nagpur in 1756, without Chakla Midnapur; and this Chakla was ceded by Nawab Mir Kasim Ali to the East India Company, along with the Chaklas Burdwan and Chittagong, in 1761. The Company was thus brought into direct touch with Orissa, and we find it, in the very first year of its possession of Midnapur, exchanging complimentary messages with the then ruler of Mayurbhanj* who was oftener than not at war with the Marathas. Of the Orissa States, Mayurbhanj was the nearest to Midnapur and served the purposes of a buffer state to the East India Company in its occasional disputes with the Marathas prior to the British occupation of Orissa.†

Bengal continued to be exposed to attack through Orissa after the British had established their ascendancy in Bengal and Behar, and the Maratha supremacy in Orissa did not enable the British to secure uninterrupted communication by land with their possessions in Madras. The opportunity of the Second Maratha War was, therefore, taken by the British to conquer Orissa in 1803. The Maratha authority had by this time become weak in Orissa, and the oppressive character of its rule had made it unpopular with the Oriya people. Thus diplomacy played as great a part in the British conquest of Orissa as arms. In a despatch, dated 3rd August, 1803, Marquess Wellesley gave detailed instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, who was in charge of military operations in Madras and was marching towards Orissa, to conciliate the people and even humour their religious susceptibilities. Referring to the rulers of the Orissa States, and zemindars under the Marathas, the Marquess observed as follows in this despatch:

"I have reason to believe that a considerable proportion of the province of Cuttack is occupied by chieftains or zemindars who have been enabled by the weakness of the Maratha government to render themselves independent of the Maratha power, or who yield to it a partial obedience. Considerable tracts of country contiguous to that province are also possessed by chieftains, who acknowledge no superior authority, or who are merely tributary to the Maratha State. I deem it necessary that such of those chieftains or

zemindars as are subjects of the Maratha government, and have revolted, should be required to acknowledge subjection to the British power. With other chieftains who may possess means of embarrassing your progress, it may be advisable to negotiate engagements on terms favourable to their interests, without requiring their absolute submission to the British authority."

Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, who had to replace Campbell owing to the latter's illness, also appears to have enjoined on his Lieutenants the adoption of a conciliatory policy towards these Chiefs, particular mention being made of Mayurbhanj, which was in a troubled condition owing to a dispute over succession to the rulership. †

That this policy was fruitful is evidenced by the comparative ease with which the British drove out the Marathas from Orissa. It does not appear that in the war of 1803 in Orissa, the Raja of Nagpur obtained any active assistance from the Chiefs of Orissa States, though most of them acknowledged his suzerainty. By Article 2 of the treaty of Deogaon, dated 17th December, 1803, the Raja of Nagpur ceded the province of Cuttack in perpetual sovereignty to the British; and Article 10 of this treaty runs as follows:

"Certain treaties have been made by the British Government with the feudatories of the Senah Sahab Soubah (i. e. Raghujhi Bhonslé). These treaties are to be confirmed. Lists of the persons with whom such treaties have been made will be given to Senah Sahab Soubah, when the treaty will be ratified by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council."

A foot-note to this Article in Aitchison's *Treaties* says:

"The Raja manifested the utmost reluctance to ratify this clause, and it was only under the threat of renewed hostilities that he consented to sign the lists."

With twelve of the present Orissa States were treaties thus made by the British in November, 1803. These are Athgarh, Haramba, Daspalla, Dhenkanal, Hindol, Khandpara, Narsinghpur, Nayagarh, Nilgiri, Ranpur, Talcher, and Tigera. They satisfied the condition laid down in Article 10 of the Treaty of Deogaon inasmuch as their treaties were concluded before the treaty of Deogaon. But it appears that a determined attempt was made, not without some amount of success, to extend this Article so as to include even loose agreements subsequent to the conclusion of peace with Raghujhi Bhonslé.

* *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol. I. Nos. 1020 and 1021.
† *Midnapur Records*, vol. II. Nos. 366, 378 and 412. Also see "The Ring-Fence System and the Marhattas" by K. M. Panikkar, *Journal of Indian History*, vol. vii. Part iii.

* *Wellesley Despatches*, by Martin, Vol. III. p. 268.
† Notes on History of Orissa, by J. Beames, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1883.

And we find Major-General Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) bitterly complaining that his brother, the Governor-General, should countenance such an act of bad faith towards the Raja of Nagpur. Thus we find him writing to the Marquess of Wellesley on the 10th February, 1804 :

"The cases of the Rajahs of Sohnpoor (Sonepur), Baud (Baud), and Ramghur (now a zemindary) are similar.—It does not appear that any of these Rajahs have entered into any such agreements; although I am well convinced that, having witnessed the effects of the Company's power, and having reason to expect benefit from the protection of the British government, they will now readily enter into all the stipulations required. But that is not consistent with the letter of the treaty with the Raja of Berar, much less with my promise to the Raja's ministers that this article should not be made to extend farther than was necessary to preserve the good faith of the British government, or with your Excellency's policy." *

Again, writing to his brother, the Hon'ble Henry Wellesley, on the 13th of May, 1804, the Major-General continued in the same strain :

"The Rajah (Raghuji Bhonslé) has been called upon to confirm, under the 10th article of the treaty of peace, verbal offers (I may call them) which were scarcely accepted, and on which treaties were not concluded till ten days after Colonel Harcourt had received from Calcutta the intelligence of the peace, and nearly twenty days after he had received private intelligence of it from me. After all, the treaties were not concluded with the real feudatories, who were in confinement at Nagpoor, but with their ministers in some instances, and their wives in others. The system of moderation and conciliation by which, whether it be right or wrong, I made the treaties of peace, and which has been so highly approved and extolled, is now given up. Our enemies are much disgusted and complain loudly of our conduct and want of faith; and in truth I consider the peace to be by no means secure. In fact, my dear Henry, we want at Calcutta some person who will speak his mind to the Governor-General. Since you and Malcolm have left him, there is nobody about him with capacity to understand these subjects, who has nerves to discuss them with him, and to oppose him when he is wrong." †

The result of this policy was that, among other tracts, the Parganas of Sambalpur and Patna including the present States of Patna, Sonepur, Bamra, Bonai, Gangpur and Rehrakhole, as also Baud together with its tributary Athmalik were treated as ceded by Raghuji Bhonslé to the British, in spite of the opposition of the Marathas and the protest of

General Wellesley. Marquess Wellesley in his despatch dated the 13th July, 1804,* to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, stated that the British Government was prepared to restore the aforesaid Parganas of Sambalpur and Patna, as also the similarly situated States of Sonepur, Baud and Ramghur to the Maratha Government. But as the Chiefs of these areas were disinclined to return under the authority of the Marathas, the British authorities offered the Maratha Government an annual payment equal to the revenue derived by them from these areas, together with "a reasonable compensation for the loss of power and dominion occasioned by the alienation of those territories." This offer was declined by the Maratha Government, with the result that the areas affected continued to be under the British. In 1806, however, by an engagement dated the 24th August, Sir George Barlow, Governor-General, restored to Raghuji Bhonslé "all the territory of Sumbulpore and Patna which was ceded by the Maharaja to the Hon'ble East India Company...the Maharaja shall possess the same degree of sovereignty over them as he possesses over the rest of his dominions." And in the schedule to this engagement we find Patna, Sonepur, Bamra, Rehrakhole, Bonai and Gangpur, among others, as comprised within the territory thus ceded. They were subsequently by the treaty of 1826, between the British and the Bhonslé Raja of Nagpur, ceded once more and finally to the former.

Mr. Gurmukh Nihal Singh in his recent book *Indian States and British India* says :

"It was a clever device adopted definitely by Lord Wellesley of pushing the defence frontier to the extreme boundary of the next state and of shifting the main cost of defence to the shoulders of the neighbouring chief."

It is difficult to say whether Lord Wellesley was acting in pursuance of this policy when in his engagements with the tributary States of Orissa he included, in spite of protests of the Raja of Berar and General Wellesley, other States which did not contract relations with the Company prior to the date of the Deogaon treaty. Was it that the entire group of tributary States under the authority of Nagpur had to be brought *en masse* under the influence of the East India

* Owen's *Wellington Despatches*, No. 212; See also Nos. 213, 214, and 222.

† Owen's *Wellington Despatches*, No. 225.

* *Wellesley Despatches*, by Martin, Vol. iv. No. xxxix

Company so that there could not be in future any new complications regarding the relations of these States with one another? Or, was it from the purest idea of conquest and alienation, as Wellesley himself lays down in his own despatches on the subject of these very States? Thus:

"The conquest or alienation to the greatest possible extent of the territories composing the dominion of the enemy, constituted a necessary object of the operations of the war, without reference to the future policy of annexing such territory to the British possessions, or of distributing it among the allies or of restoring it to the enemy."

All these States (outside the provision of Article 10) were, with the exception of Baud and its tributary Athmallik, restored by Sir George Barlow the Governor-General, in 1805, as a result of his "feebly economical policy" on the ground that "a certain extent of dominion, local power, and revenue, would be cheaply sacrificed for tranquillity and security within a contracted circle, and we could withdraw from every kind of relation with the Native States, to which we were not specifically pledged by treaty; and the minor principalities adjacent to or intermixed with the Maratha possessions were left to their fate."† It is difficult to say whether the moral considerations urged by General Wellesley influenced the decisions of Sir George Barlow in any measure when he restored the above States to the Raja of Berar.

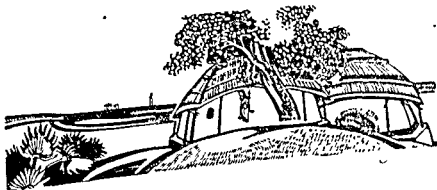
* *Wellesley Despatches*, edited by Martin: Vol. iv, No. xxxiii.

† Sir Alfred Lyall: *The Rise of the British Dominion in India*, 1893.

In his despatch, dated the 13th July 1804, quoted above, Marquess Wellesley separately mentions two other states which entered into alliance with the British Government without reference to the Maratha power and obviously unaffected by Article 10 of the Treaty of Deogaon. One is Keonjhar, "a powerful Chieftain, whose territory is situated on the northern frontier of the province of Cuttack, and who has always been considered to be independent of the Maratha power, although at the period of the war that Chieftain rented a portion of the province of Cuttack." Pal Labara presumably went with Keonjhar as its then tributary. The other State mentioned is Mayurbhanj, engagements with which apparently continued on an informal footing till 1829 when a formal treaty was concluded with it. Apart from its extensive territory, its ruler had also been holding a zemindari under the British in the district of Midnapur, from 1767, and thus occupied a dual status with reference to the East India Company. These circumstances may have been responsible for the omission to conclude a formal treaty with this State for a quarter of a century after the British conquest of Orissa.

The effect of the engagements with all these States has thus been summarized by Marquess Wellesley:

"A barrier has been established between the province of Cuttack and the Raja of Berar's remaining territories, composed of petty States, exercising an independent authority within their respective territories, under the protection of the British Government."



The Day of Crucifixion

By Miss J. GANGULI, M.A.

IT was the evening of the day of Christ's crucifixion, a day for the Christians to remember mostly of the qualities of mercy and love and to understand pain.

The afternoon sun was shedding its softlier glowing light on a thousand heads of the villagers assembled near the volunteers' tent at Narghat, a village near the ancient port of Tamluk in South Bengal. They were eager to see and hear the woman that had come to preach about the great *Ahimsa* war waged by their Gandhiji against the Government that heeded not the cry of the people who suffer from year to year of privation, ill-health and illiteracy.

This war that will not spill the blood of those against whom it is waged but will spill only the blood of the soldiers who are waging it, is a new message to the world, and the villagers, illiterate and ill-clad as they are, but proud with the heritage of an age-old culture, understand it and accordingly worship these *Satyagrahi* volunteers, i. e., the soldiers of the nation as men of a finer calibre than their own selves.

Undaunted by the presence of a number of police and excise officers as well as the magistrate of the district and the superintendent of police—the two great officers of the executive and judiciary—they waited our coming.

We were told that Sec. 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code was in force there and so there could be no gathering of people nor any addresses to be given. There were expectancy and determination writ large over all the faces. They waited with bated breath to see what we would do. I stood on the car and told the people of the order and asked what they wished—to obey the order and so send us away, or for us to remain and defy the order, if, to them the order was not justifiable. They, specially the women, all declared their wish for us to remain.

The women, about 300 in number, squatted on the high bank where the tent for the volunteers' night rest was pitched and low down on the rice-fields from which the harvests were already gathered, sat quietly the

men. It was a most peaceful scene, with the blue sky bending benignly overhead,—the playful breeze, and the eager faces of the men. And suddenly, with the charge of the police with *lathis* a disturbance grew. The women jumped down from the bank before the force and tried to prevent the *lathis* being used on their men folk and the men grew into a solid phalanx of human wall which could neither be moved nor broken. For nearly a quarter of an hour the police tried, but in vain. Then they promised to withdraw if the crowd would disperse quietly. My speech was delivered, and the 2,500 odd that had come there to listen to me expressed a desire to have a look at the volunteers breaking the salt law. These soldiers of our unkillings war were preparing duty-less salt in contravention of the existing law of the present Government in a place about a hundred yards away from the place of our gathering. The men marched in a line towards that place with the intention to make a circle round the ovens and the pots, sacred to them as the altar fires in the temples of their gods, and then wend their way home as quietly as they had come.

The police with the magistrate and the Superintendent of Police at their head ran after them and belaboured them with sticks and *lathis*. I met the Superintendent of Police pursuing men who evaded his stick one way and gathered round the other way again to continue their march. As I was exhorting them to be quite peaceful and act as if nothing untoward was happening and thus go away home; the S. P., a Mr. Kidd, showed me his stick and said in the mincing and affected Bengali they use, "They will not listen to you but they will to this stick of mine."

district of the powers that be, the district magistrate had with his hunter beaten a small boy of ten in such a way on the head that he had fallen senseless on the ground and was bleeding profusely from a deep cut on the forehead and from the nose.* He bent down to tie his silk handkerchief on the bleeding wound. Perhaps the face of the One wearing the crown of thorns was reflected in the halo of the evening sun shedding tears of blood at this sight—who knows and the Christian remembered the day! But the volunteers and the women rendering first aid to the boy refused the silk handkerchief of the mighty one.

He came with his hat raised to me and asked me to grant him permission to take the boy to the hospital.

"Sorry, but I am afraid I cannot give such permission as the people here will not allow me to do so."

"But if you say yes, they will not go against that. Please do give the order. These people here will listen to you implicitly and to nobody else."

"But, Sir, I cannot give that order."

"My car is a powerful one and I can take him to the hospital within fifteen minutes."

"We have doctors here to attend to him. If it is necessary I shall myself take him to the hospital."

"But it is better to take him in a car and not in a bus."

"I have a taxi-cab with me."

"I leave my car at your disposal, it is a better and a swifter one."

"Thank you, but I am sorry I cannot avail of it."

The half-clad and half-fed villager who used to bow down to the dust before a magistrate the other day, as it were, had spoken through me his grim determination

to refuse from the hands of the autocrat, scraps of mercy which looked like disdain heaped upon injury and wrong.

About ten others were hurt,—some slightly and some with grave injuries on their body, and we removed them all to the camp and brought the boy to our own private hospital under the Ramkrishna Mission at Tamluk. On our way there the boy regained consciousness and when told that he would soon get better, replied, "Yes, and then I will come again where our soldiers prepare salt, and if the Shahib comes to beat me once more I will say 'Shahib, I have come and so if you will, beat me again.'"

It was Good Friday and he had bled at the altar of the great temple of our Motherland and was it Christ himself who spoke through the child—was it the promise of the saviour's ascension—the promise of His coming again to save mankind from Sin?

The Man of Sorrows has awakened in the bosom of us, Indians, and so all the atrocities that are committed today by those who are in power—the arson, the loot, the flogging, the scalding, the tortures of the bayonets and the boots—all form the crown of thorns we have to wear and the nails we have to see driven through our flesh so that we gain for our future generation the birth-right of a human being—his freedom.

The twenty-year-old boy whose rib is broken through the trampling of the boots over his body, the still younger one whose body was scalded with boiling salt-water from waist to ankle, the other one with all his teeth dislocated and all those who have been mercilessly flogged and beaten still wear a smile and still say while being sent home or hospital on sick-leave,—*"I shall come again."*

Saviours of our country! Verily, it is true that ye shall rise again and so there is no need for us to sorrow and lament but get ready for the day that is to come.

* The photograph of this boy lying senseless on the lap of Miss Ganguly and two of her companions is published on another page of this issue. Ed. M. R.



Swami Vivekananda on Child-marriage

Among three unpublished writings of Swami Vivekananda published by the *Prabuddha Bharata* in its April issue, there is one letter in which the great religious leader of modern India expresses his strong condemnation of child-marriage. Not all the followers of a great man or reformer are men of equal faith, devotion and strength of character; Swami Vivekananda, it seems, refers to one of these back-sliding disciples and goes on to say :

As for X, I don't care who takes money or not, but I have a strong hatred for child-marriage. I have suffered terribly from it and it is the great sin for which our nation has to suffer. As such I would hate myself if I help such a diabolical custom directly or indirectly. I wrote to you pretty plain about it and X had no right to play a hoax upon me about his "law-suit" and his attempts to become free. I am sorry for his playing tricks on me who have never done him any harm. This is the world. What good you do goes for nothing, but if you stop doing it, then, Lord help you, you are counted as a rogue. Isn't it? Emotional natures like mine are always preyed upon by relatives and friends. This world is merciless. This world is our friend when we are its slaves and no more. This world is broad enough for me. There will always be a corner found for me somewhere. If the people of India do not like me, there will be others who will like. I must set my foot to the best of my ability upon this devilish custom, of child-marriage. No blame will entail on you. You keep at a safe distance, if you are afraid. I am sorry, very sorry, I cannot have any partnership with such doings as getting husbands for babies. Lord help me, I never had and never will have. Think of the case of Y! Did you ever meet a more cowardly or brutal one than that? I can kill the man who gets a husband for a baby. The upshot of the whole thing is—I want bold, daring, adventurous spirits to help me. Else I will work alone. I have a mission to fulfil. I will work it out alone. I do not care who comes or who goes. X is already done for by *Samsara*. Beware, boy! That was all the advice I thought it my duty to give you. Of course you are great folks now—my words will have no value with you. But I hope the time will come when you will see clearer, know better and think other thoughts than you are now doing.

The Work of the Royal Commission on Labour

How far Indian Labour will benefit from the work of the Whitley Commission is a

question which no one can forecast at this time, though the history of previous commissions does not inspire us with much hope. There is an estimate of their work in *The Indian Labour Review* :

By the time the March number of the I. L. R. reaches some of its readers, the Royal Commission on Labour will be on its way to England, carrying with it, doubtless, stacks and stacks of evidence and memoranda: all of which, plus personal investigations made, have now to be sifted and sorted and weighed and synthesised and used as material on which to arrive at certain conclusions and recommendations. That is the biggest, most important, and in some respects the most difficult part of its task and must take many months, and probably another visit to India, to complete.

A resume of the press reports of the Commission's work, as well as the impressions we received at the various sittings of the Commission we attended, make it fairly clear that one of the chief difficulties with which the Commission will have to contend is the conflicting evidence that has been tendered on the same subjects by various representatives of labour, even in the same presidency and town. One representative is for compulsory arbitration in industrial disputes; another against it. With possibly a few exceptions there does not appear to have been any agreement between the different Unions with regard even to such a vital question as the minimum living wage. For the most part each organisation has acted independently, though of course in the matter of well-known facts, as distinct from opinions, there is more unanimity.

This is true also of employers' representatives and employers' organizations, but to a lesser degree. But perhaps this is all to the good in that it will give the Commissioners a more correct idea of the actual state of affairs.

The Commission as a whole appears to have created a favourable impression wherever it has gone, especially on the points of impartiality and a gift for getting at the facts genially. It is a pity though that an Indian woman was not included in the personnel, as Miss. Power's questions invariably showed the value and necessity of a woman's point of view in such an important enquiry. This is a defect which we hope will be remedied in future. The various Women's Organisations in India should see to this.

Physical Culture for Women

Stri Dharma publishes the following note on the lead given by Nagpur to the promotion of physical culture for women :

Nagpur is taking the lead in a most important aspect of women's life. We wish their demand speedy fulfilment, and hope every town will follow their example.

An association consisting of representative members connected with the various institutions for girls and women of Nagpur has been formed for the purpose of encouraging and properly organizing games, playgrounds, etc., necessary for the physical culture of the girls and women.

At a well-attended meeting in the Nagpur Seva Sadan, the following resolutions were passed: (1) That the local Government authorities and Municipal Committee be asked to grant proper playground for the institutions of girls and women.

(2) That those bodies be also requested for grant of funds to enable the Association to carry out its aims and objects.

(3) That a public fund be started and the public be invited to donate or subscribe towards the fund.

(4) That an application be made to the Municipal Committee requesting it not to establish any market on the present Patwardhan High School playground inasmuch as such a market will be a nuisance to the scholastic institutions in the vicinity and as the land in point is absolutely necessary as an open-air playground for girls and women.

Gokhale on the Depressed Classes and the Indian States

There is a very interesting article on Gokhale in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon*. Among the many reminiscences contained in it there is one about Gokhale's views on the "depressed" classes and the Indian States, which incidentally illustrates his deep sense of honour where questions of national self-respect were concerned:

Gokhale felt deeply about the position of the "depressed" classes and earnestly called upon the higher castes to adopt every means in their power to promote their education and facilitate their admission to honourable employment as the most important means of elevating them in the social scale. He would surely have sympathized with their claim for fair representation in the Legislative and other Councils. As regards Indian States, Gokhale's attitude was one of complete abstinence. This seems to have been the result not merely of political considerations but also of Gokhale's personal temperament. He once told me that he had made it a rule not to set foot in any Indian State and this feeling was somewhat aggravated when a late Dewan of Mysore issued an order prohibiting Mr. Srinivasa Sastri from making a speech at a public meeting afterwards to Dewan made one or two attempts afterwards to meet Gokhale, and explain his position but Gokhale, I think, did not countenance them. Another occasion in which Gokhale acted similarly was one in which I was myself an intermediary. Mr. Lovat Fraser, perhaps the most brilliant English journalist who ever came out to India, expressed

to me, when he retired from the *Times of India*, a wish to see Gokhale. Fraser was a staunch supporter of the Curzon regime and had not spared Gokhale who was its most powerful critic. Fraser said to me, "You know we are often ashamed to read in the morning what we dash off in the night," and that he would like to make up with Gokhale, for whom he had a sincere respect before he left India. I duly conveyed the message to Gokhale and his reply was characteristic. "I have no sort of dignity or sense of humiliation in approaching any Indian but as regards Englishmen," he said "in the present circumstances of the country I must stand on my dignity. I will not call upon Mr. Lovat Fraser." The two men, however, met later in London and Gokhale told me that Fraser who was then influentially connected with the *London Times* and, besides, was in close touch with Lord Morley, was extremely helpful to him in getting into touch with leading English publicists.

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A Government Report on Public Instruction

The Director of Public Instruction of the Bombay Presidency has published a report on the public instruction in that province in which some invidious distinctions have been made between Government and private institutions. A writer in *The Progress of Education* exposes and criticizes these fallacies:

One feature of this Report like that of its predecessors which is most noticeable is the studied differentiation between Government and non-Government institutions particularly the secondary schools. The Directors of Public Instruction appear to believe that the Department of Education exists in the first instance for the Government schools, and to the non-Government schools the Department will extend what patronage it can. They would not admit any responsibility for the expansion of secondary education and would not consider private bodies as willing agents who would lighten the burden of that responsibility. They look upon the grant-in-aid to private schools as doles distributed to the needy; not as the minimum that the Department can give to the institutions which are doing part of its own work.

This is an unfair attitude and leads to invidious comparison between the Government and non-Government schools. Thus on page 19 of the Report we find: "There is little doubt that with the exception of a small number of schools under specially capable management, Government high schools are superior to other schools, as should be the case from their teaching staffs being as a rule far better qualified." This is a true statement no doubt, but it should not be for the Department a matter of congratulation. If the 25 Government high schools absorb nearly as much of the public revenue as is doled out to 180 non-Government schools and if a Training College was conducted for more than fifteen years for training the staffs of the Government

high schools only, what is there to be proud of in those schools being "superior to other schools?" and "their teaching staffs being as a rule far better qualified?" It ought to be the D. P. I. s' ambition to be able to report that "not only are the Government high schools efficient and ably staffed but the Education Department can note with pride that with the help of public-spirited private agencies it has been possible for it to maintain high efficiency and qualified staffs even in those schools which are not directly managed by the Department of Education."

Lancashire Cotton Trade in 1929

Not a very hopeful picture of the Lancashire cotton trade during the last year is drawn in an article in *The Khalsa Review*.

At the beginning of 1929 there were hopes that cotton spinners and manufacturers in Lancashire would experience relief from the severe depression which had existed for several years, but another twelve months have gone without any definite signs of better conditions, and in many respects the past year has been the worst period since the boom of 1919-20. Throughout the year it was impossible for spinners and manufacturers to run their machinery at full stretch. There was a considerable amount of short time and irregular working, with serious unemployment for the operatives. The financial position tended to become worse; cases of "difficulties" increased in number, and there was evidence that trade is still being lost to competitors.

It cannot be said that the year 1930 has started with any feeling of optimism in Lancashire with regard to the immediate future. The facts of the situation must be recognised, and so far very little has been done to reduce production costs so as to enable Lancashire goods to compete successfully against the products of other countries. This is the problem which faces Lancashire to-day. Unless means can be found whereby goods can be placed in distributing centres abroad at the same prices as competitors, no improvement can be expected. Since standing charges and overhead costs are fairly well fixed, the cost of producing each pound of yarn and each yard of cloth can only be reduced by increasing the output and spreading the charges over a wider basis. A development of this kind can only be achieved by the establishment of a two-shift system, and later by the use of a larger number of automatic looms. With regard to markets abroad, the trade outlook in India and China is far from bright, and in other parts of the world higher tariffs are adversely affecting Lancashire trade. Great things are expected from the amalgamations which are now taking place in the industry. There will certainly result in many economies and more efficient marketing, but it may be some time before these organisations can make any definite impression upon the competition from other countries, and especially from Japan.

Private Enterprise and Rural Reform in Bengal

In the course of an article on the land-holders of Bengal, in *The Calcutta Review*, the conclusion is advanced that the work of rural reconstruction in Bengal can only be solved by state enterprise:

One thing is certain. Private initiative or the working of natural forces cannot be trusted to remedy the evils of rural Bengal. As it happens, the Province does not seem to be very happy in voluntary efforts in matters agricultural. Hardly any effort has been made in large-scale farming on modern lines even where there is ample scope for it, such as in lands in the private possession of zaminders or tenure-holders. Besides, there are many reasons why the intervention of the State is essential. No private organisation would create the same confidence in the agriculturist, in matters where confidence is so vital, as the Government departments would. Neither has any private organisation the same resources or the expert staff to carry on the work. As we have seen, at any rate, at the initial stages, state help and encouragement is a necessity. Moreover, many of the agrarian reforms would effect legal rights and valuable interests, and legislative enactments will be necessary. The experience of European countries also teach us that in experiments like consolidation of holdings, though voluntary efforts played an important part, very little could be achieved, until the State actively intervened.

The danger of leaving matters to adjust themselves is not imaginary, specially in India. Not unoften, it is believed, "... that for a general increase in the size of holdings, we must look to the working of economic forces—such as the growth of urban industries, which, by reducing the pressure on the soil, would facilitate the transition:—rather than to legislative action." In connection with the often repeated suggestion that the redundant labour on the land may be absorbed in industries, it is not always remembered that in Bengal the percentage of industrial (including mines) to district population is only 7.8. As the Fiscal Commission remarked, "even if the development of industries in the near future is very rapid, the population withdrawn from the land will be but a small proportion" (Report, p. 27). These considerations represent a strong case for a bold and active policy of agrarian reform on the part of the state.

The New Biography

"Dealer in smart sayings: bad character:" Pascal once said of the professional wit whose business it was to be clever anyhow and not to insist too fanatically on truth. One is tempted to apply the saying to the writers of new biographies, which are becoming almost as clever and as commonplace as the new woman or the new novel. A

necessary to modernise plants in the firms which continue in existence. Finally, to save itself from the danger to which standardised mass production is especially exposed *viz.*, a certain resistance to changing conditions, firms in a rationalised industry must have strong reserves so that they will be able to meet changes in the industry may be always backed by adequate financial resources.

(b) The personal difficulties are much more important, the vested interests of those in power, jealousy and mistrust among people at the top of various concerns, a traditional leaning towards secrecy and individualism amongst industrialists, which account for the slow progress of rationalisation.

There is another difficulty in connection with the personnel of industry which deserves careful handling. Reorganisation of industry, an increase in its efficiency, is bound to benefit the workers ultimately, both as consumers and as wage-earners. But the period of transition is always painful and sometimes tragic. Those who remain in work after the reconstruction get higher wages. But the closing down of inefficient firms, and the extension of labour-saving devices throw out of employment a certain number of workers for no fault of their own. Here we touch upon one of the most vital facts of our economic structure.

Rationalisation can succeed in any country provided the true type of industrial leader is forthcoming, the type that has a wide outlook, a power of grasping the general problems of industry, and the tact and energy necessary to organise a loose collection of generally conservative businessmen into an earnest band of industrial reformers.

The Industrial Development of India

Though the cry for State intervention in all the affairs connected with life of a community may be pressed too far and in the end prove to be disastrous to individual initiative, there is no denying that it is in the air and strongly justified by the necessities of the times. The industrial life of a community has become so vast and so complex that unless it is co-ordinated, controlled and guided by some central authority, it is more likely to result in anarchy than in progress. A plea for State initiative in Indian industry is put forward by a writer in *The Hindustan Times* :

The problem of industrial development in India is not an insignificant one but has huge dimensions : it cannot be solved easily and in a very short time, but requires intense efforts, immense initiative and patriotic co-operation. Above all, it requires a sympathetic National Government, which has the interests of the country at heart and strives to pursue the interests with a single-minded purpose, undeterred and uncowed by considerations of commiseration towards the unholy desires and

intentions of foreign interests. We have, no doubt fiscal freedom of a sort ; but is not freedom which is adequate enough to carry us very far, for at every turn we are faced with the wholly discouraging prospect of having to overcome the opposition of foreign vested interests, which a Government, constituted as it is at present, cannot be expected to combat and defeat, however well-intentioned. particular Viceroy's may be towards Indian aspirations. This is a serious enough matter, when we take into account the large amount of work there is in our country which can be successfully accomplished only by the State. For protecting Indian industries by the imposition of import duties, we have to seek the assistance of the State ; for expanding the banking facilities and encouraging industrial banking and Indian banking generally, we look up to the State ; for leading financial and other help to the tottering, indigenous industries for encouraging the policy of village reorganization and the development of village handicrafts, we require Government initiative ; for providing educational facilities and to dispel the vast mass of ignorance that pervades the people, we again have to depend upon the State and so on. But, if in spite of the necessity for all these reforms, the Government do not follow a consistent and comprehensive line of policy of national advancement it is but inevitable that progress should either be very slow or that there should be complete stagnation all over.

The Right of Intervention

The right of intervention in the internal affairs of the Indian States claimed by the British Government in India has been questioned by some of the princes. Their opposition is due less perhaps to their desire to safeguard their legitimate rights than to retain their autocratic powers, which are threatened by the progress of democratic government in British India. There is an editorial note on this question in *The Feudatory and Zemindari India* :

The report of the Butler Committee regarding the relations between the paramount power and the States was severely criticised by the Maharajas of Patiala and Bikaner. They resented the statement in the Butler Committee's Report that the Viceroy could intervene 'when there is a widespread and popular demand for a change in the form of government and suggest such measures as would satisfy that demand without eliminating the Princes.' The Indian Princes want complete independence in the internal administration of their States, including absolute power to determine the form of government. But at the same time they also claim that it is a duty of the British Government to protect the Princes against a popular agitation which is such agitation not due to misgovernment. This position of the Indian Princes that, while they can compel their subjects to accept any form of government which they (the Princes) choose to prescribe for their States, however despotic it may be, it is the duty of the British Government to come to their rescue against their subjects, if the-

latter show any signs of discontent at the existing form of government, is, to say the least, illogical and inconsistent. If the Indian Princes want complete independence in the internal administration of their States, they cannot claim any help from the British Government in their relations with their subjects. For, in that case, the subjects of the Indian States can have no possible chance of political advancement on modern lines. It will be in the interests of the Princes to keep their subjects in a state of perpetual bondage; and they will have the mighty arm of the British Government to help them if their subjects show any signs of discontent with the existing state of things. It is strange that, while the Indian Princes have shown whole-hearted sympathy with the aspirations of British India for Dominion status, they are so reactionary as regards the rights of their own people. Consistency would require that if the Indian Princes want complete independence in their internal affairs, they should not ask the British Government to intervene in any matter affecting them and their subjects. Let us hope that the representatives of the Indian princes will be more consistent at the coming Round Table Conference, and either claim complete independence in the above sense of the term or concede the right of the sovereign power to intervene if there is a genuine demand by the people of any Indian State for a popular form of government.

Co-operation in India—A Foreigner's View

An editorial note in *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* summarizes the opinion of a foreign observer about co-operation in India. The editor says:

It should always be a thing of interest to us to know what foreign students think of Indian co-operation. In fact it often happens that when such a study is made by a competent foreigner with a detached mind, that study comes to be regarded as more authoritative than even the best study by a local scholar. The best criticism of Shakespeare is said to be written by a German and for a long time now the Constitutional History of England by a German Professor has been regarded as even superior to Dr. Stubbs' most learned volumes. It is from this point of view that we welcome a small pamphlet of about 40 pages on "Co-operation in India" by Mr. A. W. Paterson, Head of the Rural Economics Division, Department of Agriculture, Gold Coast. Mr. Paterson was in India in April to June last and even within the short time at his disposal, he was able to carry on an intensive study of the co-operative movement in this country. His account of the rise and growth of the whole organization, and his lucid description of the whole movement, in all its parts, will repay a careful perusal. There is not much new therein to an advanced co-operator but the arrangement is exceptional, and the handling of the subject is essential. Within these 40 pages everything that is brought to know about co-operation in India, is brought together in a concise and intelligible form. We

would strongly recommend that the Co-operative Institutes throughout India prescribe this pamphlet for study by beginners and they may even reprint the pamphlet for their own use after taking special permission from the Gold Coast Government. There is of course little of criticism in Mr. Paterson's study; but his description and analysis have had the advantage of well-trained perspective.

Mahatma Gandhi's Accounts

The following extracts from the extremely vivid article by Mr. Sri Prakasa on Mahatma Gandhi's tour in the U. P. and Bihar in *Triveni*, shed an interesting sidelight on the great leader's character:

When some one would laughingly complain about his strict insistence on accounts, he would tell him how careful he had been about accounts since early childhood: how he would take vouchers even for soda-water bottles when acting as the secretary of a deputation, and, above all he would talk of the solitary penny he has never been able to account for in his life and which he still remembers. He had purchased fruits at Tottenham Court Road in London for two pence, but perhaps paid three pence by mistake. What the balance would not tally at home, he rushed back to the fruit-seller for the overpaid penny, but never got it back. I said to him, "You would be an ideal candidate for a Council election in the matter of returning election expenses. But if you did that, you would be debarred." "I know, I know," he replied, "and among other reasons why I am against these elections is this also. We have not sufficient numbers of really good people to go to these Councils." Now he keeps no money to himself; but his assistants are always hard put to accounting for every pie received. It is no joke keeping these accounts, as sums (particularly small coin) come pouring in constantly and moneys have to be counted up in moving trains and cars.

In fact he is extraordinarily economical. I believe a rich man can be safely defined as one who can afford to waste with impunity and a poor man as one who cannot. As Mahatma lives the life of a poor man deliberately, he simply would not waste anything. He preserves all pins, and half-sheets of blank papers from letters for use, and writes on the backs of papers written or printed on the other side. I witnessed a scene worth recording. His handkerchief had gone astray. He started furiously searching for it all over the place. We all joined in the hunt. He would insist on having that and in the hunt. He would insist on having that and would let us bring another, though he was in a hurry to go to a meeting. Well, at last he went without it, and then discovered it tucked to his shoulder—for he has no pockets—when he retired to bed at night, as he put aside the piece of cloth that he had round his shoulders fastened by safety pins! He would waste nothing. The world, of course, knows that he travels in third class; and though railway officials invariably try to provide comfortable accommodation for him, this is not always possible. Very often he may be found cheerfully seated in the most crowded compartment.

The I. M. S. & Medical Research in India

In his presidential speech before the All-India Medical Conference, reproduced in *The Calcutta Review* Dr. B. C. Roy vigorously disposed of the argument that the lack of progress in medical research in India was due to lack of initiative on the part of Indian medical men :

We have been blamed because there is no record of research to the credit of the Indian medical practitioner. What is the real root cause? Are Indians incapable of research? Sir J. C. Rose, Sir P. C. Ray, Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. Merhand Saha, Mr. Ramayyan have won world-wide reputation in research without any guidance or tuition from Westerners. Why cannot the Indian medical practitioner equally succeed? In the case of medical research it is necessary not only to be provided with laboratories but hospital facilities also have to be secured. Till within recent years all the larger hospitals in the country were manned by members belonging to the Indian Medical Service. All the research appointments were and still are being held by the service officers. The process of exclusion has been carefully, may I say shamelessly, planned and manipulated that even no Indian of established repute has any chance of getting into the group. As regards the management of large hospitals and

institutions, the question of the inefficiency of Indians does not arise, because no opportunity was given to Indians to manage any of the hospitals. The indisputable fact remains that in spite of such obstructive methods and in spite of the handicap due to paucity of funds, two large institutions, one in Calcutta and another in Bombay, have been developed and managed entirely under Indian supervision. It is a decisive argument against the charge of inefficiency attributed to Indians. Studied carelessness on the part of I. M. S. officers in discharging the responsible duties cast upon them, namely, that of developing an Indian medical profession, the pre-arranged method of keeping the Indian out of every opening where they could develop themselves, have been responsible for the present state of affairs. Knowledge gives vision to the blind. But perverse attempts have been made to perpetuate the infirmity.

Most of us have been trained in the allopathic system. Let us frankly admit that our teachers have not given us that broad outlook, that deep insight into the medical lore which every teacher ought to inculcate in his pupil. Why do I say that? There is a simple test. No professor belonging to the Medical Services has, ever to my knowledge, trained an Indian student in such a way that he may prove capable, in time, of occupying the chair of his teacher. It has all along been a process of safeguarding the interests of a trade union.

destruction of capitalism itself through the rise of the proletariat : only by the victory of communistic socialism will the anarchy of the present system be brought to an end.

India, Mahatma Gandhi, and the Labour Government

Foreign comment a month old will hardly fit the rapidly developing political situation in India. But the following notes in *The New Republic*, except for the mistake of regarding the breaking of the salt laws as a mere ritualistic act, show an intelligent appreciation of the British as well as the Indian aspect of the problem :

The difference between the East at its best and the West at its average was never more strikingly displayed than in Mahatma Gandhi's march to the sea where he and his little band of followers will make salt in defiance of the British monopoly. In no other country, in the twentieth century, would millions of people who are seething with hatred of the foreign invader, be willing to stand by while this ritualistic and symbolic pilgrimage took place. Even in India it is only made possible by the personal power of Gandhi, one of the few great religious leaders of all time. His disbelief in the use of force does not rest on mere expediency. Among the Hindus there are however, thousands of persons who are not satisfied with his non-resistant philosophy, who feel that the force of the English must be answered with force of their own. If Gandhi should be imprisoned, or should die as a result of some incident in connection with his present campaign, the tidal wave of hatred would break, with consequences which it is impossible to foresee.

Those who expected great things from the Labour Government in regard to India have been disappointed, but it was probably inevitable that this should be so. It must be remembered that MacDonald has only a minority in the House of Commons, and that the subject of India is one which arouses automatic and violent response, on a basis of pure prejudice, in the breasts of thousands of Englishmen. It must also be remembered that while governments, Conservative, Liberal and Labour, come and go, the permanent bureaucracy continues to run the British Empire. Even with these allowances made, however, the Labour government has done badly in regard to India. It has continued the historic policy of making concessions, but of never doing so until it is too late. A few years ago, an offer of Dominion status might have stabilized the situation in India for a generation to come. Today, England is at least half-heartedly willing to give Dominion status, and India, angered by the delay and by the well ground belief that the politicians promise more than they mean, turns toward complete freedom.

Torture in America

That some sort of torture, as much psychological as physical, is practised all

over the world in order to obtain evidence from undertrial prisoners has long been suspected. But that this widely flourishes in the United States of America comes as a rather startling revelation. *The New Republic* writes :

Legally, torture for the punishment of crime or the procuring of confessions has been extinct in the United States and Great Britain for at least two centuries, and in other civilized countries for more than a century. Actually, as everyone suspects and as an editorial article in the *Harvard Law Review* for February pretty conclusively demonstrates, it is still a common practice in the police systems of our own country. The chief difference between the modern variety and that which was employed in olden times are that torture now has no standing in law, that care is ordinarily taken not to leave marks which might convict the torturers, and that a new name has been given to an old abuse. But that the "third degree" is torture and that the motives behind it are no different from those which animated the police of Queen Elizabeth or le Roi Soleil cannot be questioned.

It should not be necessary to argue the worthlessness of evidence obtained by any kind of torture. That point was settled, to the satisfaction of reasonable persons, long ago. It should be still less necessary to demonstrate its debasing effects upon all who have anything to do with it. Our penal codes still sanction psychological torture, for a term in the average American penitentiary is that. But Senator Laumes himself would be hard put to it to justify the maltreatment by officers of the law of persons not proved guilty. Why, then, does the practice survive? Men of refined and sympathetic natures do not ordinarily become officers of the law, yet policemen and sheriffs are obviously not all brutes. Why do the more civilized ones among them tolerate brutality, as they obviously do? It is not a question that it can be answered in a few words. We merely suggest here that police work in some American communities has degenerated into a species of gang warfare, in which the police gang differs from the other gangs not so much in its methods as in being on better terms with the constituted authorities.

It is clear that we have not yet reached the point where we can do without police. Probably even a corrupt and brutal police force is better than no police force. If there is a remedy, for the third degree and similar violations of law and justice, it will involve two measures. Additional machinery must be set up to safeguard prisoners' rights—perhaps a public protector as well as a public prosecutor. Some cities already have public defenders, though we do not hear of their defending anyone against the third degree. Secondly, police service must be made attractive to men of intelligence and integrity. One would like to hear from the American Bar Association on these points. Certainly we cannot rely upon the public to respect the law unless those who enforce the law also respect it.

Turkey Without Books

The temporary book crisis with which Turkey is faced as a result of the sudden introduction of the Roman alphabet is thus described in *The Christian Register*.

Kemal Pasha's introduction of the European alphabet into Turkey has brought about temporary chaos. For the present, all books are suppressed and the Turkish nation is without literature. A German writer says:

"This is the unavoidable result of suppressing all books printed with Arabic letters. It is true that the purchase and sale of these books have not been legally prohibited, but henceforth booksellers will not dare to offer them and the public takes care not to demand them.

"In Constantinople alone, about two million books will have to be destroyed. Booksellers and publishers have already claimed damages from the Government. It is no longer permissible to print books with Arabic letters.

"Still, there is on the book market at present just one specimen that has been printed in the new Latin alphabet. It is a volume of poems written by a member of Parliament and called 'Damla (Drop by Drop)'. This is the only book that for the present may be awarded as a prize to brilliant pupils in educational institutions.

"The Government Printing Office has its hands full with preparation of school-books. It has already published some very attractive primers in the new type, and some children's books with verses, intertype, and some children's books in colour. There is a heavy demand for these books—the joint work of the Director of the Editorial Bureau at Angora and a Turkish lady.

"The European alphabet has already exercised a strong influence upon the language, which is taking on a much simpler form. Its new garb makes many old idioms and expressions unsuitable. All Arabic and Persian elements are constantly eliminated.

Mussolini and the Crown Prince of Italy

That there is not much love lost between the Crown Prince of Italy and the Duce has long been known. At the wedding of the Prince, this coldness, it would seem, came out rather conspicuously in the ceremonial arrangements. This has already given rise to some speculation about the political implications of the rivalry. A writer in the *Pester Lloyd*, the Budapest daily says:

Fascism or Monarchy? Is Mussolini's star setting and is the star of the House of Savoy in the ascendant? Among the many hundred thousand foreigners who poured into Rome to witness the Royal marriage ceremonies a few collective spirits detected certain manifestations that raised this question in their minds, a question that not only concerns Italy's destiny but that is also being eagerly discussed by the man in the street. To put the situation in a nutshell, Mussolini played second

fidello to the Crown Prince, and indeed, was reduced to such a minor part that he could hardly be noticed at all. The mighty Duce seemed to be nothing but a mere prime minister.

The student of politics could have wished for no more welcome occasion than this royal wedding to observe the peculiar division and separation of power that exists in Rome and to study how the papal tiara, the royal sceptre, and the bundle of lictors that symbolizes the Fascist Party each played its part. It was more than obvious, for instance, that court etiquette made no attempt to adapt itself to the political powers that be, and the confusion that resulted seemed almost dangerous.

The only question, therefore, is why the most powerful man in the country took this course, and why for the first time he allowed his 'rivals' to receive such homage.

Now it is well to recall that Mussolini once told Parliament that if the King should demand his withdrawal, he would salute and disappear. Shortly afterward, however, he took an entirely different course when he detected that the will of the people and the will of his political opponents were the same, and that the people were invoking the constitution. With a single motion Mussolini inserted himself between the throne and the constitution and erected the Grand Fascist Council, without whose consent the throne cannot change hands. Before Crown Prince Humbert becomes king the Duce must therefore pass upon his accession. The is the law and with that law Fascism will stand or fall. But who of the initiators who are always gossiping about the tension between the Crown Prince and Mussolini knows whether the young prince is hostile to the Fascists at the present time, and, if he is whether he will maintain this attitude as he grows older?

One thing only is certain. Some time before these celebrations occurred, Mussolini succumbed to a spirit of tolerance. He is restraining the more radical elements among his followers with an iron fist and that same iron fist still holds, as it has for some years, the key to the government of the country.

A Hitherto Undiscovered Source of Power

The rapid exhaustion of the coal and oil resources of the earth has set scientists furiously to think about the future sources of power. Sun's heat has been suggested. Now comes a French scientist with a new suggestion. He writes in *The Scientific American*:

We think of the Arctic primarily as cold, but this is only because we customarily deal there with the atmosphere, its temperature being very low—about 40 degrees below zero. But by comparison with the atmosphere the big bodies of water in the Arctic—the sea, rivers, and lakes—under the ice remain always unfrozen and their temperature is therefore above 32 degrees. This, when compared with the Arctic atmosphere, is warm. The anomaly is due to one of the physical properties of ice—it is a splendid insulator of heat. Thus it prevents the leakage of heat from the water beneath it to the much colder atmosphere: provided, of course, it is

Abolition of the Criminal Investigation Department or its control by popular methods.

Insurance of licenses to use firearms for self-defense, subject to popular control.

"If he (the Viceroy) satisfies these vital needs," says Gandhi, "the Indian National Congress will heartily participate in any conference where there is perfect freedom for expression and demands." Here the way is opened wide for the very round table gathering that Ramsay MacDonald presumes to want. Yet it is the unanimous judgment of newspaper correspondents, so far as we have seen that nothing will be done along these lines of reform. "There is little chance," says the Associated Press dispatch, "that the demands will be even considered, let alone granted." Thus does the crisis in India drift on to its inevitable upheaval. The Indians exploring every way of peace consistent with the ends they seek, the English silently and sullenly relying upon the armed force at their disposal! We still have hope, because we still have confidence in MacDonald and in Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, as well as in Gandhi, but we have to confess that this hope is growing thin.

Is War a factor for Social Progress?

It is not, Dr. R. Broda argues in the *World Unity Magazine*. Dr. Broda surveys the evidence offered by the Great War, and arrives at the conclusion that on no account can war be regarded as a creative social force:

The recent war has cleared the way to progress by concentration of efforts, (in the case woman suffrage and prohibition) by breaking down oppressive machinery (in the case of autocracies, oppression of subject peoples, and resistance to Socialism); but the war could create only in so far as breaking down of resistance is progress and as breaking down of resistance was propitious for creation. The war atmosphere was propitious for doing away with certain obstacles to progress, but it was not propitious for constructive work, necessitating skill and refinement.

This thesis can be verified in particular cases. No skill in social engineering was needed to realize women's suffrage. Striking out the word "men" as a qualification for suffrage was sufficient. No particular machinery seemed at the outset to be necessary for prohibition. Enforcement by police measures was sufficient, and war time rigours favored application of police force. Later developments only showed difficulties.

Breaking down autocracies and national oppression was again negative and needed no constructive skill.

Building up new republics needed skill. But the war did not furnish that skill to Poland and Czechoslovakia, to Germany and Austria. Self-governing institutions had developed it through long years of peace. The building up of Socialism again needed skill and for that very reason no success was achieved during war time. It took several years in Russia.

The recent war has accumulated no evidence

for the thesis that war can create and construct. It has shown only that war, which by its essence kills and destroys, kills and destroys not only human beings, human happiness, art, culture, refined feeling, but kills and destroys also vested interests, governmental machinery, obstacles to progress. The price of death and misery mankind had to pay for these demolitions was too heavy indeed. It should not be forgotten that there is less need today to demolish the new freer institutions of the post-war period than there was to demolish those of pre-war times. The new democracies give better elbow space for reform movements, a new World War would find fewer opportunities for useful destructive work to be accomplished. But the potentialities of a new war for destroying life, wealth, happiness, and culture would be even greater than in the time of the World War, because the technique of war has become more deadly than before.

Having impartially enumerated the social advances due to war, we are unable to conclude that modern war can be considered as a permanent factor for social progress.

Japanese Education

A distinction between the old and new system of education in Japan is drawn by a writer in *The Japan Magazine*:

Modern Japan, in all its spirit of progress and achievement, may be said to represent the result of the national system of education. The new Japan differs from the old just to the extent that the new system of education differs from that of feudal days. The new education is, of course, superior to the old as much as the new Japan, is superior to the old Japan, though the old had its virtues no less than the new; for a system that produced such great men as the makers of the Meiji Era must have had virtues which the new finds it difficult to surpass and sometimes even to equal.

But the old education was narrow, restricted in outlook from almost every point of view, and was within the reach of only the select few. Though the masses had no education in the modern sense, save what the more fortunate may have got in the temple schools, they came under the stern discipline of the feudal regime and were dominated by regimentation and convention. In so far as the old culture was based on art and letters, it was limited to the chosen few; it was the privilege of a class.

But all classes had to submit to the rigours of feudal government. Individuality was suppressed in the interests of superiors and their class. The new education, on the contrary, is universal in aim and scope; it embraces all citizens and classes alike. Its conception of loyalty is national and object. Its conception of duty is to put rather than local or of the clan. It aims to put truth and right and justice before family, or party and mere self-interest. Bushido is to-day no mere samurai code, but a national ideal.

Humanizing War

Last month we published a short comment on President Hoover's proposal to exempt foodstuffs from blockade from *The Century*. In the same paper, the writer concludes by saying that we cannot humanize war. The only way to abolish the suffering that it involves is to abolish it altogether :

Enough for the internal inconsistencies of Mr. Hoover's suggestion. It is, of course, in certain circumstances possible to limit the horrors of war. Where a given instrument or method of warfare would be sure to increase the suffering almost equally on both sides, while at the same time it would not help to bring the war to a decision—agreements are feasible which have a fair chance of being respected. It was this condition that made it possible, for example, to outlaw dum-dum bullets : and which reasonably assures that prisoners of war are not killed or tortured. It is the same prospect of equality of gain that makes possible the discussion of mutual reduction of naval armament.

This prospect does not apply to Mr. Hoover's proposal. A dominantly industrial nation, with a moderate navy and a large standing army, would stand to gain appreciably, perhaps vitally by it : an agricultural or fully self-contained nation, or one with a large navy and a small army, would relatively lose by it. The proposal would allow the effective use of armies but not of navies. It would, in fact, make naval superiority almost worthless.

There are practical objections to the plan which need not be expanded. It could easily lead to the indefinite prolongation of a war. It would permit the diversion of a large part of the agricultural population of a warring country into munitions making. It would raise serious problems in regard to munitions ships masquerading as food carriers. It would enormously reduce the effectiveness of any 'economic blockade' against an aggressor nation. Such blockades are provided for in the Covenant of the League of Nations ; and they would perhaps be required to give effectiveness to the Kellogg pact.

A food blockade is not aimed specially against women and children. It is aimed at a nation as a whole and women and children suffer along with men. It is deplorable that this should be so. But is it any more deplorable than the direct shooting, gassing and bayoneting of men in trenches ? And does Mr. Hoover believe that it is possible under modern conditions to have a war in which women and children will not suffer ?

When will statesmen finally acknowledge that "civilized warfare" is a grewsome contradiction in terms, that our only hope lies, not in tinkering with the rules and regulations, but in abolishing the game itself ? The next real step in that direction is for the Senate to ratify our signature to the World Court protocol, embodying the R  ot formula. Failure to ratify would now be without a shred of excuse. If we, who are always lecturing Europe on its duty, cannot consent to settle our own international disputes by judicial means, before the only permanent court that exists for that purpose, then Europeans may be excused if they dismiss all our talk of world peace as pious hypocrisy.

The Fascists and the Erring Landlord

The absentee landlords were a great factor in the French Revolution. They were a nuisance in Ireland. They are becoming common enough in India, too, in these days. But in Italy, they deal drastically with landlords who neglect their duties. Dr. Mario Menotti, who owned a large estate has been dispossessed on the ground of neglecting it. We publish extracts from the decree and some comments on the procedure, from *The Countryman*, a monthly paper devoted exclusively to the interests of the countryside :

"Whereas, for the past six years the owner, Dr. Menotti, has gone abroad, constantly travelling in different distant countries, so that for long periods it has not been possible to get in touch with him ;

"Whereas, it has been definitely ascertained by enquiries on the spot that it is solely due to the neglect and indifference of the owner, consequent on his continued absence and lack of interest, that the estate has fallen into a most shocking state of neglect, left to the tender mercies of a muddled administration, and yielding no appreciable returns from the agricultural standpoint, while the agricultural workers of the district are driven, by lack of adequate lands available for cultivation, to a permanent state of agitation, constantly endangering the social peace of that small locality ;

"Whereas, this normal state of affairs, evidently injurious to the private interests of the owner, and still more so to the public interest, is anti-economic, anti-social, anachronistic, in entire contradiction with the vast, renewing and vivifying activities which the Fascist Government firmly desires and pursues in the interests of the individual and still more in those of the public and of the nation, with a view to ensuring more profitable return and larger yields from agriculture, and is moreover, in striking contrast with the duties implied by the wise legislation, on agricultural land reclamation, which make it a civic duty to reclaim much by inch the national soil so as to secure more scientific and profitable farming ;

"Whereas, faced by such a deplorable state of affairs, the political authorities cannot look on passively at the impoverishment of large and important estate, which could, under wise management, earn a very big income for its owner, and which cannot therefore be a matter of indifference to the economic life of the community with which it is connected ;

"Therefore in accordance with article 7 of the Act of 1865, on administrative litigation, and of article 3 of the Communal and Provincial Act sanctioned by Royal Decree of 1915, we hereby decree that the Hon. Orsolini Cencelli shall act as administrator of the estate in lieu and place of the delinquent owner.

The law authorising the action which has been taken is more than twenty years old, but no Government before Mussolini's was strong enough or sufficiently independent to enforce it. Estates in Sicily and R  vigo have been similarly dealt with.

The present regime has proclaimed in the Labour Charter that property implies duties, and that if owners do not make good use of their landed possessions so that these possessions shall play their part in promoting national prosperity,

the State intervene. The idea is that, in modern life, the fact that a man, because he has inherited or acquired lands, can deprive the community of the wealth they represent is preposterous.

Comment and Criticism

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

Action for Defaming King George V

May I respectfully point out a slight error that has unfortunately crept into your well-written article on 'Shocking Allegations Against Indian Chancellor-Prince' in the April number of the *Modern Review*? The little inaccuracy, however, does not affect your argument in the least. But as you are always correct—even in minute particulars and religiously insist on accurate statements, I take this liberty of bringing this to your notice. Referring to the action for defaming His Majesty George V, you have written in the first paragraph of your article: "The King personally took his stand in the witness box, took the oath and gave evidence." The reference is obviously to the case of *Rex vs. E. F. Myles*, reported in 15 C. W. N., page 101 (Short Notes). It can also be seen in *English Reports*. The defamation against the King amounted to seditious libel, but the man was prosecuted, not for seditious, but for ordinary libel. This was done with a view to allow him an opportunity to prove justification, since this form of defence is not

allowed in a case of seditious libel. The accused objected that were it to be an ordinary libel, the King should have come to the Court and given evidence as a private prosecutor. His objection was, of course, overruled. As under the English Constitution His Majesty the King cannot appear in Court as a witness. After the trial was over, the Attorney-General, Sir Rufus Isaacs, as Lord Reading then was, said "I am authorized by His Majesty to state publicly that he was never married except to the Queen, and that he never went through any ceremony of marriage except with the Queen, and, further, that he would have attended to give evidence to this effect had he not received the advice of the Law Officers of the Crown that it would be unconstitutional for him to do so."

ANURUPMA SARKAR

EDITOR'S NOTE.—We thank our correspondent for this correction. We wrote from memory. Not being lawyers and so not having easy access to Law Reports, we could not verify the details.

FINANCIAL NOTES

Indian Public Finance

Present and future

NEW TAXATION.

It will be convenient to begin a study of the Indian public finance with the Indian budget. After several years, new taxation proposals have been made and they, therefore, deserve a special scrutiny. In justification of the taxation proposals, it has been said that there have been recurring deficits since 1927-28 when the actual deficit amounted to Rs. 2,21 lakhs, which, however, was entirely met from the Revenue Reserve Fund specially created for the purpose ; in 1928-29, the deficit amounted to Rs. 1,06 lakhs, which wiped off the balance of the Revenue Reserve Fund and left an uncovered deficit of Rs. 32 lakhs ; in 1929-30, a deficit of 1,56 lakhs was averted by a wind-fall in the shape of a credit of the same amount from the German Liquidation Account. In actual fact, it will thus appear that in one only out of the last three years, there was an uncovered deficit of Rs. 32 lakhs, which is not very much, considering that the annual budget is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 130 crores.

The real justification of the taxation proposals must, therefore, be sought more in a consideration of the expectations of the future than of the happenings in the past. The Hon'ble the Finance Member has summarized the anticipated gap to be filled in 1930-31 as follows :

Deterioration in the main Commercial Departments, Railways and Posts and Telegraphs	Rs. lakhs
Essential new services and demands	99
Net addition to interest on dead weight debt	1,07
Special provision for bonus on Postal Cash Certificates	88
Increase in the provision for the reduction and avoidance of debt	27
Budget deficit for 1929-30	90
	5,57
Against which the net estimated improvement on the main revenue heads is only	5
Total gap to be filled	5,52

POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS

It is rather surprising that no steps appear to have been considered for effecting an improvement in the financial condition of the main commercial departments. Taking the smaller of the two departments first, the Posts and Telegraphs, the situation seems to be growing worse every year. In 1927-28 it showed a loss of Rs. 4½ lakhs, which was increased to Rs. 29 lakhs in the succeeding year mainly due to two facts : (1) the reduction in the rate for foreign telegrams was not counter-balanced by a corresponding growth in traffic and (2) the effect of the revisions of pay and other concessions to the staff was underestimated. In 1929-30 and 1930-31, the loss is estimated at Rs. 50 and Rs. 48 lakhs. Obviously a commercial department, worthy of the name, which runs at a recurring loss, should take steps either to increase revenue or cut down expenditure, so as not to cause a recurring burden to the general taxpayer. But it is disappointing to find that this aspect of the matter has not been considered at all.

RAILWAYS

On a proper consideration, the working of the Railway Department does not appear in any better light. Sir George Schuster is entitled to credit for bringing out in its true colours the real nature of the contribution made by railways to general revenues. This contribution amounts to less than 1½ per cent on the loans raised for railway purposes. Government are now making a provision at 1½ per cent annually for the reduction or avoidance of debt. Railways, therefore, pay less than their proper share of the cost of the amortization of the public debt, far from making any contribution in aid of general revenues. It is pertinent to remark here that in his first budget speech Sir George Schuster drew attention also to the fact that the commercial departments were not charged, previous to 1929-30 with their share of the loss, estimated at Rs. 59 lakhs in that year, which the general revenues suffer through the tax free concession attached to certain portions of the rupee debt. Thus the prosperity of

railways is a matter of financial jugglery. Under the impression that the railways are more than paying their way, the general taxpayer has not concerned himself with the dissipation of railway funds in extravagant projects, such as the building of the Lucknow railway station or the constant multiplication of the superior staff, which has been going on since the separation of railway finance from general finance. The Standing Finance Committee for railways do not appear to have been able to control, in any appreciable manner, the expenditure of the department committed to their charge. It has been emphasized by an American authority on budgeting that "departmental committees became partisans of the particular department committed to their care through focussing their attention on one set of Governmental activities and through constant exposure to the point of view and propaganda of the administrative officials in charge of the service in question." (W. F. Willoughby. *The National Budget System*, p. 41). The failure of the New Capital Committee to check the extravagance in the building of New Delhi also illustrates the wisdom of this dictum.

Instead of quietly accepting the financial deterioration in the commercial departments as a settled fact, the Hon'ble the Finance Member should have pressed for effecting economies in the working of the commercial departments particularly the Railway Department. It seems that the latter has grown too powerful even for the Hon'ble Members, and the members of the Assembly should take the initiative in setting up a retrenchment committee to investigate the working of the railway administration. The need of it is the more insistent as the activities of this department are spreading much faster than those of civil departments, and are usually much less open to public criticism owing to the prevailing ignorance of railway matters.]

NEW SERVICES AND DEMANDS

New Services and Demands amounting to Rs. 1,46 lakhs appear to have been

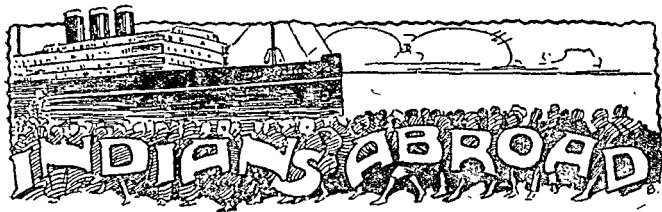
carefully selected, beneficial services having been given their proper quota. It has to be pointed out, however, that practically the entire amount will be met from savings to the extent of Rs. 62 lakhs in civil expenditure and Rs. 80 lakhs in military expenditure. The former saving having been effected by the omission of certain items of non-recurring expenditure, it is not understood why the saving was not taken as a provision for special expenses, and the amount accordingly deducted from the list of new demands to be financed by the imposition of new taxes.

ARMY DEPARTMENT

The Army Department was allowed, as a special case with effect from 1929-30 to utilize savings, on the basis of a budget of Rs. 55 crores, for the modernization of equipment at an estimated cost of Rs. 10 crores. This concession would last up to 1931-32. Savings amounting to more than a crore of rupees were counted upon as a result of the reduction in the pay of British troops. The balance of the savings required, the Army Department undertook to find, by a special economy campaign. It may be remarked here, by the way, that the Army Department are able to economize when it suits their interest, but when savings are desired in the interest of the general taxpayer, they adopt an attitude of indifference, if not of active hostility. In any case, it is clear that due to the reduction in the pay of British troops, there may be expected a recurrent saving of more than Rs. 80 lakhs, which is all that the Army Department have spared for civil expenditure this year.

The justification of providing for the payment of extra interest on dead weight debt and of bonus on cash certificates at a cost of Rs. 1,46 and Rs. 88 lakhs respectively will be examined in a separate article in which the loan policy of Government will come under review. The consideration of the merits of the taxation proposal will form the subject matter of a third article.

H. C. SINHA



Indians Emigrants' Conference

The first session of the Indian Emigrants' Conference was held during the Easter holidays along with the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Gurukula at Brindavan. In the absence of the elected president—Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, who had been sentenced to two years simple imprisonment with a fine of three hundred rupees on account of his propaganda work in connection with the Satyagraha movement, Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi had to work as the President of the conference. Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi had, however, taken care to write down his speech before he went to jail and this speech was read out by the acting President.

Messages from Indians abroad :—A large number of messages were received from Indians abroad, prominent among them being Raja Mahendra Pratap, Kabul, Afghanistan ; Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Secretary Indians Overseas Association, London ; Mr. D. G. Satyadeva, Secretary Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Natal ; Mr. Daljitlal, Secretary Arya Pratinidhi Sabha Mauritius ; Kumari Dharma Devi, Secretary Ladies' Aryasamaj, Pietermaritzburg ; Secretary Aryasamaj, Durban, Secretary, Ramagyan Sabha, New Castle, Natal ; Secretary, Yuvak Mandal, Sea-Cow-Lake ; Secretary Youngmen Aryasamaj, Durban, and also from several individuals like Mr. Vishnu Deo and Mr. R. Parmashwar of Fiji Islands, Mr. C. Ram Tahal, Mr. Garib Khushyal and Mr. S. L. Singh of South Africa.

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The speech was divided in half a dozen parts :—the religious condition of Indians abroad, educational facilities for colonial children, the social, the economic and the political condition, returned emigrants and the future of Indians overseas.

The first part of the speech referred mainly to the condition of Hindus, who have settled abroad and the work that has been done for them by the Aryasamajists. Swami Bhawanidayal admired the latter but requested

railways is a matter of financial jugglery. Under the impression that the railways are more than paying their way, the general taxpayer has not concerned himself with the dissipation of railway funds in extravagant projects, such as the building of the Lucknow railway station or the constant multiplication of the superior staff, which has been going on since the separation of railway finance from general finance. The Standing Finance Committee for railways do not appear to have been able to control, in any appreciable manner, the expenditure of the department committed to their charge. It has been emphasized by an American authority on budgeting that "departmental committees became partisans of the particular department committed to their care through focussing their attention on one set of Governmental activities and through constant exposure to the point of view and propaganda of the administrative officials in charge of the service in question." (W. E. Willoughby. *The National Budget System*, p. 41). The failure of the New Capital Committee to check the extravagance in the building of New Delhi also illustrates the wisdom of this dictum.

Instead of quietly accepting the financial deterioration in the commercial departments as a settled fact, the Hon'ble the Finance Member should have pressed for effecting economies in the working of the commercial departments particularly the Railway Department. It seems that the latter has grown too powerful even for the Hon'ble Members, and the members of the Assembly should take the initiative in setting up a retrenchment committee to investigate the working of the railway administration. The need of it is the more insistent as the activities of this department are spreading much faster than those of civil departments, and are usually much less open to public criticism owing to the prevailing ignorance of railway matters.]

NEW SERVICES AND DEMANDS

New Services and Demands amounting to Rs. 1.46 lakhs appear to have been

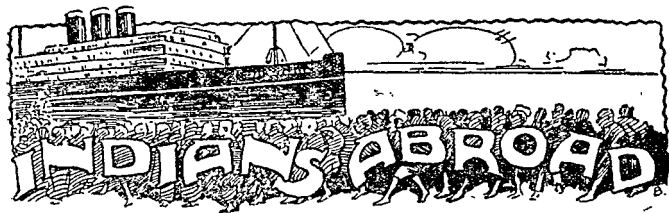
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them to change the methods of their propaganda work. He was definitely against irritating criticism of other faiths and advised the All-India Aryan League to take up the work of foreign propaganda in their hands. Only those who were authorised by the Sarvadeshik Sabha should be helped by the Colonial Hindus to preach among them.

The speech contained a brief survey of the condition of Indian education in Mauritius, British Guiana, Trinidad, Surinam, Fiji Islands and South Africa. It urged upon the Indian teachers the necessity of emigration to the colonies with the purpose of devoting themselves wholly and solely to the cause of Indian education. It emphasised the importance of Indian vernaculars, for through these vernaculars alone could they preserve their culture and individuality.

Educational institutions in India were requested to give special facilities to the colonial students. The Gurukula Brindavan, that had been doing something in that direction, deserved their thanks. It was a teacher of the Gurukula who had gone abroad to Fiji Islands for educational work among Fiji Indians and who had started a movement among them to send their children to India. That was a step in the right direction and deserved their help and sympathy. In the field of education among Colonial children there ought to be fullest possible co-operation between followers of different faiths.

Indians abroad were evolving a new social order entirely different from that prevailing at home in India. Inter-dining was very common and even inter-marriages between Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians were not considered objectionable. That was the one good that came out of the evil of the indenture system. The caste system had received a fatal blow in the colonies and nothing remained of that hated thing known here as untouchability. The Gujaratis of South and East Africa had, however, clung to their old customs as they had been able to maintain their social connections with their caste people at home. A good number of these returned to the motherland after having amassed some wealth.

Economic condition:—Leaving out the professional people like doctors and barristers Indians overseas could be divided among three classes—traders, agriculturists and

labourers. The Indian traders were to be found all over the world, some of them had prospered wonderfully well and were in no way inferior to white traders of any colony. Those agriculturists who possessed enough of land were quite well-to-do but the vast majority of the labourers were living from hand to mouth. Skilled Indian labourers had excited the jealousy of the white men and in most of the colonies these whites were trying their utmost to get rid of their brown competitors by all means, fair or foul. The time had come when the Indian labourers must organise themselves by establishing trade unions in all the colonies where they had gone in large numbers.

Political conditions in Greater India differed to a certain extent in different colonies. In Mauritius they had succeeded in returning two members to the Legislative Council on common franchise. There were two Indian members in the Trinidad Legislative Council, Ceylon had one and the Federal Council of Malaya one Indian member. Their people in Kenya were fighting for a common franchise and so were their compatriots in Fiji. Mr. Vishnu Deo, Mr. Parmanand Singh and Mr. Ramchandra deserved their hearty congratulations for having resigned their membership of the Fiji Legislative Council on the franchise issue.

The condition in South Africa was perhaps the worst of all. Their people in the Union were deprived of vote in 1896 and even the municipal franchise had now been taken away from their hands. There were several Indian owned papers in the colonies and they were trying to educate public opinion in political matters.

The *Indian Opinion*, the *Indian View* and the *African Chronicle* of South Africa, the *Kenya Daily Mail*, the *Democrat*, the *Kenya*, the *Tanganyika Herald*, the *Zanzibar Samachar* and the *Zuribor* of East Africa, the *Fiji Samachar* of Fiji and *India and Canada* of Canada were doing useful work for the cause of Indians abroad.

The Indian National Congress had been trying to help the cause of Indians overseas as far as possible but it had not been able to place the work for Indians abroad on an organised basis. The work for the liberation of India and the creation of Greater India should be done simultaneously.

One thing they had to be warned against

and that was the evil of communalism which had unfortunately been making its way in the colonies during recent years. For example the Muslim League of Fiji passed a resolution demanding separate seat for the Indian Mahommedans in those islands ! That the mentality of communalism will, if allowed to develop unchecked, prove fatal to their cause. He had one request to make to religious missionaries going abroad and that was that they should not meddle in political affairs.

Returned emigrants :—The returned emigrants suffered considerably in India. A number of them were treated as outcast and were not allowed to take part in social functions. Some of these left their villages and emigrated to such unhealthy places as Mafabruz of Calcutta where they had been waiting and waiting in vain for some free steamers to take them back to the colonies. He would strongly advise the returning emigrants not to come to India for permanent settlement. They might come here to see the motherland and their relatives for a short period of time but it was absolutely inadvisable to leave the colonies for good.

The future of Indians overseas :—Swami Bhawani Dayal drew a bright picture of the future of Indians abroad who number about 25 lakhs and who had made remarkable progress in several directions. Socially they were going ahead, their economic condition was improving and an appreciable number of them were taking intelligent part in political matters. There were to be found among them able councillors, millionaire merchants, enterprising journalists, efficient doctors and clever barristers. Indians living abroad were the ambassadors of India and the world would judge their country through these representatives of theirs. Every effort should therefore be made to make them their worthy representatives so that they might keep the flag of Indian culture flying in Greater India.

The Servants of India Society, that had deputed its president Right Honourable V. S. Srinivas Sastri and its members Messrs Kunzru, Kodanda Rao, Vaze and Tiwari deserved their heartiest thanks. The problems of Indians abroad had nothing to do with party politics in India and they must all co-operate among themselves for that sacred cause. Any differences due to political complexions of the workers would prove fatal to their cause. Mr. Polak had been doing very use-

ful work for them in England. The Indian Imperial Citizenship Association of Bombay had been doing its work in its own way though there was considerable room for improvement in its method of work. They ought to be specially grateful to the *Hindu* of Madras, the *Leader* of Allahabad the *Daily Mail* and the *Chronicle* of Bombay and the *Modern Review* and the *Vishal-Bharat* of Calcutta for giving publicity to their cause from time to time.

Indians overseas and the present movement in India :—Mahatma Gandhi was fighting for the freedom of the Motherland. Indians overseas could very well take a pride in the fact that it was among them that the Mahatma spent twenty-one years of his eventful life and that the weapon of Satyagraha was first tried in Greater India. But along with that legitimate pride the Indian overseas had a duty to perform. The fates of India and Greater India were bound together and they could not be separated. Indians abroad must try their utmost to help the movement for freedom at home in every possible way.

Resolutions :—Half a dozen resolutions were passed. The first resolution congratulated Swami Bhawani Dayal, the elected president, on his admirable work in Bihar regarding the Satyagraha movement and his consequent incarceration at the hands of the bureaucracy.

The second was in support of the struggle being carried on in Kenya and Fiji for common franchise. It appreciated the steps taken by the three elected Indian members of the Fiji Legislative Council. Grateful reference was made to the services of Mr. Saint Nihal Singh who has been fighting persistently for the rights of Indians in Ceylon.

This resolution was moved by Mr. Shri Krishna Sharma, who has been in Fiji for three years.

The third resolution was about the necessity of propaganda for Indian culture in the colonies. Swamis Shankaranand and Swatantranand spoke on this resolution.

The fourth contained a request to the educational institutions in India to give special facilities to the colonial Indian students.

This was moved by a Fiji student Mr. B. D. Lakshman of D. A. V. College, Dehra Dun and supported by Svt Narayan Swami President of

write anything to me, and the only thing that he writes is, 'I have got no information on this point.' In four ways losses have fallen upon me—First, my *mujra* is gone; secondly, the parganas of my home (*urutan*) are gone; thirdly, what I have spent [out of my own pocket] in the Deccan wars is gone; and fourthly,—what is worst of all—my son's affairs have been ruined. Although these considerations do not reach his mind from my writing, yet I cannot help apprehending these misfortunes.

He (i.e., Ram Singh) does not give me news of the happenings and sayings at the Emperor's Court [concerning us]. Send me news—what is anywhere said about me? Have my exertions in controlling the affairs of these subahs in such times been reported to the Emperor or not? What has His Majesty remarked about me? Write all in detail." [Folio 199.]*

VII

As for Sawai Jai Singh, who occupied the *gadi* of Jaipur from 1699 to 1743, his influence on history was even greater than that of the Mirza Rajah (his great-grandfather), as he occupied a pivotal position during the 20 years (1720-1740) when the Marathas sapped the foundations of the Mughal empire and his action decided the result. Of him Tod writes—

"As a statesman, legislator, and man of science, the character of Sawai Jai Singh is worthy of an ample delineation, which would correct our [too low] opinion of the genius and capacity of the princes of Rajputana.... For such a sketch, the materials of the Amber Court are abundant...., e.g., the *Kalpa-druma* or miscellaneous diary, and the *109 ginas Jai Singh Ka*."

But Court biographies and bardic eulogies

* The complete series of letters to and from Jai Singh in Persian, which I possess, ought to be printed as a valuable original source of Indian history.

are not records. The scientific historian requires State-papers and contemporary official letters and diaries. Of such documents relating to Sawai Jai Singh's times the Jaipur archives have as yet yielded a poor harvest. A thorough search should be made among the papers belonging to the private families in the kingdom, particularly the descendants of his officers, for records relating to him. Then only can a worthy biography of this great Rajah be written.

In the mediæval condition of society, State-archives often did not exist, and even where they have survived, they are usually surpassed in the extent and importance of their contents by private family records, as Von Ranke pointed out long ago.

He wrote in the preface to his monumental *History of the Popes* :

"The freedom of access [to the treasures contained in the Vatican] which I could have wished was by no means accorded to me..."

In the flourishing times of aristocracy, more particularly in the seventeenth century, it was customary throughout Europe for the great families, who had administered the affairs of State, to retain possession of some of the public documents... A large part of the State-papers, accumulated during their administration,... constituted a part of the family endowments. Thus, to a certain extent the private collections of Rome may be regarded as the public ones."

The truth of these remarks has been confirmed by the wonderful success of a later worker in exactly the same field, Fr. von Pastor, by tapping all the family archives in Rome, as well as the Vatican records, to which Ranke had no access. Even a transcendent historical genius like Ranke failed to give fulness and finality to his *History of the Popes*, because he could not open these closed treasuries of information to which his happier successor, Pastor, was given access half a century later.

the Sarvadeshik Sabha, and Syt Shriramji, Governor Gurukula Brindavan.

The fifth resolution contained a warning to the returning emigrants while the sixth condemned the ship companies for their criminal negligence towards the comfort and convenience of the deck passengers.

The seventh resolution urged the necessity of closer connection and regular co-operation between the colonial students in India and those who take interest in the problems of Greater India.

In his closing speech Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi referred to the admirable work being done by the Aryasamajists in the field of education, but he strongly condemned communalism that was being introduced in the colonies. He had a complaint to make against those institutions in India that received considerable financial help from colonial Indians and yet gave no facilities for colonial children. The Aryasamajists, he said, lacked true missionary spirit and their preachers

were not prepared to take risks like the Buddhist and the Christian missionaries. They had not a single Arya missionary in India who could take up the work of foreign propaganda as vigorously as Rev. J. W. Burton of the Australasian Methodist Mission was doing in different parts of the world. In the end he thanked the organisers of the conference for having given them an opportunity to put their case before the Indian public.

The first session of the Indian Emigrants Conference was only a small affair and Swami Bhawani Dayal's enforced absence reduced its importance considerably. Still a good beginning has been made and the next conference may prove a successful one. There are not many people interested in the problems of Indians abroad and it will take some time before the Indian Emigrants' Conference can make its influence felt. Till that time the workers in the cause must carry on in spite of all difficulties.

SOME AMERICAN VIEWS ON THE BRITISH EMPIRE ETC.

The following cuttings from American papers will be found interesting:

Characterizing as "magnificent platitudes" the expressions of the Prime Minister of Great Britain who recently visited our shores," Mr. F. E. Quirk, pastor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Newark, said last night in a sermon at the Catholic Church of St. Paul the Apostle, Columbus Avenue and Sixtieth Street, that Premier MacDonald did not come to America for disarmament for Great Britain but for disarmament for the United States and for all other nations that threatened Britain's supremacy."

Here are some views of Upton Close.

Upton Close, speaking on "Behind the News in Asia" yesterday afternoon at the Woman's Club of Orange, forecasted the downfall of the British Empire within the generation and the end of the white man's domination of the earth.

"I think you and I are going to see the decline of the British Empire as rapidly as your father and mine saw the Spanish Empire go to pieces," he declared.

Speaking of China, Mr. Close said, Sun Yat-Sen, who has become the god of the Nationalist party, was perhaps the greatest enemy of the British Empire and did more to hasten its decline than any one man.

If the privilege of extra-territoriality is not given up by United States, China will remind the right to let Americans live and trade in China, the speaker said.

He referred to Japan's statement at the recent Pacific Conference on international relations that Japan will expect an adjustment of the American immigration act of 1924. Japan feels that united China will stand behind her in resentment of this act, he said.

Mr. Close, whose real name is Josef Washington Hall, said the Philippines felt discouraged under the present regime and look upon the Governor General as a man who "makes beautiful speeches." He described the Filipinos as the best-natured people in the world, but said their dispositions would be soured if Congress did not fix a definite date for their independence.

The British Viceroy in India also "makes beautiful speeches."

Civil Disobedience in India

Chronicle of Principal Events

- March 4 Mahatma Gandhi's letter to Lord Irwin delivered to him by Mr. Reginald Reynolds.
- " 6 Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel arrested and sentenced to three months' imprisonment for disregarding an order of the District Magistrate prohibiting him from making speeches.
- " 7 Lord Irwin replies to Mahatma Gandhi's letter through his Private Secretary.
- " 12 Mahatma Gandhi begins his march to the sea.
- " 13 Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta, the Mayor of Calcutta, arrested on a warrant issued by the Burma Government for making seditious speeches at Rangoon.
- " 15 Hartal in Calcutta on account of the arrest of Mr. Sen-Gupta
- " 16 Mahatma Gandhi announces that civil disobedience may commence all over India under the direction of the local authorities.
- " 19 Trial of Mr. Sen-Gupta at Rangoon. He refuses to take part in the proceedings. The police charges the crowd which assembled in front of the Court.
- " 31 The Working Committee of the Congress authorizes Provincial Congress Committees to start civil disobedience in all provinces under their general direction.
- " 22 Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta sentenced to 10 days' simple imprisonment.
- April 2 Pandit Motilal Nehru's gift of his Allahabad house to the Congress.
- " 6 Salt laws broken by Mahatma Gandhi at Dandi. Salt laws broken all over India, particularly in Bombay and Bengal. The arrest of Mr. Ramdas Gandhi,—Mahatma's third son, Seth Manilal Kothari and other leaders.
- " 7 Mr. Nariman, Darbar Gopaldas and other leaders arrested and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment.
- " 8 Congress office at Bombay raided by the police. Many arrests made, among the arrested being Seth Jannalal Bajaj, the Treasurer of the Congress. Salt laws continue to be broken in Bombay. Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya collects more than thirty thousand rupees by selling contraband salt in Bombay.
- " 9 Leaders of the Civil disobedience movement at Delhi arrested, among the arrested being Mr. Devadas Gandhi, the youngest son of Mahatma Gandhi.
- " 11 Students of Calcutta violate the law of sedition by reading proscribed literature at College Square in Calcutta. Students' leaders arrested. Meeting dispersed by force by the police. They assault passers-by indiscriminately.
- " 12 Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta, the Mayor of Calcutta, defies the law of sedition by reading proscribed literature at Cornwallis Square and is arrested..



MAHARAJAH RANJIT SINGH

Supposed to have been a page from the horoscope of
Naunihal Singh

Dominion Status For India

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

LONDON, and the rest of the world taking any interest at all in India, have passed through somewhat exciting days during the last few weeks. Now that the whole thing is over, one wonders why there was so much excitement over that slight matter of a Viceregal declaration in India. The sum and substance of his declaration was that Britain still had its faith unshaken in any empty promises that it had made in the past to the Indian people. Empty promises because, as everybody with any knowledge of law knows well enough, a promise which will be fulfilled at or within no definite time is *no promise* at all. Britain's promise to give India Dominion or any other status is no more hopeful than the words of the polite highwayman who said, while helping himself to his victim's purse, "Allow me, Sir, to borrow from your goodself a few paltry sovereigns." Sitting rather far away from India, I wondered why serious and experienced politicians were worrying themselves so much over that expression of Lord Irwin. What new inspiration did they find in the Viceroy's words to instil life into India's faith in Britain which, to be paradoxical, had been dead since before its birth?

Over here in England, it all appeared like a mock rehearsal of some fight that *might* be fought hereafter between the parties over the Simon report. It gave a chance to the Liberals and the Conservatives to show their fangs to any among the Labour Party who thought India should be given Dominion status. They snarled and spat so well however, that, the Labour officials lost no time in giving a thoroughly conservative interpretation to the words of a Conservative Viceroy of India. Some thought Labour tested the strength of the opposition by means of this false "alarm". Others, however, saw in it a concerted attempt by all British politicians, Labour, Conservative or Liberal, to create a smoke screen to obstruct the clear vision of the 1929 Congress. The Indian leaders might get muddled and hesitate to take any decisive step, if they were not sure that Britain was not after all giving India Dominion status.

However, now that everybody concerned has disavowed all intentions of taking any such "premature" or unwise step the Indian leaders at least will have no doubt regarding the issues confronting them.

Personally speaking, I see very little hope of India's getting Dominion status, as a gift from Britain within a short time. The attitude of the "die-hards" as well as of the "liberals" is quite definite; and nothing short of a real crisis will induce them to change their mind. What sort of a crisis will bring about this change of mind is a difficult question to answer. Frankly, I do not think any large scale disturbance, even though fully civil and non-violent in its nature, will help matters much. For, Britain might find in such disturbance an opportunity for finding more employment for the idle Britishers as soldiers, police or officials in India. Ever since the dawn of history, statesmen have found a cure for troubles at home in foreign wars. The political waters of Britain are extremely troubled at the present moment and a large scale disturbance in India of any kind will be politically as useful as a foreign war to British statesmen. Therefore, even if we assumed that mass civil disobedience were practical and possible, such a development might not be wholly unwelcome to British statesmen. With the coming of the latest modifications of the National Unemployment Insurance, unemployment has become the most acute problem in Britain, both financially and politically. Indian statesmen should keep this fact in mind while discussing the future nationalist policy in India. If the Indian nationalists could make the British feel that the number of their unemployed bore a direct relation to India's feelings of friendliness or otherwise towards Great Britain; then, no doubt the British people will see the moral necessity of restoring to our great country its freedom. The only kind of pressure which will press convincingly on the British imperialist Parliament is the pressure of necessity, and Indian statesmen must demonstrate to that body their ability to increase or diminish the

number of British unemployed at their will.

First of all a study should be made of the economics of British employment and its relations to the Indian market. That is to say, we must understand clearly how many British workers depend for their living upon the Indian market. Item by item. So many in the cotton industry, so many in silk, so many in dyes, motor cars, bicycles, locomotives, electrical goods, paper, machinery of particular kinds, etc. etc. Each item in the list of India's imports from Britain must be carefully analysed and reduced to the number of men whose labours it represents. Once we know this thoroughly, we shall be able to use the instrument of boycott effectively. We can always choose those items of British-made imports for strict boycott, which give employment to a large number of workers in Britain. For this purpose, the Congress should approach the main importers and distributors of these goods in India and request them to get their supplies of similar goods from America, Germany or some other industrial country in preference to Britain. Congress can even organize credit for firms who thus help the national boycott movement by importing goods from countries other than Great Britain.

Boycott carried out in this systematic manner will be a far more effective weapon than civil disobedience; for, it will give Britain no chance to send more troops, police or blackleg labour to India. This boycott will be kept up during the period that Great Britain will not grant self-government to India. As we have no spirit of cheap revenge against Great Britain, nor any extraordinary love or preference for any other country and as we must for many years to come, buy certain kinds of foreign goods, we can always keep the vision of unrestricted buying from

British producers by India hanging before the British Parliament. This may stimulate them to recognize the path of virtue as the easiest to traverse.

It might be said that as most of the large importing houses in India are British, this method of boycott will be hardly fruitful. But I do not think so; for many large importing houses are Indian and almost all large distributors are Indian. If there is any credit difficulty to be surmounted in bringing round the distributors to observe boycott, it is something which all Indian banks and loan offices may attempt to get over with the help of the Congress. Self-government will surely mean a new era of prosperity for all Indian enterprise large or small, individual or joint; and therefore, Congress will not find it difficult to mobilize the sympathy of both labour and capital for carrying out boycott.

There is only one difficulty. It lies within the Congress. If the Congress is at all to lead the country to Swaraj it must cease to be a clique, however large, and become really and entirely a national instrument. It must have no *Gurus* nor ready-made heroes; but ability and achievement should alone decide its leadership. The mentality which says, "If India cannot be free through *my* agency, then let India not be free at all," has been the greatest bane of Indian nationalism since its birth. Let us now have done with this "saviour" complex once for all. Congress belongs to the nation and is for the nation's greatness. Whoever by word or deed seeks to aggrandize himself above everything else, should be checked at once. The electors can easily detect this mentality, and in their wisdom lies the hope of national freedom.

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made to sacrifice their very life-stuff in order to maintain an ample supply of saw-dust for the gigantic Doll. This equipment, a great part of which is meaningless, serves merely to fill up time and space for the purpose of giving the idol an imposing appearance of amplitude. Life is being constantly bled white merely for swelling the girth of that which is not life and which is even against life. We have grown used to the fact, and accept it as inevitable, that countless men and women in ever-growing numbers are being deprived of the fulness of their life. This is not done for the sake of life's own cause, as with the neuter bees who accept martyrdom in the service of their hives, but to produce profits that like lava streams lick out the living skin of the earth.

It is known that a four hundred per cent profit was made in Bengal during war time in some jute factories for the sake of which innumerable individuals were made to live an unnatural life in surroundings which are ugly both in their physical and moral aspects. It is an insult to humanity when the defenders of faith in behalf of the Organization-idol compare the amount of the wages which the mill-hands now earn with their income in former days. It is a part of their impious creed to believe that money can compensate for curtailment of personality. This is what I may call the desert mentality, which congratulates itself on the glitter of its interminable sand, not knowing that an acre of green grassy land is more precious than its blazing effrontery of sterility.

And we know what an amount of cunning is exercised by the money-mongers to cheat the starving peasants of their legitimate dues. As they are kept ignorant of the market value, it is easy to play a waiting game against them. This was specially so during the war when exportation was stopped, and these cultivators were compelled to sell their crops below cost price. And yet when individuals who are fully human and produce food are driven to famine, the organization which sucks blood and grinds bones is fraternally helped by another organization named administration. They publish forecasts of the jute crop in order to enable their kindred to realize the wisdom of the proverb, that knowledge is power, that to be forewarned is to be forearmed. Such a pious frame of mind is luxuriously cultivated in the present civilization which, holding

humanity cheap, offers its best devotion to the Machine.

Let me give here an illustration whose significance is generally overlooked. The Western governments have their own highly paid legal advisers and advocates whose help is necessary for carrying on the administration of law, the language of which is full of obsolete archaisms and most clumsily technical. In a dispensation, wherein machines are important and numerous, legal codes have to be highly complicated. It is useless for us, to grumble against this; but what strikes me as a sign of the most fanatical loyalty to the Lifeless is the fact, that the service of this learned advocate is secured for the organization called Government and we pay for his salary, while living individuals who are sensitive to pains and losses are left to their own poor devices to come out whole from the meshes of law or safely to accomplish their journey through the heart-breaking maze of legal pathways. They say that they have their system of law before which everybody is equal. Such praise can only be reserved for God's sunlight, not merely because it is universal, but because it is simple; because it does not require the help of a professional interpreter to explain it, the next moment to be contradicted by his professional opponent, leading another professional man to a conclusion which may be very learnedly inconclusive. In fact, the uncertainty of justice which is the inevitable consequence of the most difficult and complex technicalities of law, has made our Law Court an unlicensed gambling hall in which the chances of success most often lean towards the rich.

The complex system of law, the progeny of an inordinate bigness belonging to the non-living, which is unable to carry its burden by its own inner power of adjustment, has a most disintegrating effect upon a society which once was simple because it had the unity of life. The conflicting forces in a living society maintain their equilibrium by the help of the unwritten convention which becomes organic in the memory of the race. The immensity and the technical character of this written legal code only prove, that the creative principle in the society to which they belong is inadequate; that dead additions are being continually made to the social limbs till their proportion has far exceeded that of the life system; that an elaborate and painful arrangement of

men, is unique even among the romantic annals of the East. The portraiture and the setting are formal and testify more to the superlative craftsmanship of the artist than to his psychological insight. I shall not quote the contemporary and unflattering description given of the great Maharaja by Baron Hügel, for the portrait as painted here, has nothing in common with that description. It is the prototype of the bazaar versions and the ivory paintings of Delhi and Amritsar, which came in vogue during the later years of the 19th century. Baron Hügel, after describing the "Lion" as "short and mean looking", "most ugly and unprepossessing man" in the Punjab, goes on to remark that "as soon as he mounts his horse and with his black shield at his back puts him on his mettle, his whole form seems animated by the spirit within, and assumes a certain grace of which nobody could believe it susceptible."*

The rise of the Khalsa was the result of military organization, and organized valour and during the brief and dazzling period of its glory the Sikh court never seems to have attracted the versatile artists, who were then busy all over the Punjab, working at the courts of smaller principalities, the greatest and the most famous being of course the court of Raja Sansar Chand Katooli of Kangra. Kangra itself was incorporated in the Khalsa State in 1828—a logical result of a momentary weakness on the part of the amiable Raja Sansar Chand, who solicited the help of Ranjit Singh against the persistent assaults of the Gurkha army. Ranjit Singh was above all a great military leader, who did not have sufficient time to cultivate the finer graces of life. Art and literature therefore did not flourish or reach the same degree of development as amidst the peaceful and more congenial atmosphere of smaller and more secluded States. It was the period when the great Hindi poets of the 17th and the 18th centuries were being largely read and illustrated all over Northern India. The court art of the Sikhs seems to have been more or less left unaffected by this phase of the general movement. The court art of Ranjit Singh never rose above a certain level of technical skill and formal accomplishment. The freedom, the feeling, the pervasive sense of poetry—characteristic of Pahari paintings are

totally absent. The page from the horoscope of the unfortunate grandson of Ranjit Singh illustrated here is about as good an example of the achievement of the painters at the Khalsa court as found anywhere else.

The picture has none of the subtlety of a good Moghul portrait, such as the one by Chitrman (illustrated on page 44) a celebrated master of the court of Shah Jahan. While the Sikh portrait gives no clue whatever as to the remarkable personality of Ranjit Singh, the picture by Rai Chitrman, as the artist is described in the inscription, is an extraordinarily beautiful and vivid portrait of Shahzada Muhammad Shah. There is, of course, no comparison between the two pictures. I have mentioned them together merely to show the contrast between a masterpiece of portraiture, achieved by the use of a few deft strokes of the line and the work characterized by the most careful and meticulous attention to detail and decoration. Chitrman is primarily interested in the character of his subject and achieves his object by means of the most economical and restrained use of his wonderful draughtsmanship. The whole temper and outlook of the two pictures are completely different. While the portrait by Chitrman is characteristic of a period when Moghul art had reached its zenith, the picture of the Khalsa court marks the stage when Indian painting had completed the cycle of evolution and was about to disappear completely as serious art altogether.

It is remarkable that the last creative period of Hindu painting should have reached its highest achievements towards the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century when the country was passing through an unprecedented period of strife, intrigue and political humiliation. The great masterpieces—the *Gowrdhan-dharan* and the *Rasamandal*, of the Jaipur *Polihkama* were painted by Sahib Ram at the court of the weak and supine Maharaja Pratap Singh. It seems also that the Jaipur school exercised a remarkable influence over the courts of the small principalities of Kathiawar, the productions of which have not yet been studied.

Painting in India appears to have been universally cultivated at royal courts at least since the days of the Moghuls up to about the middle of the 19th century. The court of Poona, when the dominion of the Peshwas had been fully established, produced some remarkable pictures which have not yet received the

* *Ranjit Singh* by Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I.
1880, p. 89.

attention due to them. Minor but interesting offshoots of Hindu painting which flourished towards the end of the 18th century at the courts of Datta and Orchha have been described by me elsewhere. I reproduce (on page 52) for purposes of comparison two pictures of a genuine folk-art from a Gujarati manuscript which was completed in Samvat 1891 (1837 A.D.) The pictures illustrate the state of painting in Gujarat at the beginning of the 19th century and are taken from a Jain romance called *Sripala-Ras* copied by Bhagvijaya, the disciple of Gulabvijaya Gani—the pupil of Padmavijaya Gani, the celebrated scholar, as described in the colophon of the MS. This art of manuscript illustration is totally different from the court art that was cultivated in the States of Rajputana and the Punjab. It is simpler, more naive, in a word *bourgeois* art as contrasted with the more formal and accomplished products of the

various schools of court painters. One of the pictures illustrates one of the many weddings in which Sripal, the hero of the romance, indulged. It conveys a vivid idea of the manners in vogue in Gujarat in the beginning of the last century. The other picture depicts a storm. The conception of a double-storied boat armed with heavy guns provided with what appears to be a cabin is distinctly interesting; as is also the conventional method of depicting the surging waves of the sea in the right-hand corner of the picture by arcs of a circle as compared with the use of gentle curves to depict the placid waters in the left hand corner.*

* I am indebted to Lala Sita Ram of Benares for the permission to reproduce the picture of Ranjit Singh; to my friend Itai Krishna Das for the beautiful picture by Chitraman; to Muni Maharaj Hamsvijaya Ji of Patan for the loan of the manuscript *Sripala-Ras*.



Aryans in Eastern India in the Rigvedic Age

BY PROF. HARAN CHANDRA CHAKRADAR, M. A.

THERE appears to be an impression that at the time that the hymns of the Rigveda were composed, Eastern India was unknown to the Vedic Aryans, who are believed to have confined their activities to Western India alone; but the hymns themselves provide ample evidence to show that the Rigvedic Aryans had spread during the epoch throughout the whole of Northern India from the Bay of Bengal to the North-western Frontier and beyond, and that Eastern India or the *Prachi Dik*, as it is called in the Vedic language, extending up to the Eastern Sea, was familiar to the seers of the hymns. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that the Rigveda offers no evidence to show that the Aryans entered India through the North-western passes, nor was the centre of Rigvedic culture in the extreme west of India—not in the country watered by the Indus and its tributaries—but farther east, in the Madhyadesa, or the region about the Sarasvati. As the Vedic Index (I, 468) remarks, "The importance of the Punjab as the home of the

Rigveda has been greatly diminished by recent research Hopkins, Pischel and Geldner having on different grounds shown reason for believing that the Rigveda, at least in great part, was composed farther east, in the Madhyadesa, which admittedly was the home of the later Vedic culture." The Rigveda is very poor in geographical data, as may naturally be expected in a book of hymns to the gods. Of the mountains, only one finds direct mention the Himavant, or the 'abode of snow,' and the peak Mujavant is referred to indirectly, *Soma* being spoken of as *Manjavata* or 'growing on the Mujavant.' It is only the rivers that find mention in any number, as they were esteemed as deities, owing probably to the immense benefits conferred by them on the Vedic Aryans.

Judging from the streams named in the Rigveda, we observe that while the rivers of the Indus system like the *Vitasta* or the *Vipasa* occur but rarely in the Rigveda, the *Sarasvati* occurs frequently and is the river *par excellence* (Naditama R. V. II. 41.6).

we cannot agree when it dismisses as absurd, Yaska's identification of the Sasoma with the Indus which, as we have shown above, tallies exactly with the order of enumeration.

This group of seven rivers is many times referred to in the Rigveda. The very first verse of the *Nadistuti* hymn of which the fifth sets forth the above enumeration, says that the *apah* or water-courses are seven in number in each of the three worlds. Thus it says, "Waters the worshipper addresses to you excellent praise in the dwelling of the institutor of the rite; they flowed by sevens through the three worlds etc." (X. 75, 1). There can, therefore, be no doubt that wherever in the Rigveda the seven rivers are referred to, it is these seven that have been brought together into a group by the Rigveda itself, as Sayana (on R. V. i. 32, 12 etc.) points out whenever he has an occasion to comment upon these expressions, and we have certainly to reject the inclusion, in the group, of the Kubha or the Oxus as has been done by some scholars, and also to condemn the exclusion of the Ganga and the Yamuna from the list as many of the scholars appear inclined to do (*Ved Ind* II 424). This is due to the now no longer tenable idea that the Aryans at the time of the Rigveda were confined to the country about the North-western frontier of India, that is, the Punjab and its neighbourhood. It requires hardly to be pointed out that the word *Sindhu* in the expression *Sapta sindharah* by which the seven rivers are many times referred to, have nothing to do with the Indus and therefore we need not seek for the seven rivers in the Punjab alone. The Rigveda refers to the seven rivers not by the single expression, *sapta sindharah* only, but by a large variety of terms all of which bear the very same sense; for example, we have *sapta nadyah*, *sapta apah*, *sapta sraratah*, *sapta pravatah*, *sapta visruhah*, or indirectly, *sapta matarah*, *sapta sisarah*, *sapta yahrish*, etc. all of which equally mean 'the seven rivers,' namely, those grouped together in the Rigveda itself; hence it is evident, that the Ganges, as forming the first and the most important in this group of seven rivers, is referred to in the Rigveda, not only once or twice, but innumerable times; and it is but reasonable to think that the whole of its course was well known to the authors of the Rigvedic hymns.

In one passage in the Rigveda (VIII. 21, 27) the phrase *sapta sindhusu* is used to mean 'in the country or countries about the

seven rivers' like the phrase '*gangayam ghorah*,' as explained by Sayana. The above hemistich where the phrase occurs, may be translated, "Thou (Indra) that dost rescue (us) from the wickedness of the Riksa (or Raksa-) and of the Arya in the countries about the seven rivers," and it may be observed that even here *sapta sindharah* is not necessarily a proper name but simply refers to 'the country watered by the seven rivers,' extending from the Ganges to the Indus. Though the expression *sapta sindharah* occurs only once in the Rigveda in this sense, it might have been more commonly used in ordinary speech, so that by outsiders like the ancient Iranians the name *sapta-sindhu* or its Iranian version, Hapta-Hendu came to be used as a designation for India as known to them, when the Vendidad (I. 19) which shows the earliest use of the name, was written. Leaving aside the fanciful speculations of scholars about the progressive colonization of the sixteen countries named in Vendidad, we can only be sure that at the time this portion of the Avesta was composed, *Hapta-Hendu* was a general Iranian appellation for Aryan India, and from the Brahmanas it appears probable that in India itself there were settlements of Asura worshipping Aryan tribes, who bore close affinity with the ancient Iranians in their language, religion or customs. The *Satapatha Brahmana* (XIII. 8.2.1) tells us that people with Asura-customs did live in the *Prachya* country or Eastern India, so that it is likely that the country of Hapta-Hendu or *Sapta-sindharah* included eastern India also, especially as the Eastern Ocean into which the Ganga pours its waters, was well known in the Rigvedic age, at least to the wandering ascetics of that period, the *Munis*.

We are told by a hymn in the Rigveda (X. 136) that long-haired, yellow-robed ascetics bearing the designation of *Munis*, traversed the whole width of India from the eastern to the western ocean, from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. Thus we read in this hymn: "The muni who is (verily) the steed of the wind and is the comrade of Vayu, the Wind-God, being urged on by the gods, travels to both the Oceans, the Eastern as well as the Western."

The next succeeding verse also speaks of the wanderings of the long-haired *Muni* in untrodden paths through forests and wildernesses. "On the tracks of the Apsaras, of the Gandharvas and of the wild beasts,

travels the long-haired (Muni). Knowing everything that is knowable, he is the sweet and most delightful (of all)."

Other features of his inner character as also his outer appearance, besides his wanderings, are thus delineated in the three verses (X. 136,2-4) that immediately precede the two quoted above: "The Vatarasana Munis (ascetics who live on the wind) wear yellow unclean garments, they follow the course of the wind and they have verily become gods." "Inspired and exhilarated by our Muni-nature (*maune-yena*), we have mounted upon the winds. Our bodies (only) do you see, oh ye mortals. Through the firmament flies the Muni, seeing all things. The Muni is the beloved friend of the gods, one and all, for devoted service to everyone of them."

The king of the gods, Indra himself, is the comrade of the *Munis* according to another hymn of the Rigveda (VIII.18,14) and the *Atareya Brahmana* (VIII. 15) assures us that Indra is the friend of everyone that wanders. Another Rigvedic hymn (VII. 56,8) compares the shaking of the trees as the wind blows against them to the agitation of a *Muni*, evidently when the latter is in an ecstatic rapture. Now, bringing together all these characteristics we observe that the *Muni* is the predecessor of the later *Yati* or *Pavrajaka* and like him his business is to wander from place to place, wearing long unkempt hair, robed in yellow or brown vestments, spreading the religion of the Veda,—the worship of the gods, of each of whom he has thus become a devoted friend (*sakha hitah*) ; by his intense love and devout service of the gods he is often thrown into a condition of ecstasy when his body shakes and trembles like a tree with the wind. The *Munis* move with the swiftness of the wind and wander through the wilds and forests following paths trod only by wild beasts. The *Muni* with his constant peregrinations and devout service of the gods is invested with superhuman and mystic powers, so much so that the long haired *Muni* is believed to be a beloved comrade of the dreadful god Rudra with whom he drinks from the same cup of poison (X. 136, 7). The worship of this much-dreaded god who is not a very prominent figure in the Rigveda, appears to have spread in the later Vedic period far and wide over the whole Aryan region, which evidently included, at the time of the Atharva-veda, the country near the

Eastern Sea where, as we have seen, the *Muni* had gone, and perhaps settled, in the Rigvedic age.

A verse of the Atharva-veda thus addresses this fierce and terrible god who is addressed there as *Bhava* : "There is no distance for thee, nor hindrance for thee, O Bhava, at once thou lookest over the whole earth, from the Eastern, thou smitest in the northern ocean" (A. V. xi 2,25) This shows that the worship of Rudra with whom Bhava is identified in the hymn from which we have quoted here, was well-established throughout the Vedic regions from the Northern ocean (the Sea of Aral or the Caspian Sea) up to the Eastern ocean or the Bay of Bengal This same Atharva-veda hymn (A. V. 2, 14 and 16) also brings together *Bhava* and *Sarva* which are different local names of the same deity as explained by the *Satapatha Brahmana* (I. 7 3, 8) which tells us that *Sarva* was a name for Rudra among the Eastern peoples (the *parichyas*), and *Bhava* among the Babikas in the western Panjab. These two names, however, do not occur in the Rigveda This no doubt indicates that the worship of this deity had spread and developed among the Aryan people in the north and the east during the period between the Rigveda hymns and the Atharva-veda, carried evidently by his devout worshippers, the *Munis* who had the hardihood to drink with impunity for the same deadly cup as himself.

It is necessary to consider in some detail the character of this Vatarasana Muni, the early pioneer of Aryan colonization. The character with which the Rigveda invests the Muni, is associated with him throughout the Vedic literature, and we find him as one of the earliest preachers of Vedic religion and culture. The Vatarasanas are described in the *Taittiriya Aranyaka* (I. 23, 2) as one of the three kinds of Rishis that formed one of the earliest creations of Prajapati, the creator, and in the next succeeding chapter, the same *Aranyaka* (II. 7, 1) tells us that these Vatarasana Rishis were *Syamanus* or ascetics who lived in chastity abstaining from sexual indulgence (*udhramanthinah*) ; then other Rishis approached for being taught a means wherewith to purify themselves from sin. The Upanisads describe the *Muni* as the person 'who knows the self.' "Knowing the self," says the *Brihadmnyalopanisad* (IV. 1, 22), "they did not wish for off-spring. 'What shall we do with off-spring,' they said, 'we

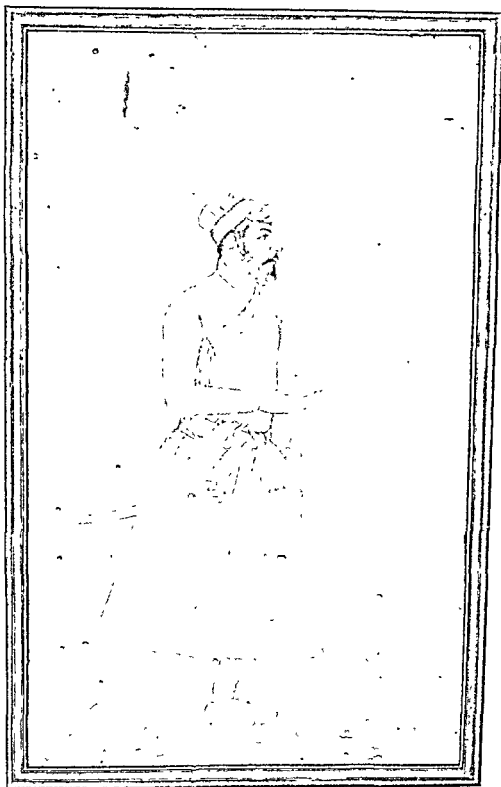
who have this self and the world (of Brahma) ? And they having risen above the desire for sons, wealth and new worlds wander about as mendicants." The *Dharmasutras* give the title of *Muni* to persons in the fourth stage of life on whom it was incumbent to wander and hold up before the people by their own character and conduct, the highest ideal of Aryan life. Thus Vasistha in his *Dharma-sutra* (Ch. 1) quotes several ancient verses one of which declares that "the ascetic (*Muni*) who wanders about at peace with all creatures, forsooth has nothing to fear from any living being." Apastamba (II. 21) also quotes an ancient verse : "He (the *Parivrajaka* or *Muni*) shall live without a fire, without a house, without pleasures, without protection. Remaining silent and uttering speech only on the occasion of daily recitation of the Veda, begging so much food only in the village as will sustain his life, he shall wander about caring neither for this world nor for heaven." The fact that both Vasistha and Apastamba quote from older works with regard to the life of the *Muni*, shows that the traditions about the *Muni* were very ancient and in fact, were those of the Rigveda, and from this *Muni*, in a direct line of descent, were derived the *Munis* and *Yatis* of the Jamas, the *Sramanas* of the Buddhists, and the *Jatilas* and others of the orthodox Brahmanic Church of whom we read in the Jaina and Buddhist literatures. The high character of the *Muni* as given in the *Bhagavad-gita* (II. 56 etc.) is very well known.

Like the *Muni*, the *Brahmacharin* also wandered about the Aryan domain including the region near the Eastern sea, as the *Atharva-veda* (XI. 5, 6) tells us : "The Vedic student (*Brahmacharin*) goes kindled with fuel (*samiddhi*), clothing himself with the black antelope skin, consecrated, long-bearded ; he goes at once from the Eastern to the Northern ocean, having grasped the worlds, again and again violently shaping (them)." This long-bearded *Brahmacharin* here is not apparently a young student, but one who has devoted himself to Vedic studies without entering the householder's stage of life, and such *Brahmacharins* or *Parivrajaks*, as the *Apastamba Dharma-sutra* (II. 21) calls them, travelled about throughout the Aryan region from the eastern extremity

near the Bay of Bengal up to the Northern sea which is probably to be identified with the Caspian Sea or the Sea of Aral, and this need not appear impossible, seeing that *Vahlika* or *Bactria* was well known to the seers of the *Atharva-veda* (V. 22,7) and that, as we have already seen before, the worship of the god *Rudra* had already spread to the Northern sea. As regards the Eastern ocean, there cannot be any doubt that the *Atharva-veda* (IV. 3,1 ; V. 22, 11 etc.) which knows *Anga* and *Magadha* and the haunts of the tiger whose habitat is in the swamps about the mouth of the Ganges, was also very well acquainted with the Bay of Bengal.

From what has been said above, it will be evident that the wandering ascetics who were called *Munis* were journeying over the whole of northern India, even in the early Vedic age ; the *Vatarasana Munis* who were remarkable for the pure and chaste life they led and the severe austerities they practised, appear to have taken a leading part in these wandering expeditions and to have traversed the whole of the country that Manu in later times calls *Aryavarta*, the extensive region that stretched from the Western to the Eastern ocean. The fact that these two oceans had become known to the seers of the *Rigveda* demonstrate very clearly that the Vedic Aryans could not have remained shut up in a narrow region in the North-west of India during the centuries that the hymns of the *Rigveda* were being composed, but that they, at least their pioneers, had already travelled to, and perhaps settled in, the farthest extremity in the East. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the process of Aryan settlement in eastern India up to the Eastern ocean, had been going on for some time when the *Rigveda* hymn which, according to *Katyaiana*, was contributed by seven *Vatarasana* ascetics, was composed and sung. By the time of the *Atharva-veda* which, as we have seen, shows a more intimate acquaintance with the eastern regions, the occupation of Eastern India must have been completed. *

* The matter has been fully discussed in the author's *Aryan Occupation of Eastern India*, shortly to be published by the Greater India Society.



SHAHZADA MUHAMMAD SHAH
By Chitraman

See page 32

country for reasons of health and had been bidden by my physician to shun reading and writing. I, for once in my life, found the leisure to wander from town to town, from one art collection to another and study both the masterpieces and the environment in which those masterpieces were created.

II

Fully to appreciate the glories of Flemish art it is really necessary to have an idea of the land in which their creators lived and worked, and of the stock from which they sprung.

Flanders forms the north-west corner of Belgium. In physical features and racial and linguistic characteristics it is different from the south-eastern portion of the country. The plain that begins within sight of the North Sea is so low that in parts where Nature has not raised a barrier by piling up sand, in dunes or mounds, it is necessary to build dykes to prevent inundation. In this respect Flanders very much resembles Holland.

The soil is sandy and needs to be heavily manured if it is to yield good crops. Lack of natural drainage also complicates the problem of tillage. Any water not actually needed for cultivation must be removed, otherwise the land would become waterlogged.

Incessant warfare with Nature has developed a hardy, somewhat phlegmatic type. The Flemish peasant works from dawn till far beyond nightfall and is persevering. What is more, he is intelligent and resourceful. Had he not been so he never could have survived, in view of the difficulties he has had to face through the centuries.

The language used in Flanders is akin to Dutch. Close association with French-speaking Walloons who live in the south-east corner of Belgium and speak either pure French or a dialect (*patois*) akin to French, has led to the absorption of French words and French culture.

Until comparatively recent times Flanders constituted the cock-pit of Europe. The people of this part the Continent were those of whom Caesar wrote in his *Commentaries*, before the birth of the Christ, that "the bravest of these are the Belgae (Belgians). Later, nations of Gallic or Latin origin inhabiting the countries to the west frequently contested the right to hold it with peoples of Germanic stock to the east. Torn and ceding, it passed from the hands of one

conqueror to those of another.

During the early Middle Ages, the leaders of contending armies professed the same faith—Roman Catholicism. This circumstance was no doubt responsible for the churches, cathedrals, monasteries, convents and hospitals being spared. Each new conqueror indeed vied with the king or chieftain he had dispossessed, in lavishing gifts upon sacred institutions—upon extending, re-building and beautifying existing edifices and creating new ones, as a legacy by which his name was to be remembered by posterity.

This, then, was the atmosphere in which Flemish art was born. A master, surrounded by his pupils, usually lived and worked at the court of his patron—Duke or Archduke or King, as the case might be. In some instances, the patron was only a merchant prince.

Some artists did their best work while war was raging. A few of them actually participated in the fighting and exchanged the brush for the sword when opportunity offered or necessity compelled them to do so. In one case, as I shall describe later, a painter executed immortal works at the very hospital in which sisters of charity had snatched him from the jaws of death and nursed him back to health and strength after he had been wounded in battle.

Religion sometimes served as an impulse to creative effort, and sometimes only as a *motif* for a background. Wordly considerations crept into the art and even overlaid it; but the religious atmosphere was seldom absent. The desire to please his patron may, for instance, have induced an artist to employ as a model the lady who, at the moment, found favour in the monarch's eyes. In the finished picture, however, the courtesan was transformed into the Madonna.

III

The Flemish school of art really dates from the middle of the fourteenth century. Flanders was at the time under the sway of the Duke of Burgundy. A scion of the French ruling dynasty of the day, he had come into power owing to the failure of male issue in the House of Brabant.

Artists had painted beautiful pictures before then and handed down their technique to posterity through the pupils whom they trained, who in return, taught the cunning of the brush to others. Until the genius of

Hubert and Jan Van Eyck flamed upon the Flamish horizon no one had however, impressed his personality upon his contemporaries to the point of being acclaimed as a master or founding a school that would take the name of the land in which he had been born.

Hubert, the elder Van Eyck, is generally considered to have discovered the use of oil as a medium for mixing colours. Whether or not he actually invented oil painting, he certainly developed it to a high pitch of perfection. Jan (or John), who survived his brother by fourteen years, dying in 1440, was in the employ of Philip le Bon (Philip the Good), Duke of Burgundy. These two brothers laid the foundations of the Flemish school of art, distinctive from all others for its technique.

The *chef d'oeuvre* of the Van Eycks was the canvas known as the "Adoration of the Lamb," hanging on the walls of the Tenth Chapel in the Cathedral Church of St. Bavon in Ghent. It is really a composite picture consisting of four paintings—three upright panels above an oblong canvas, stretching right across the three below them.

The central panel dominates the group. The large figure, clad in rich robes and elaborately ornamented is generally taken to represent God the Father. On the left panel is a representation of St. John the Baptist in the vestments of a monk. On the right panel is the Virgin Mother.

The side panels are really wings on hinges which fold over the central one like shutters. The paintings on the reverse are by lesser artists and take the place of genuine ones that had been removed.

The large oblong canvas depicting the adoration of the Lamb, from which the painting takes its name, is a wonderful production. The Lamb, it must be explained, is a mystic symbol of the Christ. Its significance lies in the fact that just as a lamb is slaughtered to provide sustenance for human beings, so the Christ, according to the Christian faith, permitted himself to be sacrificed to save all those who believed in him from suffering from the consequence of their sins. In the painting the Lamb stands on an altar covered with red damask over which is placed a white cloth. From a gash in its breast a stream of blood flows into a golden cup. Angels kneel in an attitude of adoration at either side of the altar, while

around them are grouped apostles, popes, cardinals, monks, kings and princes.

Something like three hundred figures are portrayed in the painting. Each is so perfectly executed that not only the attitude but also the expression on a person's face is shown.

In the background have been sketched the buildings and scenery of the city of Ghent as they existed at that time. This is a characteristic of the early Flemish school and gives its work the added value of furnishing correct historical data of the periods in which they were painted as well as being masterpieces of art.

The "Madonna and St. Donatian," another famous Van Eyck, hangs in the Musée Communale or Municipal Gallery of Bruges. This picture, from the point of view of technique, is perfect. The light streams in a shaft across the painting illumining the important figures, while leaving the details at the edge of the canvas merged into the shadowy background.

The work was commissioned in 1433 by Georges van der Paele, who was the Canon of St. Donatian at the time. It was completed in 1436. Van Eyck, perhaps to please his patron, painted him kneeling at the right of the Madonna, with St. George, his patron Saint, in attendance. The artist did not spare the Canon in transferring his features to canvas. He painted him in all his ugliness, even to a disfiguring wart. His homeliness is, indeed, so mercilessly depicted as to make to the effect pathetic: for studying the various figures surrounding him, it almost seems that they are pitying him for his lack of grace and beauty and wondering at his temerity in thus approaching the Madonna and Child. He, on the contrary, has an expression of eager desire that his offering be accepted. One can almost see his pink features quivering with the exquisite pains of the fear that, they may not be deemed worthy of acceptance.

At the other side of the Holy Mother stands St. Donatian, watching the scene. The Madonna occupies the centre of the picture, seated in a throne-like chair and holding the Infant Jesus in her lap. Judging from her general appearance and the richness of her attire, Van Eyck must have chosen one of the ladies of the Court to sit as his model. She is large and robust and maturely developed. She looks as if she might have walked out of the palace of the Duke and into the canvas. Everything about the picture

indicates luxury—the arches in the background, the furnishings, the soft carpet in the foreground.

It is impossible to describe the general effect the picture has upon a person who sees it for the first time. The tones are so rich, the light and shade so beautifully distributed, that it holds one speechless—spell-bound.

Near the "Madonna and St. Donatian" hangs a small canvas prized by the Musée

The portrait appears to come to life as it is studied. It stands out from the canvas more like a carved bust than a painting although in sketching the face remarkably few lines were employed. It is full of character. One feels that this thin-lipped lady with a wart on her cheek must have kept a tight hold upon the domestic reins.

This painting was lent by the Bruges Municipality, a couple of years ago, to the loan exhibition of Flemish and Belgian masterpieces

held at the Burlington House in London by the Anglo-Belgian Union. There were less than eight hundred exhibits, of which over one hundred represented the modern Belgian school; and their total value was estimated at £10,000,000 (say Rs 135,000,000).

A head of the Christ painted by Jan Van Eyck is also on exhibition in the Musée Communale of Bruges.

England possesses in the collection of Sir Herbert Cook, a valuable Van Eyck, the "Three Marys at the Sepulchre," by Hubert. Two very famous Van Eyck paintings are "Adam and Eve" and "The Adoration of the Magi." These were originally executed for the Cathedral Church of St. Bavo in Ghent, but were removed to the Musée Royal de Peinture in Brussels. At least one of them, if I remember aright, was in Berlin for many years, but was recovered, and, I believe, returned to the Cathedral which they were intended to adorn.

There are one or two minor Van Eycks in the Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts in Antwerp; but including these and the ones already referred to, the important works of the two brothers might easily, I should think, be counted on the fingers of two hands.

IV

The next artist of outstanding merit in the Flemish school following the Van Eyck



Portrait of the Artist's Wife by Jan Van Eyck
Musée Communale, Bruges

Communale as its most priceless possession. It is a portrait of Jan Van Eyck's wife, and bears the inscription in Latin: "*Conjux meus Johannes me complevit Anno 1139 Mense Junii*" (my husband John completed me June, 1139). This picture is valued by its owners at Rs. 700,000. It was discovered more than a hundred years ago in the Bruges fish-market, and was secured for almost nothing, its real value not being then known.

chains and screws requiring expert help is necessary to keep the whole lumbering thing together. Things that are of vital importance to our society should never become too difficult of comprehension for the average intelligence of the people. For that creates a profound chasm between life's need and the means of its satisfaction and in that gaping hole all kinds of mischief find their lodging because it is beyond the reach of the entire mind of the people.

In India where the help of some spiritual philosophy has always been claimed for the guidance of life our society did evolve a spontaneous irrigation system of culture which made this philosophy accessible to every individual learned or unlettered by means of literature that was not only brought to their door but to their power of comprehension. It is not only the springs of thought and life that must have their natural communication; the stream that supplies all the necessities of life—justice included—must have an easy flow towards the heart of the people. I know it is not possible in a society if it grows too

voluminous and the lungs given to it are too feeble to support its over-growth, I know that in this condition it must make provision for expert help to manipulate the complicated apparatus for artificial breathing, but these dead allies of life push their encroachment farther and farther every day till one day death reigns supreme.

Those who cannot imagine that civilization can ever become simple in its material aspect are sure to question me as to what should be done. This question expects from its answer the means as to how a path can be made through the wilderness should remain untouched. Of course I do not know. If a society chooses to grow non-human in most of its aspects then it chooses to court sudden death in a final break down. The age has come which through its moral earthquakes has given warning to the piles of dead things that the day of their prosperity has come to its close that the obstruction has to be removed the way has to be kept open for the chariot of new life to pass through its triumphal gate.

Art, A Forbidden Fruit in The Indian Universities

By O C GANGOLI

THE current apathy of our educational authorities to any scheme for Art education in our schools and colleges can be easily construed as an unholy conspiracy to keep Art out of all educational curriculum. The usual apology for shutting out Art from our Arts courses is furnished by the so called excuse of financial stringency. But the hollowness of this excuse becomes patent when at the time of the foundation of a new university no funds are allocated for a Department of Fine Art and the new University assiduously apes and imitates the curriculum of existing universities with its so called culture course—*nam* Fine Arts. It is conveniently forgotten that in a course of liberal education Art has an important place and deserves adequate provisions. The old stereotyped formulae of the courses of studies are bounded by the inevitable

walls of Literature Science History Political Economy and the Languages which form the impenetrable barriers of our castle of learning into which graphic or the visual Arts cannot penetrate. The obvious truth in the matter is that those who take upon themselves the duty of devising courses of studies in the schools or colleges do not regard Art as anything more than an expensive luxury to be thought of only if a special endowment is forthcoming from an educational benefactor. Enormous amount of money is expended in the schools and colleges to pay for the staff to teach Literature not only in the form of linguistic courses, but as a valuable cultural expression of the human mind at different periods of its history. It is entirely ignored or forgotten that as a spiritual expression and as a unique repository of human culture

was Roger van der Weyden. He was a pupil of the Van Eycks, and died in Brussels in 1464. His greatest masterpiece, the "Seven Sacraments," is to be seen in the Antwerp Museum. Though renowned as a religious painter, he essayed considerable portrait work.

Several of Van der Weyden's canvases are owned by American collectors. One is a lovely "Madonna and Child," belonging to the Huntington collection. Another is a "Portrait of a Lady," a treasured possession of Mr. Andrew W. Mellon, the Secretary of the Treasury in the United States President's Cabinet. Still another, a "Portrait of an Elderly Woman," a masterly production with clean precision of line, is in the collection of Mr. John D. Rockefeller Jr.

A picture that is highly prized by all critics is van der Weyden's "Lionello d'Este," the property of Colonel Michael Friedsam. It was executed in 1449-50, while the artist was in Italy, and has a tender touch that was unique in art productions up to that time.

V

Among Roger van der Weyden's pupils was Hans (or Jan) Memling (or Hemmeling), who died in 1496. His work was characterized by correct drawing, great attention to detail, a pervading atmosphere of reverence and purity and richness of colouring. Always realistic in the treatment of his subjects, this artist stands in a class all by himself. No one has been able exactly to copy his technique.

Memling is believed to have been a native of Bruges. At any rate, if tradition is to be believed, he made his way to that town when he had been wounded almost unto death in one of the wars that raged in Flanders in the Middle Ages.

Then as now, the "Opital St. Jean (Hospital of St. John) existed in Bruges, and was conducted by nuns of St. Augustine. They saved Memling's life. In gratitude, he is said to have painted and presented to them the wonderful pictures now contained in the gallery of that institution, which has become a place of pilgrimage for persons interested in art from all over the world. According to another tradition, he was commissioned by the institution to execute the paintings, and was paid a fee for his work.

The principal pictures are quite small. They cover the ends and sides of a reliquary,

a small chest shaped somewhat like Noah's Ark. It stands on a pedestal in a glass case in the centre of the gallery.

The pictures are descriptive of incidents in the life of St. Ursula, the daughter of a British king, who decided to devote her life to religious works. When her royal father sought to force her to marry a pagan prince, she fled to the Continent, accompanied by thousands of devout Christian virgins. Going up the Rhine to Italy, by way of Cologne and Basle, she was received in audience by Pope Cyriacus, who gave her his blessing. Upon their return from Rome by the same route, however, the party of virgin pilgrims was set upon and killed by the "pagan" people of the country through which they were passing.

Memling depicted on the ends and sides of the reliquary, the landing of St. Ursula and her virgin attendants at Cologne; then disembarkation at Basle; their arrival in Rome and their reception by the Holy Father; their departure from Basle; their arrival at Cologne; and their martyrdom, six pictures in all. He was always careful to put in backgrounds that would faithfully illustrate the very places at which the incidents depicted took place. He is, in fact, famous for his backgrounds, which were always distinct, in perfect perspective and clearly indicated. In the "Martyrdom of St. Ursula" he was particularly careful to give to posterity a true picture of Cologne of that day, the great cathedral being shown in perfect detail.

St. Ursula and the subordinate figures are all worked out with infinite patience. There are thousands of figures in the various groups, and yet, studied through a magnifying glass, each stands out separately. As a result, whether analysed individually or taken in the *ensemble*, these productions are almost faultless.

Besides the St. Ursula series, the authorities of the Hospital of St. John treasure here Memling's "Adoration of the Wise Men of the East," the "Marriage of St. Catherine," and a bust of a woman known as "Sybilla Sambetha."

One of the Memling paintings which particularly attracts me is the "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian" in the Brussels Museum. It shows that Saint, bound to a tree, the target for arrows shot at him which have pierced his body, arms and legs. The treatment is almost cruel in its realism.



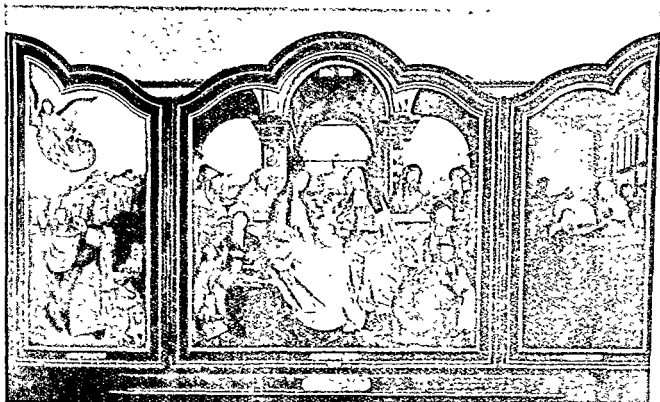
The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian by Hans Memling—*Musee Royal des Beaux-Arts, Brussels*

Memling's models, unlike those of the Van Eycks, were chosen from among the common people. Nothing could be more different in type, for instance, than the Madonna that Van Eyck painted some fifty years earlier and the Holy Mother in the "Adoration of the Wise Men of the East" by Memling.

The latter picture was obviously the creation of an austere man—a man who lived among and associated with monks, if he was not himself a friar. He did not portray the opulence of the court as expressed in rich robes, robust forms or haughty features. He idealized—spiritualized his models—painted the soul rather than the body.

VI

The next generation of Flanders produced Quentin Matsys, an Antwerp artist, born in 1466, whose work, while showing some of the features of the Van Eyck school, was greatly influenced by the Italian Renaissance. Matsys, according to the local tradition, was a native of Louvain Brought up as a blacksmith, he fell in love with a young lady in Antwerp whose father had sworn that she should not marry anyone but an artist. Matsys, for the sake of love, gave up the forge for the brush and soon was in the forefront of his new profession. An inscription on his tomb gives



*The Legend of St. Anne by Quentin Matsys
Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts, Brussels*

colour to this tale. The ornamental iron work of the Quentin Matsys Well, near the entrance to the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Antwerp, is reputed to have been wrought by this great artist before he deserted his forge.

Not many specimens of the work of Matsys exist. His *chef d'oeuvre* is considered to be a triptych representing the entombment of the Christ, formerly in the Cathedral but now in the Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts in Antwerp. In the same gallery are heads of Christ, the Virgin, and Mary Magdalene. One of his works, "Ecce Homo," is hung in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, Tournai, to which place I journeyed principally to view it. One of his most wonderful works, the "Legend of St. Anne," is to be found in the Brussels Museum.

VII

Some fifty years after the death of Matsys in 1530, was born Peter Paul Rubens, the son of an Antwerp magistrate. More than one city claims to have been his birthplace. He left behind more masterpieces than any other artist of the Flemish school.

Rubens was not wedded to his art in the same sense that the other great masters were, but was a great traveller, a politician and a diplomat. In the latter capacity he undertook several delicate missions for his liege lord.

It seems almost incredible that in the intervals of travel, one man, even though assisted by many pupils, could have painted so many pictures, most of them masterpieces. He must have been a remarkably quick worker. His canvases are to be found in nearly every gallery and cathedral—and even in smaller churches—in Belgium, while there are few important collections anywhere in the world in which at least one is not included. Perhaps the largest number in any single gallery is to be found in the Musée Royal de Peinture in Brussels. Here are fifteen of his paintings. "The Assumption of the Virgin", in which blue tones predominate, appeals to me especially.

Antwerp possesses many of Rubens' works. They are to be found in profusion in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, the Musée des Beaux-Arts, the Musée Plantin Moretus and other galleries.

In a picture in the Rubens' Chapel in St Jacques Church, Rubens is supposed to have



The Assumption of the Virgin by Peter Paul Ruben
Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts, Brussels

painted not only himself (as St. George), but also his grandfather (as Time), his father (as St. Jerome), his first wife (as Martha) his second wife (as Mary Magdalene) and his little son (as an angel).

Rubens was successful in his profession from the financial point of view. He was paid large fees, immense for the time, for his work and was not averse from producing effects to order. He was, for instance, commissioned by the Guild of Archers in Antwerp to paint the "Descent from the Cross," now hung in the Cathedral of Notre Dame in that city. They desired him to paint a picture that would have some reference to St. Christopher, their patron Saint, and offered him 2,400 florins, a large sum in those days. He executed a wonderful canvas in the form of a triptych. In the central panel he depicted the body of the Christ being taken down from the Cross. On one wing was portrayed the Virgin Mary and on the other Simeon in the Temple bearing the Christ child in his

arms. On the reverse side of the wings, showing when they were closed, were painted St. Christopher carrying the Infant Jesus and the various emblems associated with that Saint.

Another picture that Rubens painted to order is the "Draft of Fishes" in St. John's Church, Malines. This was commissioned by the Fishers' Guild of Malines.

A third is "St. Bode Interceding for the Plague-Stricken Town of Alost," in the Church of St. Martin in that town, which is situated some seventeen miles from Ghent.

The history of each Rubens painting in the Musée Plantin Moretus in Antwerp is known, and the price paid to the artist for it is given in the catalogue.

No doubt Rubens found that his influence at court and his interest in politics was useful to him in securing commissions. It is to be doubted, in any case, if any other Flemish master made so much money from his profession as he did.

Rammohun Roy's Engagements with the Emperor of Delhi

(Based on Unpublished State Records)

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

IN this Review (January and February, 1929) I published an account of Rammohun Roy's embassy to England to press certain pecuniary claims of the poor Emperor of Delhi (Akbar Shah II). The Rajah's pleading convinced the Court of Directors of the need of making a settlement with the Delhi Emperor without further delay, and therefore, they, in their letter, dated 13th February 1833, directed the Governor-General to raise the royal stipend to 15 lakhs of Rupees per annum, leaving it to him to distribute the additional amount (three lakhs) among the other members of the imperial family in such manner as he thought just and proper upon a consideration of their respective claims.

When the decision of the Home authorities was made known to the Delhi King, he at first declined to accept the increase of three lakhs per annum, on the ground that his claims were for a higher amount. The adoption of this attitude by him was, of course, prompted by a letter from Rammohun Roy in England, instructing him to reject any offer that might be made by the authorities in India to induce him to forgo the benefit of the claims preferred on his behalf in England. But the unfortunate King was, in the end, obliged, by the premature death of Rajah Rammohun Roy (on 27th September, 1833), to be content with what had already been offered to him.

This, in brief, is the history of what Rammohun was able to do for his master. What was the nature of the inducements which had been offered to him by the Mughal Emperor to make him go to England and champion his cause? All the existing

biographies of Rammohun Roy fail to satisfy our very natural curiosity on this point. The only fact hitherto known occurs in the following passage of an obituary sketch of Rammohun, evidently contributed by Sandford Arnot (the Rajah's secretary in England) to the *Asiatic Journal* (Nov. 1833, p. 208)



Rajah Rammohun Roy

"A short time before his death, he had brought his negotiations with the British Government, on behalf of the King of Delhi, to a successful close, by a compromise with the Ministers of the Crown, which will add £ 30,000 a-year to the stipend of the Mogul, and, of course, make a proportionate reduction in the Indian revenue. The deceased ambassador had a contingent interest in this large addition to the ample allowance of the Mogul pageant, and his heirs, it is said, will gain from it a perpetual income of £ 3,000 or £ 4,000 a-year."

* Rammohun, while in England, submitted to the Court of Directors a printed pamphlet on the Delhi King's claims, which he had prepared for greater facility of perusal and information. I have been able to procure a copy of this pamphlet, hitherto unknown to the biographers of Rammohun.

But the reader is puzzled when he comes to know that the truth of Arnot's statement that the Rajah and his heirs obtained the

"perpetual income" was questioned by Mr. Ananda Mohun Bose.

Fortunately, the State Records fill up the lacuna and help us to know the nature of the agreement between the Delhi Emperor and Rammohun Roy.

When the Delhi King signified his consent to accept the increase of three lakhs of Rupees per annum, sanctioned by the Court of Directors, in satisfaction of all his claims upon the Company, the Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor, N.-W. Provinces, asked him to state his wishes regarding the disposal of the additional amount. The King accordingly furnished him in April 1836 with an abstract list of the parties to whom the extra allowance of Rs. 25,000 per month was proposed to be distributed. This statement shows, among others, the following entry:—

Rammohun's son Rs. 1,875

In the covering letter, forwarding the above statement, the Delhi King observed:

"Out of the amount of the stipendiary increase payments on account of promises made and written engagements entered into by His Majesty with those who had laboured to obtain the increased allowance shall be first made....."

The particulars of His Majesty's engagements are as follows: 1st that should an increase of eight lakhs of Rupees be obtained, out of the sum of Rs. 10,000 monthly, a salary of Rs. 5,000 per month should be paid in perpetuity to Rajah Ram Mohun Roy and Rs. 5,000 thro. the Prince Muhammad Salim with Rajah, Sohun Lal and others who have laboured in obtaining the increase—and so on; that the amount increased allowance for one year shall be divided in equal portions between Rajah Ram Mohun Roy and thro. Prince Mirza Muhammad Salim.

"Conformably with these engagements on the three lakhs of Rupees, the sum of Rs. 3,750 become due monthly to these zealous well-wishers of His Majesty, of which one-half is to be bestowed on Radhaprasad and Roy Ramaprasad, sons of the late Rajah Ram Mohun Roy and the other half thro. Prince Mirza Muhammad Salim."

But the Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W. Provinces could not approve of the parties to whom the King proposed to distribute his increased stipendiary allowance. He, therefore, ordered the scheme of distribution to be modified and sent to the King for his approval. The King, being dissatisfied with this new plan of distribution, angrily refused to accept the amount at all. The Government of the N.-W. Provinces, in forwarding

the whole correspondence to the Supreme Government, remarked:

"Neither this arrangement nor any other part of the scheme will satisfy His Majesty, whose objects will not be accomplished by such a distribution, nor the son of Ram Mohun Roy who is in waiting at Delhi to see what portion of this plunder of the State he can lay hands on." (5th October, 1836)."

As a last measure Akbar Shah II placed his grievances before the Governor-General in a *khariya*, the following passages of which will make the subject of the agreement between Rammohun and the Delhi King fully clear to the reader:

"A communication from the Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor, N.-W. P. accompanied by a statement of the distribution of the increased stipendiary allowance of Rs. 25,000 has been received. In this statement... not a farthing [has been] reserved for me, my sons nor their descendants..."

"It cost me three lakhs of Rupees to send ambassadors to England and Calcutta for the sole purpose of removing my own embarrassments and those of my children, brothers and sisters and salateens, and not for the purpose of enabling some to enjoy affluence while others were left in a state of destitution.... Rajah Ram Mohun Roy Bahadur confiding in my promises and favour, undertook the distant journey to England and fell a sacrifice. Other zealous servants, such as Rajah Sohun Lal and others were promised rewards and salaries through the late Mirza Salim, to the effect, that if an increase of eight lakhs of Rupees per annum was obtained, the sum of Rs. 10,000 should be paid monthly in perpetuity, viz., Rs. 5,000 to Rajah Ram Mohun Roy and Rs. 5,000 to Mirza Salim, including Rajah Sohun Lal and others, and as a reward the whole amount of one year's increase, viz., the one-half to Rajah Ram Mohun Roy and the other half to Mirza Salim including Rajah Sohun Lal and others. Agreeably to the above arrangement, the rate on the additional three lakhs of Rupees per annum payable monthly to those meritorious individuals, will amount to Rs. 3,750—one-half to Rao Radhaprasad and Rao Ramaprasad, sons of the late Rajah Ram Mohun Roy and the other half to the late Mirza Salim and others before mentioned. The fulfilment of my promise is just and proper and independently of my

* Translation of a letter (received on 15th April 1836) from the King of Delhi to the Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor, N.-W. Provinces.—*Political Consultation* 24 October, 1836, No. 13.

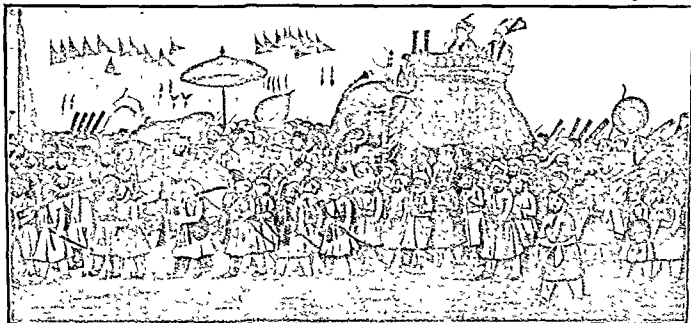
* Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor, N.-W. P., Agent to the Secretary to the Government of India, Political Department, dated 5th October, 1836—*Pol. Con.* 24 October 1836, No. 13.

promise and without reference to the increase, the family of a man who has sacrificed his life in the service of his master, ought to be maintained by that master—especially Rao Radhaprasad and Rao Ramaprasad, sons of the late Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, who are my devoted servants, and have likewise received a promise of remuneration. Moreover, for the space of two years past, Rao Radhaprasad has been in attendance at the Royal threshold, in the hope of realizing the promised remuneration and salary on account of his father's devotion. . .

which will increase your Lordship's good name and my happiness." *

But the King's representation had no effect; the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, merely observed in his reply:

"I have attentively weighed your Majesty's objections to the proposed distribution and I regret that I cannot discover in them anything which could justify a change in that distribution. Still less can I concur in the propriety of your Majesty's wish that a portion of the increase should be granted to individuals not being members of the Royal family and who have no claim on the bounty of the British Government. (8 May, 1837). †



Akbar Shah II in a Procession

"I have in every communication on the subject invariably complained of my being troubled by my creditors, and that interest was daily accumulating. The payment of debt by every Law is a duty, and the fulfilment of my promises of remuneration and fixed salaries to the sons of the late Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, Rajah Sohun Lal and others, is as much incumbent on me, if not more so, than the discharge of a just debt. It was solely from an anxiety to liquidate my debts and redeem my promises, that a *Razinama* for so small an increase was executed. . .

"Justice requires, that your Lordship should make a suitable arrangement for the expenses of royalty and for the satisfaction of the rights of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, Rajah Sohun Lal and others

It is evident, therefore, that the old monarch did not enjoy any part of the increased allowance of three lakhs per annum. He died shortly after, on 28th September 1837, aged 82 years, leaving Mirza Muhammad Abu Zafar to succeed him.

It will be thus seen that Akbar Shah II remembered to the last the invaluable service rendered to him by Rammohun Roy, though, in spite of his best intentions and repeated efforts, he could not fulfil his engagements for the benefit of the family of his deceased ambassador, owing to the interference of the Indian Government.

* Trans. of a *khurita* from the Delhi King to the Governor-General of India. This accompanied a letter from the Offg. Secy. to the Lieut.-Governor, N.-W. P., dated 8 April, 1837.—*Pol. Con.* 8 May, 1837, No. 26.

† *Pol. Con.*, 8 May, 1837, No. 27.

Sir C. V. Raman at the University of Paris

By RAMAIAH NAIDU

AFTER his extensive tour in Great Britain, where he was invited to deliver lectures in all the leading centres of scientific research, Sir C. V. Raman has accepted invitations to the same effect from some of the most important universities of the Continent.

Beginning their continental tour with Belgium, Sir C. V. and Lady Raman next came to Paris last week where they have been the honoured guests of the University (Sorbonne). Being a research student of science and knowing the University *milieu* intimately for the past few years, I wish to transmit to the readers of *The Modern Review* a distant echo of the cordial reception given to Sir and Lady Raman by all the great scientists of France. Prof. Raman was invited to deliver a short course of lectures on his latest research on the structure of molecules at the "Institut d'Henri Poincaré", a new temple of research built in memory of the great genius of that name, where it is proposed to establish a centre of international collaboration by inviting eminent men of science from all the countries of the world. It was under the auspices of the same Institute that Einstein also gave, just a fortnight ago, a short course of lectures on his latest work in the unitary field theory.

It is a matter of great honour to India that the next great scientist to be invited by that Institute should be an Indian. It is indeed rare in the annals of the university to see so many of the brilliant French scientists gather together to hear a foreigner speak on a subject on which many of them are themselves authorities. The audience counted among others such eminent scientists as Mme. Curie, Messrs. Langerin, Perrin, Cartan, Brillouin, Fabry, Cotton, Maurain, Maurice de Broglie, Louis de Broglie (the latest recipient of the Nobel Prize for Physics); to mention but a few of the professors of the Sorbonne and the Collège de France who were present. Prof. Raman delivered an equally brilliant public lecture in the big Physics amphitheatre, under the auspices of the "Société de

Physique de France." The theme of the lecture was his last year's great discovery called after his name, the "Raman Effect". Prof. Perrin in introducing the lecturer alluded with feeling to the event as symbolic of the fact that the whole world was coming closer and uniting in the great struggle to enlarge the boundaries of scientific knowledge, which is international *par excellence* and a true heritage of Humanity. In Prof. Raman was a proof, he said, that India, the cradle of civilizations, which furnished so many great men in the domain of Metaphysics and Philosophy, could also, if she wished, produce equally great men of science.

The lecture was punctuated with many striking and successful experiments and lantern slides Prof. Raman was inspiring when he mentioned, in a synthetic vision, all the great avenues of research into molecular and atomic structure that his discovery has opened out; and reckoning the brilliant results already achieved since then by seekers from all parts of the world, he hoped to see greater discoveries made with increasing speed in the near future. In all his speeches Prof. Raman has struck a note of synthesis, of all-comprehensiveness, which later I heard my professors allude to as a specific characteristic of the Indian genius. At the end, while thanking the speaker, Prof. Perrin underlined "la clarté de son exposition et la beauté de ses expériences."

I cannot of course enter here into the technical details of the subject and explain why Prof. Raman's discoveries are universally appreciated as being of first-rate importance. Having accompanied him to some of the social gatherings organized in his honour and in his visits to different laboratories and centres of research [Institut d'Optique (Fabry); Institut de Radium (Mme. Curie); Physical-Chemistry Laboratory (Perrin)]; the most interesting private X-Ray laboratory of the Duc de Broglie, and the world's most powerful Electro-Magnet of its kind, newly set up by Prof. Cotton in the "Office Nationale des Recherches Scientifiques et Industrielles" at Bellevue, a near suburb of Paris]. I have

heard, once and again, all the eminent men in charge of them tell Prof. Raman how very glad they will be to count Indians among their students. Prof. Raman, to express, in a pleasant and somewhat humorous manner, his thankfulness for so much cordiality told

Mme. Curie that he would himself willingly come as a student to her laboratories if he could only get away from his university work!

Institut de Radium, Paris

November 25, 1929.

Centenary of the Abolition of the Immolation of Widows

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE practice of the immolation of widows, misnamed *suttee* in English, was first prohibited by Albuquerque within Portuguese India in 1510. The Mughal emperor Akbar attempted to stop it. He forbade compulsion, voluntary *suttees* alone being permitted. Towards the end of the 18th century Sir C. Malet and Jonathan Duncan in Bombay took the initiative among the British authorities to put a stop to this inhuman custom. But it was on the 4th December, 1829, that Lord William Bentinck carried a regulation in Council which declared that all who abetted *suttee* were "guilty of culpable homicide." The part which Rammohun Roy played in the suppression of this barbarous custom is well known.

It is not our intention to engage in any discussion as to whether the Hindu shastras enjoin the practice. The trick by which in the Rigveda *agre* was changed to *agnih* to give a sanction to it, is well known. "The earlier Indian law-books do not enjoin it, and Manu simply commands the widow to lead a life of chastity and asceticism." (Encyclopaedia Britannica.) According to Chambers's Encyclopaedia, "the researches of European scholars have made it absolutely certain that no countenance to this barbarous rite can be derived from the oldest and most sacred scriptures. The few passages professedly cited from the Vedas have been proved to be misquoted, garbled,* or wholly

false; and the laws of Manu are silent on the subject."

"The practice was sporadically observed in India when the Macedonians reached India late in the 4th century B. C.: - About the 6th century A. D. a recrudescence of the rite took place, and with the help of corrupted Vedic texts it soon grew to have a full religious sanction. But even so it was not general throughout India. It was rare in the Punjab; and in Malabar, the most primitive part of southern India, it was forbidden. In its medieval form it was essentially a Brahminic rite, and it was where Brahminism was strongest, in Bengal and along the Ganges valley and in Oudh and Rajputana, that it was most usual." (Ency. Brit.)

It is a mistake to believe that this custom was peculiar to the Hindus and that they alone were to blame for it. It is also a mistake to hold, as some orthodox Hindus do, that the voluntary sacrifice of widows on the death of their husbands was the glory (?) of Hindu widows alone. Some knowledge of sociology and anthropology would suffice to get rid of both these wrong opinions.

"Widow sacrifice is not peculiar to India, and E. B. Tylor in his *Primitive Culture* (Ch. 11) has collected evidence to support a theory that the rite existed among all primitive Aryan nations. He thinks that in enjoining it the medieval priesthood of India were making no innovation, but were simply reviving an Aryan custom of a barbaric period long antedating the Vedas." (Ency. Brit.)

There is a belief widely prevalent among savages that the life which goes on after death does not differ in anything from this life. So it is supposed that the dead man requires food and drink and raiment, furniture and the implements and weapons of his or her usual occupations in this life. Hence all these were buried with the dead

* "In order to give the custom a religious sanction, a passage in the *Rigveda* (X. XVIII. 7) which directed the widow to rise from her husband's funeral pyre and go forth in front (*agre*), was altered into to go into the fire (*agnih*)."
R. W. Frazer, in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, page 207.

the graphic Arts are superior to Literature and are indispensable in any course of culture studies.

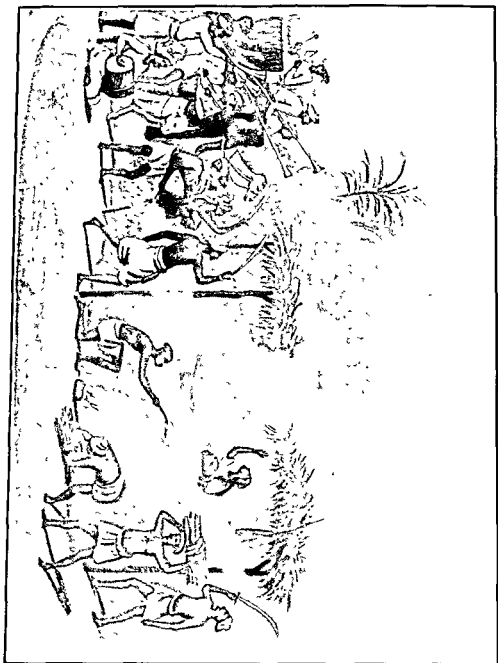
A second fallacy, fondly nestled by our educational gods, is that Art belongs to the Department of Industry to be pigeon-holed with coal, jute, and pig-iron. A third fallacy regards it as an affair of technical education, a province of the schools of Arts to be kept away from the ordinary literary curriculum of our schools and colleges which cannot undertake to train up the creative or the practical artists where students may be spoiled by "looking at pictures." Yet a fourth fallacy is to consider the teaching of Art as a subordinate part of antiquarian studies, a Department of Ancient Culture, a form in which it is tolerated in a starved and famishing department of the Calcutta University.

If the aim of education is to encourage and assist the natural and harmonious growth of man's inborn powers the study of the Fine Arts, especially the visual and the graphic Arts and the cultivation of the sense of Beauty should form an important feature in all educational schemes in primary schools, high schools and colleges. Indeed, the visual Arts in ancient India formed the most important *Vahana* or medium of education and for disseminating knowledge and culture. Education through the eyes was practised to perfection in India in the heyday of its glory, and very skilfully accomplished, in a decade, what was impossible to achieve, through the medium of the spoken and written languages. The monumental illustrations of edifying legends at Sanchi accomplished in a few years what the linguistic edicts of Asoka had failed to achieve in three centuries. In the colonies the messages of Buddhism, and earlier still, those of Brahminical culture, were more effectively preached in the form of sculpture and architecture long before the creeds and doctrines of religion could be translated into the native languages of the Malayo-Polynesian races in Java, Cambodia, and Champa. A little gilt-bronze image of the Buddha could convert in a day a whole continent of primitive people in Indonesia who took centuries to translate the Indian sagas in their vernacular dialects. And it is through the tiny instrumentality of a miniature gold image that the Wei Tartars, a horde of savages in Northern China, were converted into the Buddhist faith

centuries before the *Buddha charita* or the *Divyavada* was translated into Chinese. It is difficult to prove, that in any given period in India universal literacy was ever an accomplished fact through the network of any widespread system of primary education. The place of a universal primary education was certainly taken by the different forms of the visual or the graphic Arts. In this sense the Fine Arts provided the cheapest and easily accessible medium of education and culture, the *lingua franca par excellence* of ancient India. A *pradal-shina* round the sculptured galleries of the cave temples at Elura could give one, in an hour's time, an education in *paurnam* lore which the literary scholar would take years to gather from his eighteen *Puranas*; the sculptured galleries of Borobudur and the painted cloisters of Ajanta easily conveyed to multitudes of illiterate pilgrims who were absolutely inaccessible through the written books of the learned monks. Indeed, the superiority of a graphic interpretation to a merely literary one as a medium of education has been curiously demonstrated by the employment of a series of lantern lectures for propaganda by our extremist politicians, in order to educate the illiterate masses in politics and to a sense of awareness of their economic condition. Mr. Neogi could accomplish in an hour what miles of leading articles failed to convey in years. I should like to leave to our scholars of old Vaishnava literature to find out if Radha's love for Krishna was awakened *first* through the eyes, by the sight of the portrait which *Visakha* presented to her, or 'through the ears' by the music of the magic flute of Krishna. It is a well recognized fact in anthropology, that the gesture languages, the graphic or the visual form long preceded the linguistic. The pictorial decorations of the caves of Altamira antedate by milleniums the earliest linguistic records of man.

That the form of visual education is a very potent and effective medium of culture is sometimes recognized in such educationally backward country as India. The Department of Public Instruction in Bombay has actually a section of visual instruction, a section very much starved for want of funds, the lion's shares of available public funds being devoted, as usual, to the departments of literary education.

In the present state of financial stringency and widespread economic distress it



SUTTEE IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY
From An Old Print

"As further qualifying the interpretation to be put on sanguinary customs of this kind, we must bear in mind that not only are inferiors and dependants sacrificed at a funeral, with or without their assent, but the superiors themselves in some cases decide to die. Fiji is not the only place where people advancing in years are buried alive by their dutiful children. The like practice holds in Vate, where an old chief requests his sons to destroy him in this way."

In *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* (English translation, London, 1890, p. 391), Schrader writes that Indo-Germanic custom ordained that the wife should die with her husband, and this custom he ascribes to the desire to provide the deceased with what was dear to him during life as well as 'to make the life of the housefather safe on all sides, and to render him an object of perpetual care and anxiety to his family.' (*Ency. Reli. & Ethics*).

J. A. MacCulloch writes in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* that the custom of a wife's being slain at her husband's death "is frequently found as an extreme act of austere devotion, the wife devoting herself to death out of affection. Instances of this are found in Fiji, where wives were frequently sacrificed at their own instance; in India, where a wife lit the pyre with her own hands; in China, where wives will take their own lives to follow their husbands into the next world; among the ancient Greeks, with whom historic instances of this suicidal devotion are recorded; and among the ancient Celts."

E. Sidney Hartland writes in the same work:

"The rite was probably common to Aryan-speaking peoples while in a state of savagery, but abandoned as they progressed in civilization....

"It is perhaps necessary to add that many of our accounts of the immolation of human victims on the occasion of a death represent some, at all

events, of the victims as dying willingly, or even committing suicide. It is conceivable that voluntary death may, in a certain number of cases, be the result of intense grief. The vast number, however, of deaths apparently voluntary are, as in the case of the Hindu widow or the dependents of a Gauhish chief, constrained by custom and the knowledge that refusal, while it destroys the religious merit of the act, will entail compulsion, or at least that life will be speedily rendered intolerable."

Conjugal love and devotion are highly praiseworthy. But it is a misuse of them which leads to suicide. Male appreciation of *suttee* could have been considered honest and sincere if even a very small fraction of widows had burned themselves to ashes on the funeral pyres of their dead wives. There have been innumerable women who have continued to live after their husbands' death, who were just as loving and devoted wives as any who sacrificed themselves on the death of their husbands. The value of a woman's life and personality is not lost as soon as she becomes a widow. She has a separate personality. Her personality can still grow after widowhood and be of use to herself, to the family, to society, the nation and mankind at large. The abolition of the practice of immolation of widows in India a hundred years ago, therefore, marks not only the end of a cruel and barbarous custom, but also the recognition of the value of the personality of women for its own sake.

It is a pity that such a memorable event has not been widely celebrated. And even the Calcutta meeting to celebrate it, which was presided over by Sir Charu Chandra Ghosh (who delivered a speech containing valuable historical information), was attended by only five ladies.

Garba

SAUDAMINI MEHTA B.A.

AND

GAGANVIHARI L. METHA, M.A.

GARBA (गरबा) is a dance peculiar to Gujarat and Kathiawar. The artistic excellence of this form of dance cannot be adequately appreciated unless it is seen and heard. Its beautiful rhythm, its graceful movements and its spontaneous music make it a unique and characteristic art of Gujarati women. It has been endeavoured in the following article to explain as briefly as possible the nature of this dance for those who have not had the opportunity to see it for themselves.

The garba is sung by women forming a circle. When the music is on, they move round, sing together and while bending their bodies gracefully give *tal* (ताल) at the appropriate timing. The garba is led by one woman who sings the song in the first instance and the rest of the women repeat it and sing it back. There are certain portions of the "garba" which are known as *Sakhi* (साखी)

in which no *tal* is given so that women cease to move but stand all in a circle and sing these couplets. The rhythm of the *tal*, the steps, the movements of the hand, the curve and shape of the body when bent slightly to give *tal*, the harmony of music and movement, the variety of the costumes,—all these are delightful and fascinating to observe.

The garba is an old form of dance. The origin of the word "garba" can be traced to the custom of making what is called a *garbo* for Mother Kali and other goddesses during the *Nataratra* (नवरात्र) or *Puja* festival. "Garbo" is a white and round earthen pot in which tiny circular holes are made and in the centre of which a small light burnt with *ghee* is placed. In the *Nataratra* preceding the Dashera day, those who observe the festival by having the goddess in their own home celebrate all the nine nights by inviting other women to sing "garba" in which the

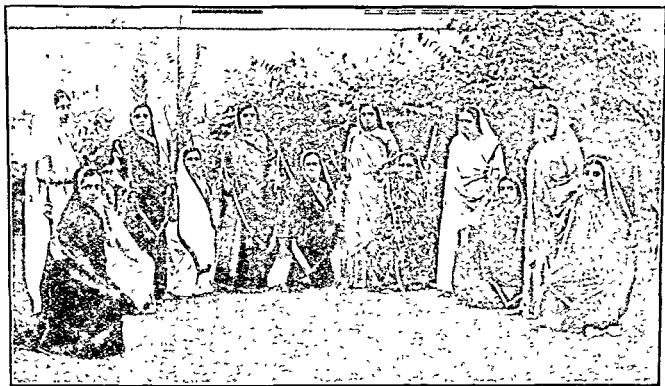


The Garba Dance

hostess or the principal lady of the house moves round with the "garbo" on her head. This ancient tradition is in existence in Gujarat till the present day. On the last day of the festival, that is on the night preceding Dasherā, "garbas" are sung all through the night and at dawn when the symbolic goddess is carried away, the "garbo" is also placed in the river. Those women who come to sing the "garbas" on all the nine days used to be given *potasas* (or round sugar-cakes). Gradually, however, these sweets came to be distributed in small

harmoniums are also played as accompaniments. These "garbas" are invocations to various goddesses such as Bhadra-Kālī, Bahucharajee, Ambajee and others. Here, as elsewhere, religion is an inspiration to art while the dance and the music are forms of expression of the religious emotion."

In Kathiawar, another variant of "garba" is also very popular, called the "rasa" (रस). This "rasa" had its origin in the celebrated "rasa" of Shree Krishna with his Radha and Gopees (or rustic maidens). In Kathiawar till the present day there are such mixed "rasas"



The Garba Dance—keeping time with sticks

brass vessels. This gift is called *lahani* (लहणी) and it is given away by the hostess on one day and by those among the women who are able to afford it on the remaining eight days by turns. During *Navarātra*, one hears these "garbas" sung at every street-corner in towns and in villages and this tradition has come down from very early days. These "garbas" are more or less public functions so that any women residing in the particular locality can participate in them while the men can come to see and hear them. The usual accompaniment to "garba" has been the *dholak* (दोलक Indian drum). Now-a-days, however, modern instruments like

in which men and women both take part. While women by themselves also sing these "garbas", it is of interest to note that men have also "rasa" of their own. The men have usually small wooden sticks with bells attached to them (called "dandies") by whose mutual c'ass they give time (*tal*) and moving

* Compare Havelock Ellis: "Dancing we may see throughout the world, has been so essential to fundamental, a part of all vital and undegenerate religion, that whenever a new religion appears, a religion of the spirit and not merely an ancient religion of the intellect, we should still have to ask of it the question of the Bantu: 'What do ye dance?' *Dance of Life*, p. 11.

(*Saris* whose patterns are prepared and which are coloured in Rajputana and Kathiawar) with golden and silver borders on them. As the "garbas" are usually sung at night, these bright colours of the women's dress look attractive. Women also put on silver anklets on their feet and their soft tinkling mingles with the sound of the music and produces a sweet melody.

In the "garba" there is colour and music,

grace and sweetness. It is a beautiful art-form and a unique mode of culture and self-expression of a people. It is common to the classes and the masses; a folk-dance no less than a dance of the educated and leisured classes. It is one of the joys of life, individual and collective, and one of the finest contributions of Gujarat to the artistic heritage of India

Art and Archaeology in the Far East

—French Contribution

By DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. D.LITT. (Paris)

THE study of Indian art and archaeology is undergoing a rapid and remarkable orientation. While it was possible for Mr. Havell and Mr. V. A. Smith to write elaborate histories of Indian art with only desultory allusions to Java or Cambodge, Coomaraswamy and his co-workers on the same field find it difficult not to devote a considerable part of their works to the detailed and intensive study of Far Eastern families of art and their Indian origins or affinities. It is no longer possible to discuss adequately the problems of Indian architecture, sculpture or iconography without reference to their vast Asiatic context. For nearly half a century the archaeological finds from Central Asia (Serindia), Indo-China and Indonesia have been collected, compared and studied by European scholars predominantly from the French, German and Dutch schools. The cumulative effect of their researches have been felt in a gradual development of a new taste for art forms, and a new canon of art criticism transcending the narrow limit of Graeco-Roman norms. Goethe and Hegel would have been surprised, nay shocked to find their modern descendants going into ecstacy over a Chinese landscape, a Japanese wood-carving, a Cambodging temple or a Javanese decorative motif. The Christian Gothic cathedral was a sufficient irritation to those nineteenth century aesthetes, what to speak of their feelings before a Khmer,

Angkor Vat or an Indonesian Prajnaparamita! Yet we must admit that a vast change, nay a veritable revolution has taken place in course of the last fifty years when Orient and Orientalism have come to deliver aesthetic and cultural values undreamt of by Hegel and his contemporaries.

India, what to speak of the general mass, even in her academic representatives, is not yet fully alive to the significance of this change in the angle of vision. That is why we shall attempt to give some idea about one or two centres of study out of which has emanated not only a wealth of cultural data but a new vision of India's rôle in the history of mankind. In a recent publication of the famous French School of Archaeology—*Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*—we read the following significant passage :—

"We feel here (in the appreciation of Oriental art) without doubt something more than a passing fad—a development of taste beyond the habits created by the canons of occidental classicism. These new tendencies go hand in hand with a truer vision, dawning gradually, about the place occupied by the Far East, in the general history of Indian civilization. For a long time India believed herself to be bounded by the coast lines of the peninsula. Today she has started casting her glance on the world colonized by her beyond her frontier, on her Golden

Chersonese (*Suvarna-bhumi*) and the Islands where so many and so beautiful works were born under her inspiration. And the time is not very far when the *clite* of New India will come to adore in Angkor, one of the noblest flowers of their national culture." (*Memoires Archeologiques*; Tome I p. vi.)

In the history of the progress of the *Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient* of Hanoi (Tonkin) we read the history of this progressive orientation. Ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century France took the lead in Oriental studies. The chance adventure of Napoleon in Egypt was the indirect cause of the epoch-making discovery of Champollion, and *Egyptology* at the beginning, was a French science. Keenly interested in Graeco-Roman culture as she was, France founded her schools of Athens and of Rome, but not stopping there she founded that excellent centre of Egyptian antiquities—the *Archaeological Institute of Cairo* with one of the finest museums in Asia.

So in two other important branches of Oriental studies. France had the honour of founding simultaneously in 1815 a chair of *Indology* under Eugène Burnouf and a chair of *Sinology* under Abbe Remusat in the *Collège de France*. With the consolidation of French Power in Indo-China France started her systematic examination of its antiquities by starting an Archaeological Commission (*La Commission Archeologique de l'Indo-Chine*) as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. Amidst heaps of antiquities Captain Etienne Aymonier discovered the most valuable links between India and Indo-China, the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Hindu colonies of Champa and Cambodia which were sent to the *Societe Asiatique* of Paris, which in its turn charged the then greatest Sanskritist, Abel Bergaigne, the friend of Mon. A. Barth and the guru of Mon. Sylvain Levi,* both of whom helped Bergaigne in his work. As the result of this happy collaboration two important *corpus* of the *Inscriptions* of Champa and of Cambodia were published between 1883 and 1893. Interest in Indology, especially in its epigraphic branch, was already intensified by the monumental study of Emile Senart, the *Inscriptions of Pridalasi* (1880-1886) and the name of Senart whose death

(1828) at the ripe old age of 81, we are mourning, came to be associated soon with the foundation of the famous *Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient** M. Paul Doumer, Governor-General of Indo-China, conceived in 1898 the idea of founding a regular French school of Archaeology for the Far East and sought the advice and collaboration of Mon. Senart and two of his friends, Mon. Auguste Barth, the famous author of the "Religion of India" and Mon. Michel Breal, the great philologist of the University of Paris. There was once a talk of locating this research centre in Chandernagor, but financial arrangements proved unsatisfactory and the generous offer of Governor Doumer settled the question of the seat of the school. India lost and Indo-China gained by that decision, and while the research centre was organized in the far away French colony, its scientific control was vested in the renowned *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* of the French Institute. The Academy recommended and the Governor-General ratified the appointment of M. Louis Finot as the first Director of the new School of Archaeology and gave him as assistants M. Antonin Cabaton as secretary and librarian, and Captain Lunet de Lajouquier as the archaeologist. The party arrived in Saigon January 1899 and started the work of preliminary survey. That being over, the party got the sanction of the authorities to make a tour through the Islands of Java and Bali with a view to study the ways and means of organizing the conservation work, the library, the museum, after consulting the expert Dutch workers in the same field working in the renowned *Society of Arts and Sciences of Batavia*, the oldest Asiatic Society in the East. On their return journey from Indonesia M. Finot surveyed the monuments of the Hindu colony of Champa, visiting the temples of Panduranga (Phamang) of Po-Nagar (Nhatrang), the Buddhist monasteries of Dong-Duong and Mi-Son and the grottoes of Phong-wha. On the 20th of January 1900 just thirty years ago, the temporary Archaeological Commission was given the permanent status and name: *Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient*, which began in right earnest its career of signal success in the domain of Far Eastern Art and Archaeology. An Act for the preserva-

* Vido Nag: Sylvain Levi and the Science of Indology, *Modern Review*, 1921 (December).

* Vido Nag: Emile Senart Indian Historical Quarterly, June, 1929.

of monuments was passed to stop further pillaging of antiquities and the *Ecole* penetrated Laos to collect Laotian manuscripts and to study the relationship of the art of Laos with that of Cambodia.

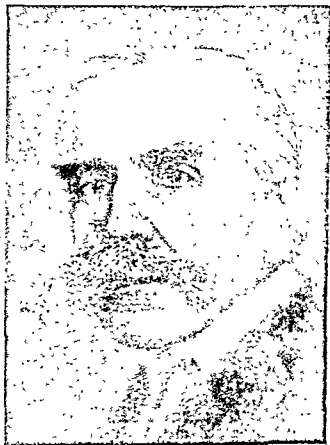
Meanwhile M. Paul Pelliot, a brilliant scholar from the French School of Oriental Languages (*Ecole des Langues Orientales*) arrived in Hanoi (Tonkin) January 1900, and with all the audacity of a genius gave a new turn to the activities of the School. In May 1900, the Boxer rebellion took a dangerous appearance, and Pelliot, a versatile Sinologist offered his services to the French Legation in Peking, and with the passing away of the political storm, Pelliot brought a rich harvest of Chinese manuscripts, paintings and other art objects which have become the cherished treasures of the museum of Hanoi and of the Louvre (Paris).

The tropical climate told upon the health of Mon. Cabaton and he returned to France working thenceforward to publish several volumes on Indo-Chinese languages and antiquities. He was succeeded by Jean Commaillie, who later on published *The excellent Guide to the Ruins of Angkor* (1912) and also by M. Henri Parmentier, whose contributions to Indo-Chinese archaeology had made the name of the School famous all over the world.

In July 1900 appeared the first publication of the School, a study in numismatics, *the Coins and Medals of Annam and Cochinchina*, by M. Lacroix and in 1901, before M. Finot could procure for himself a little holiday in Paris after the strenuous work, he had the satisfaction of establishing the museum and the library and of publishing the first volume of the Bulletin of the School, which has since then become an indispensable guide to all students of Far Eastern art and antiquities. In the very first volume which printed letters from Barth, Breal and Senart, we find articles that are of abiding interest to us. M. Finot wrote on the "Religion of Champa according to the monuments." M. Parmentier discussed the "General character of Cham architecture" and M. Foucher who came from Paris to act in the place of M. Finot on leave, wrote his illuminating "Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhara," proving Afghanistan to be a great cultural centre and pilgrim path of ancient India.

During the year that M Foucher acted as Director, (1901-1902), M. Pelliot brought from China the second collection of Tibetan,

Mongol and Chinese manuscripts, paintings, porcelains and jades, and thus the museum was enriched beyond expectation. The same year M.M. Dufour and Carpeux started surveying and photographing the grand temple of Cambodia, *Angkor Thom* or *Bayon* and the documents were published in Paris in two vols. (1910-13). Mon. Foucher on his way back to Paris visited Bangkok and published notes on the temples, museums



Emile Senart

and libraries of that city in the second volume of the Bulletin (1902) which also published the first of the series of masterly articles by M. Sylvain Levi on "Chinese notes on India."

In Nov. 1902 there was the Colonial Exhibition at Hanoi and M. Pelliot who was busy arranging the Tibetan Tanjur and Kanjur, the Mongolian Kanjur and the Chinese Encyclopaedia, was appointed Secretary of the Orientalists' Congress. The most remarkable result of this Exhibition was the meeting of the first Congress of Far Eastern Studies held in Dec. 1902 in which six Governments and numerous representatives of

learned societies participated. The Dutch East Indies was represented by Dr. Brandes, Siam by Col. Gerini and Japan by Dr. Takakusu who later on contributed in the Bulletin (1901) of the School his valuable study on the "Chinese version of Samkhya philosophy." The Congress worked in four primary sections; India, China, Japan and Indo-China. Thus the School had the privilege of inaugurating the first Pan-Asiatic Congress of academic collaboration.

In March 1907 a new Franco-Siamese treaty modified the map of Cambodia so that the marvellous monuments of Angkor were placed under the expert care of the French archaeologists. Elaborate preparations were made for a thorough exploration of the sites and for the last twenty years the School have been publishing monographs and memoirs on those marvels of Indo-Khmer art and we are glad to handle this year, thanks to the loving industry of Mon. Finot, Parmentier and Victor Goloubew, two sumptuous volumes on the bas-reliefs of *Angkor Vat*, showing what a phenomenal activity in art creation resulted from the rapprochement of Indian and Khmer cultures.

Similarly the grand history of the cultural and artistic efflorescence as the result of the collaboration of India and China for over a thousand years was studied amongst others by Prof. Paul Pelliot, Sylvain Levi and above all, by Edouard Chavannes. In the beginning of 1907 Chavannes started on his memorable archaeological voyage through Trans-Siberia, Kai-fong, Honan-fu, Si-ngnan-fu, Lungmen etc., famous for the relics of Buddhist religion and art of the Wei and the T'ang Dynasties. Pure Sinological contribution apart, the value of Chavannes' works to Indologists has been eloquently appreciated by Sylvain Levi in his article "La Part de l'Indianisme dans l'Oeuvre de Chavannes" (*Bulletin Archeologique du Musée Guimet* Fascicule 1. 1921.)

In 1908 Indo-Chinese history and philology came to find its honoured place in the foundation of a special chair at the College de France, and the experienced savant-director of the School, M. Finot, was invited to occupy the same. The relation between the scholarly group of Franco and Indo-China became more and more intimate and brilliant young scholars like Mon. Huber, translator of the Chinese *Sutralankara* of Asvaghosa, Jules Bloch, author of the first historical grammar of

Marathi, Maitre and Peri, copious contributors on Japanese subjects, Henri Maspero and L. Arousseau, Sinologists, Georges Coedès, the renowned scholar of Sri Vijaya fame, Ch. Duroiselle of the Archaeological Survey of Burma, Henri Marchal, the architect, and Victor Goloubew, the famous editor of the *Ars Asiatica* series have, amongst a host of silent and sound workers, helped in the rearing of the superb edifice of Far Eastern Archaeology, with India as the golden thread running through and connecting all.

In Serindian or Central Asian studies M. Pelliot through his successive missions and excursions, contributed as much to the Museums as to the scholarly journals like *T'ung Pao* and the Bulletin of the School. The documents of *Mission Pelliot* (1906-1909) are as yet far from being completely edited or published. Mon. S. Levi and Prof. Meillet had edited and commented upon a few texts and M. Pelliot has published a few volumes of his album on the paintings of the grotto of the Thousand Buddhas (Touen Huang). His researches and discoveries were of so great an importance that a special chair of Central Asian history, archaeology and languages was created in Collège de France in 1911, and ever since that date M. Pelliot is lecturing on that most fascinating branch of Asiatic history.

From 1911-12 the *Ecole* was reinforced by the services of an indefatigable worker, Mon. Georges Coedès. As early as 1908 he had published the excellent "Inventory of the Inscriptions of Champa and of Cambodia" and ever since he continued to publish solid studies on the art, archaeology and folklore of Indo-China, till in 1918 he managed to identify the long-forgotten Hindu empire of *Sri Vijaya* (Sumatra-Java) and earned the gratitude of the whole world of Indologists.

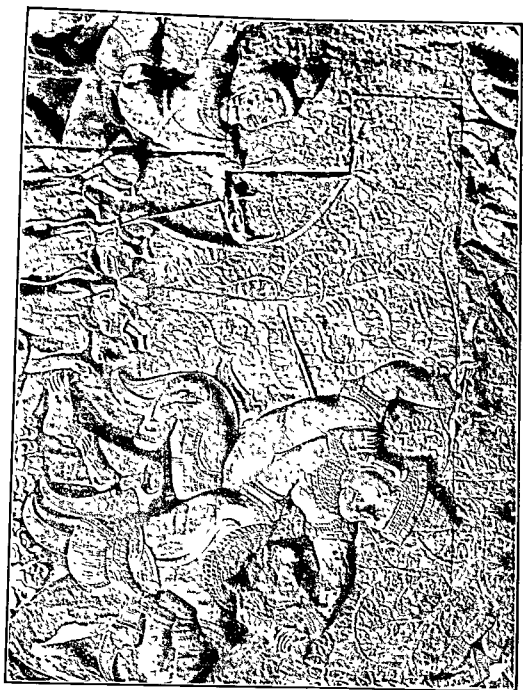
The first Sanskrit inscription of Indo-China was edited by the Dutch scholar H. Kern before the *Ecole* was properly organized. M. Coedès returned the courtesy by adding a new chapter to the history of *Insulinidia* which the Dutch scholars like Krom, Vogel and others are developing in right earnest. The *Bulletin* and its rich monographs apart, the *Ecole* has published in course of the last quarter of a century, works of paramount importance. The entire problem of Graeco-Buddhist art has been dealt with by M. Foucher in his own masterly style in three volumes (*L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhara*, Tome I 1905 II (i) 1918 II (ii)

is impossible to expect that, in India, before at least half a century, adequate funds would be available to pay for a universal primary education. In the meantime, the graphic Arts may be utilized as an effective medium for both primary and higher education. By an intelligent adjustment of the current scheme of studies and of the available funds, it is possible to substitute for book lessons visual instruction. And even for subjects like History, Geography, and the Elementary Science courses for the schools very effective and enjoyable circulating lantern lectures could be substituted under the guidance of expert professors in a suitably designed scheme organized by the university staff, which may do away altogether with a large number of uneducated and ill-trained teachers, who, at present, are entrusted to thrust down the throats of our young boys and girls in a very dry, uncongenial and mechanical manner the rudimentary facts of History, Geography and the Sciences. In an hour's illustrated lecture with the help of a few pictures, accompanied by a little reading matter to be provided by an expert, through a central organization, the rudimentary matters of History and the Sciences could be graphically, agreeably and impressively conveyed to a group of classes which usually take months of painful memorizing to master. Education through the eyes is education without tears, and is undoubtedly the quickest, the pleasantest and the cheapest mode of instruction and edification. This form of education will afford a healthy and easy training of the visual faculty and a valuable initiation into the art and the science of seeing. This 'learning to see' will open out new windows to the human mind and make accessible to us the great heritages of human culture recorded in the aesthetic scripts of the plastic arts, ancient and modern, apart from the joy which will come to us through the *seeing eyes*, that is the eyes trained to take in *what eye can see*. For a lack of this development of the seeing faculty, the faculty of our god-gifted aesthetic vision, most of our post-graduate researches in history and antiquities are barren of the joys of aesthetic pleasures divorced from the thrilling contact with spirituality which is conveyed through the knowledge of Beauty.

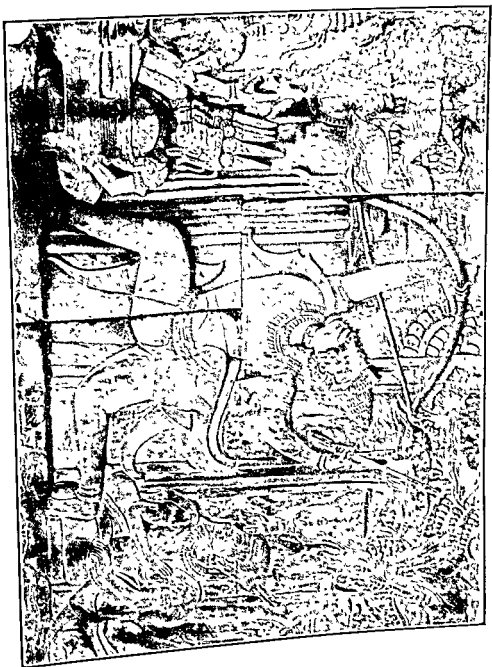
Art, and the language of art, call to the spirit to soar into "pure realms" where self is forgotten; where through the contemplation of Beauty, the spirit may, for an

instant, lose itself in the Infinite. In all contemplation of works of art, the beholder is from himself set free (*moksha*), and in the temporary negation of his finite existence is made to feel the pleasures of the Infinite—the flavour of the Divinity (*Raso vai sah*).

A work of Art has to be judged not as material for history, belonging to this epoch or that, or as specimen of antiquarian data, it must be judged as a work of art, in its inherent aesthetic qualities, its peculiar plastic forms, its significant emotive values, as an impassioned plastic utterance of man in moments of supreme spiritual exaltation. The key to this appreciation is furnished by a familiarity with the language of line and forms, the laws of rhythm and spacing the general principles of graphic composition and designs, in a word, the complicated language and the grammar of linear and plastic form, a language which has a vocabulary of its own, with its own system of syntax and prosody, as rich and variegated as any of the language of our spoken words. In this sense there is no universal language for the graphic Arts. And we have to learn laboriously the peculiar language, vocabulary, the peculiar structure and intonation of each school of painting or sculpture, just as we have to learn, by painstaking efforts, the different families of the spoken and written languages. Our experience and knowledge of Renaissance painting cannot help us to understand the meaning and significance of the Chinese schools of painting, just as our knowledge of Greek and Greco-Roman sculpture cannot help us to unlock the mystery of the French Gothic school. Our knowledge of the manners and mannerisms of the Dutch schools of painting with their photographic verisimilitude is a misleading guide to an understanding of the vigorous splendours of the primitive *Rajini* pictures, or the intriguing beauty of the illustrated Jaina manuscripts. The language of each particular school of art and its branches is the product of its peculiar culture, racial environment, and tradition, the alphabet and the vocabulary of which have to be carefully learnt and assimilated. The various forms of the language of Indian Art, with their dialects and sub-dialects require careful study and analysis on the basis of their linear and plastic qualities, and unless the importance of this study is recognized in the universities the rich treasures of Indian Art are likely to remain, as they still remain



RELIEF FROM ANGKOR VAT
Historical Gallery, Pavilion of the S.-W. Angle



RELIEF FROM ANGKOR VAT
Historical Gallery, Pavilion of the N.-W. Angle

1922) M. Chavannes' precious discoveries were published in "*Mission archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale*" (1913-1915). The monumental bibliographical dictionary of M. Henri Cordier was published in four volumes as *Bibliotheca Indosinica* between 1912-1914.

The war naturally interrupted for a while these fruitful activities, still the sympathy for and solidarity of the *Ecole* was amply testified by the publication of two valuable collections of monographs named *Etudes Asiatique*, in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the School. To this volume, old masters like Senart and Sylvain Levi sent their contributions as well as the newer generation of scholars like M. Aourousseau, Demieville, Przyluski, Marchal, and connecting the two generations stood the veteran Director M. Louis Finot whose modesty is as deep as his spirit is large and who has given his whole life to the organization, stabilization and development of the *Ecole*. Privileged to watch him working in his cultural laboratory of Hanoi during my visit in 1924, I can say that I have rarely seen an institution so modest in its external paraphernalia and yet so far-reaching in its beneficial and creative activities with regard to the elucidation of the intricate problems of Asiatic culture and its relation with India and Indology. The library that M. Finot has built up is a veritable symbol of the protean face of Asia! The museum is a glory to Asiatic genius in art plastic as well as decorative. The newly-founded museum of *Phnom Penh*, and the enthusiastic collaboration of M. Groslier had combined to make the special contributions of Cambodia, past as well as present, live before our eyes. M. Groslier *Directeur des Arts Cambodgiens* is not only trying to revive the arts and crafts of Cambodia through an excellent school at *Phnom Penh*, he has published remarkable books like *Recherches sur les Cambodgiens* (Paris 1921), *Art et Archéologie Khmers* etc., to focuss new light on the history and technique of that great branch of Asiatic art Khmer art definitely established its claim upon the attention of experts and connoisseurs of Paris, thanks to the excellent presentation of the documents in the *Musée Guimet* of Paris which in its *Bibliothèque du Vulgarisation* has published an original and bold study of a rising art critic M. Philippe Stern : *Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'évolution de l'Art*

Khmer (1927) forcing us to reconsider the chronology of the Indo-Khmer monuments. M. G. Coedès whose valuable services were lent to the Archaeological Department of the Siam Government and who, having worked as the Librarian of the Vajirajana Library of Bangkok, is now occupying the honoured position of the Secretary of the *Royal Institute of Siam*, is still contributing valuable articles to the Bulletin (Vide *Le Date du Bayon*, in the latest number of the Bulletin E. F. Ex. O. 1929.) His presence in Siam is responsible for a series of valuable papers on the art and archaeology of the only nation that considers Buddhism as its national religion to-day.

The chief of the Archaeological service, M. Parmentier who by his industry and insight is the *architect* in the real sense of the term, of his department, is as active and brilliant as ever. He has opened quite a new vista of research into the comparative evolution of the Hindu and Far Eastern architecture by his monograph, *Origine Commune des architectures Hindoues dans l'Inde et en Extrême Orient* (1925) and also by his *l'Art Khmer Primitif* (1927)

An art critic and photographer of rare taste, M. Victor Goloubew, whose passion for Indian art brought him to photograph the frescoes of Ajanta years ago, is also a great asset to the *Ecole*. As the editor of the famous *Asiatica* series he had already rendered a signal service to the study of oriental art by publishing splendid photogravure reproductions of the masterpieces of the different families of Asiatic art. In collaboration with Mon. Parmentier and Finot he published recently the superb memoir on the *Temple of Isvarapura* (Paris 1926) and this year two volumes in the *Bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat*, the veritable marvel of Asiatic art creation.

While concluding this tribute, on behalf of Indian scholarship, to these noble scholars of the French School of Archaeology I read in the latest instalment of its Bulletin the valuable notes of M. Finot on some new inscriptions of Cambodia—a study which he has made his own as much by his profound knowledge of the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages and epigraphy as by his scrupulously scientific method. How after over thirty years of strenuous service under the trying climate of Indo-China, he is continuing with unabated enthusiasm the decipherment of these positive documents

of Indian cultural expansion in the Far East—unknown *Raghu-rasas* unwritten by any Indo-colonial Kalidas !

“विक्रमावजिताम्योधि परित्वावनिमगदलः ।
श्रीश्यामवर्मस्यभद्र राजा विष्णुरिवापरः ॥”

Inscriptions from Sambor I. 2.

The Political Situation in the Punjab

By KALINATH RAY

Editor, *The Tribune*

THE political situation in the Punjab on the eve of what is undoubtedly one of the most important sessions of the Indian National Congress, ever held, is incomparably more difficult and complicated than in any province in which a session of the Congress was held in the past. The Punjab bureaucracy, easily the worst in all India, has always been hostile to the Congress and indeed to all national activities that have it for their object to replace the present alien Government by a Government responsible to the people. Governors have come and Governors have gone, but the policy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who made no secret of his intention of making the Punjab India's Ulster, remains unaltered. Neither the Government of India Act of 1919, nor the advent of the Labour Government has made any difference to the position. The policy of repression was never more active than now. In no previous period of the Punjab history, barring the never-to-be-forgotten days of the Rowlatt Bill agitation and martial law, did the police and the executive deal in a more autocratic or more high-handed manner with public movements and public workers than they have done during the last two years. Is there a single case on record, even in the Punjab's own past history in which the police made a savage physical assault on a universally respected political leader of all-India rank and of international reputation like Lala Lajpat Rai ? Turning to affairs of another kind, what other Government in the country could have rejected the application of the Reception Committee for a site for the Congress which would from all points of view have been most suitable, the Minto Park ? The

site actually granted though not till after protracted negotiation, the Dane Park, is not bad ; but, if for nothing else, for its nearness to the river, it is scarcely as good a site as the Minto Park in what is undoubtedly the coldest part of the year, especially from the point of view of Bengal, Madras and Bombay delegates. Similarly, difficulties were sought to be placed by the bureaucratic head of the Sanitation department in the path of the medical officer in charge of sanitary arrangements in Lajpat Rai Nagar carrying out his scheme ; but here the minister for Local self-government happily intervened in time and prevented what would otherwise have become a most unpleasant, not to say ugly, situation. In the matter of a site for Lala Lajpat Rai's statue the attitude of the bureaucracy has been even worse. Not only has there been an excess of red-tapism in a matter which any Government with a grain of sympathy, imagination and common sense would have settled without any resort to formalities, but the procedure followed has been even more dilatory than even bureaucratic procedure usually is. As a matter of fact, no decision has been arrived at up to the time of writing (December 15), though the date originally fixed and long ago announced and intimated to the Government is only ten days hence. The worst part of the thing is that, for reasons which are on the face of them absurd, the Government have rejected the recommendation of the Municipal Committee for a site which would from every possible point of view have been the best and most appropriate. From whatever standpoint the matter may be looked at, the administration in this province is still as wooden, as iron, as inelastic and ante-

diluvian as when Mr. Montagu justly applied these epithets to the administration of India as a whole in a famous speech.

So much about the immediate past. What is likely to happen during the next fortnight it is impossible to forecast. The signs are undoubtedly ominous. It is a matter of common knowledge that strenuous efforts have been and are being made to prevent students from offering their services as volunteers and Government servants from attending any function connected with the Congress. Even as regards the Exhibition, which Government servants have always and everywhere attended, no definite declaration has so far been made by Government, permitting its servants to attend it. It is absurd to say that no such declaration is needed. The Government's own attitude has made it necessary. Have they not, for the first time this year in the province, prohibited their departments from sending samples of their products to the Exhibition? And is it not within their knowledge that the circulars issued by them have created a doubt in the minds of many of their employees as to whether the Exhibition, which is undoubtedly held under the auspices of the Congress, is as much out of bounds for them as the Congress itself? Again, it has been reported in newspapers without, so far as I am aware, eliciting any contradiction from the Government or its publicity department, that villagers have been warned not to come to Lahore during the Congress week and have been plainly told that there may be trouble. On the top of all this, the Government have got a Legislature, notorious for its subserviency, to make a supplementary grant of nearly a lakh of rupees to meet the cost of maintenance of a large contingent of additional police in connection with the Congress. The ostensible ground of this addition is the prevention of mischief by unruly sections of the population, who, according to the spokesmen of the Government in the legislature, usually mix themselves up on such occasions with persons only remotely connected with the political movement. But who does not know that, in the opinion of the Punjab bureaucracy, there is no mischief worse than political agitation itself, and there are not a more mischievous set of men in the whole country than Congress men? It is the height of disingenuousness, to say the least of it, after having professed your anxiety all this time to protect the law-abiding sections of the people

from being interfered with by Congress men and other political workers to suddenly turn round and profess your anxiety to protect Congress men themselves from being interfered with by mischievous intruders! Every peace-loving man hopes with all his heart that the cloud that envelops the political sky at this moment will pass away. But if this happens, it will be largely on account of that sense of discipline and self-restraint which has always characterized Congress men on such occasions and which may be trusted to make it impossible even for a police like ours to find occasions for interfering with the proceedings of the Congress.

But the difficulties of the ensuing Congress are not due wholly to the attitude of the Government. The differences among the people of the province themselves are a no less disturbing factor. There is perhaps no other province in which the position of the Congress, which stands and has always stood for national unity, is so difficult in this respect as in the Punjab. Of the three principal communities that inhabit this province not one can be said to be generally or wholeheartedly with the Congress.

The Muslims in the Punjab, as elsewhere, perhaps more than anywhere else, describe the Congress as a Hindu or, as they now call it, a Mahasabhaite organization. With the more intelligent among them, this is no better than a pose, but the less intelligent many, who matter a great deal more than the intelligent few, have been successfully duped into believing what the others only pretend to believe. On the other hand, the Hindus in the Punjab openly accuse the Congress of being a pro-Muslim organization. It is a matter of common knowledge that some years ago they actually boycotted the Congress, and the Hindu Sabha movement, which had its origin the Punjab, was as much a revolt against the Congress as it was an answer to the Muslim League. When the present writer came to the Punjab in 1913 the Hindus of this province were mostly out of the Congress. It was only by a slow and painful process that the few ardent Congress men in the province, led by Lala Duni Chand, aided partly by the growing volume of nationalist opinion outside the province and partly by Sir Michael O'Dwyer's policy of stern and ruthless repression, succeeded in winning over a considerable part of the Hindu as well as a small portion of the Muslim and the Sikh community to

the Congress. Then came the avalanche of Martial Law and Jallianwalla Bagh, which swept away so many old landmarks, and for a time it looked as though the Punjab was going ever afterwards to be as much a stronghold of the Congress and of nationalism as any other province. The Amritsar Congress and the Hindu-Mahomedan-Sikh *entente* of the early days of the non-co-operation movement were the direct outcome, as they were the visible expression of this change.

But the dream was shortlived. Those who had expected the effects of the commingling of blood at Jallianwalla Bagh to become permanent, as well as those who had expected a marvel from the negative policy of non-co-operation, had both reckoned without the potent weapon which the bureaucracy had in the Reforms with their policy of communal division. Wielded with remarkable ability and with a zeal worthy of a better cause by Sir Fazli Hussain, who, with all his past record of service, consented to make himself, unwittingly perhaps, a tool in the hands of the bureaucracy, it soon succeeded in undoing all the good work done by Martial Law and non-co-operation, and long before non-co-operation was suspended in the country as a whole, the Hindus and Muslims in the Punjab once again stood sharply divided. Men who had in the past fought desperately for what they believed to be the cause of their religion, now began to fight even more desperately for political power for themselves and their community. What might under different circumstances have been a great source of strength to the country and a great source of weakness to the bureaucracy, because the desire for freedom and political power increases with the actual enjoyment of it—no matter on how limited a scale—thus became a source of great weakness to the country and of great strength to the bureaucracy.

The position was further complicated by the fact that there were three principal communities in the province, and not two, as in all other provinces, and that the third, as in all other provinces, was numerically weak, was politically and historically as important as the other two. The Sikhs had indeed never been in the Congress, and, until some years ago, had resolutely stood aloof from the national movement. Even at

the time of the Lucknow Congress, they were still politically inert and consequently in the division of representation made in the Lucknow pact, their claims were absolutely ignored. But the political consciousness that came in the wake of the Reforms, non-co-operation and of the struggle for the emancipation of Gurdwaras, made them at once a factor to reckon with. It was not, indeed, to be expected that a community which only three quarters of a century ago had ruled the Punjab would remain an indifferent spectator when its two sister communities, both of which had a short time before been under its heels, were struggling for political ascendancy in the province. The result might have been foreseen. There ensued a triangular contest, each of the three parties to which naturally and necessarily played the bureaucracy's game, and the bureaucracy itself either looked on the animated struggle as an interested spectator, or, as it did occasionally, used one or other of the three parties for its own purpose. The Congress alone saw through the whole game and stood resolutely aloof from it; but in their mad rage for communal self-aggrandizement or communal self-defence, all three communities mistook its impartiality for indifference and in some cases for actual hostility.

The present position of each of the three communities may be briefly indicated. The large majority of politically-minded Mussalmans not only want an absolute majority of seats in the Legislature but want their representatives to be returned by separate communal electorates. The large majority of both the Hindus and the Sikhs professedly desire the abolition of communal representation from the country as a whole, but if communal representation remains, they would have their position safeguarded in the way in which the position of the Muslims is safeguarded in the predominantly Hindu provinces. Between them, these two communities appear to have come to an agreement on the basis of the suggestion made originally by some Sikhs.

In order that no one community in the provinces may be in an absolute majority—a point on which they are desperately keen—they want that the Muslims should have something like 40 per cent representation and the remaining 60 per cent representation should be divided between them in a reason-

able proportion, which the Sikhs suggest should be half and half. All three parties are equally opposed to the Nehru report, although that report, so far as their own province is concerned, gives them substantially what they want. The Muslims forget that that report assures to them the 56 per cent representation they want if the Muslim electors prefer to be represented by none but Muslims. The Hindus and the Sikhs forget that in the Punjab at any rate, there will be no communal representation in any shape or form under the Nehru scheme, and that given the requisite mentality on their own side they have now for the first time in many years an opportunity of developing a true spirit of nationalism among the electorate.

It thus happens that each of the three communities, viewed as communities, has practically addressed an ultimatum to the ensuing Congress. "Give us our 56 per cent representation, or you must count not only on our aloofness but our hostility," say the Muslims. "Give us what you have given to the Muslims in the predominantly Hindu provinces, or admit that you are a pro-Muslim and anti-Hindu organization," say the Hindu communalists. "Give us the same weightage that Muslim minorities now have in other provinces" say the bulk of the Sikh community. The position of the Muslims is that as a majority community they would under no circumstances accept the position of a minority or even an equal position with the other communities combined. On the other hand, the Hindus and Sikhs would under no circumstances, live under the rule of a communal majority. It is between these two diametrically opposite

positions that the poor Congress is expected to strike a compromise, and if it fails to do so, all three communities, each for its own reason and from its own point of view, would fall foul of it. Never did a political body find itself in a more difficult or more unenviable position. And the worst of it is that none of the three contending parties would offer any active help to the Congress in accomplishing its impossible task. For the moment all three communities as communities stand aloof from it, those sections of them that are with the Congress being openly accused by their respective communities of betraying the best interests of their co-religionists. If the Congress is wise, it must resolutely stand by the substance of the Nehru solution, which, now, as ever, offers the only basis of agreement. As regards the alternatives offered by the communities themselves, suffice it to say that there is not a single Muslim in all India who will accept the Hindu-Sikh solution of 40 per cent representation for the Muslims in the Punjab, and not a single Hindu or Sikh who will accept the Muslim solution of an absolute Muslim majority in the Council returned by separate Muslim electorates. As compared with these, the Nehru solution has this great advantage that it can claim its supporters among all three communities, and is besides based on principles which are undeniably sound. Let this solution be altered in detail, if necessary, and if it is possible so to alter it as to make it acceptable to a larger proportion of all three communities. But for the moment no such solution is before the public.

REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS



[Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

MALABAR AND THE PORTUGUESE (1500-1663),
by K. M. Panikkar. (Tarapurvala, Bombay), pp.
XVI+221. Rs. 6.

Malabar, as the seat of Portuguese Power in India lasted barely ten years. Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut in 1498; Goa was occupied by the Portuguese in 1510 and shortly afterwards became the capital of their "State of India." Their flag disappeared from Malabar in 1662, when Quilon and Cochin were lost to the Dutch. But in spite of the very limited scope of Mr. Panikkar's book, it is a type of research work which other Indian historical writers would do well to imitate. A more elaborate and extensive quarrying among the original Portuguese sources than he has attempted, would, no doubt, have supplied a longer narrative, but one almost obscured by an overwhelming mass of minute details and criticism of evidence,—which would have killed the book, except as a work of occasional reference to the specialist out to verify a name or a date.

Mr. Panikkar, on the other hand, has wisely given a short narrative, complete in outline, but which has enriched it by adding—what is more precious and seen in so few of our countrymen's research works,—namely, the lessons of that narrative or the philosophy of Indo-Portuguese history, with a surprising degree of freshness of outlook and independence of judgment, which will secure his readers' assent as to the truth of his conclusions.

He proves how, contrary to the popular belief, "the Portuguese had at no time an empire in India" (p. 197)—but only "held a few fortresses on the coast", and that their supremacy was entirely on the sea and their fall also, therefore, "a matter of naval power." The whole of the two final chapters (XIII and XIV) is packed full of highly instructive and thoughtful reflections on the causes of the failure of the Portuguese and the social and political changes wrought by them in Malabar.

We are told how the reduction of Egypt into a subject province of Turkey and Turkey's European ambitions removed the only Asiatic rival of the Portuguese in the Indian seas and made the predominance of the latter in these waters possible (p. 198)—how the Portuguese, though their governors and settlements were never properly solvent, did greatly promote Indian trade by opening the world market to our products (such as pepper, cardamom, cinnamon, and ginger)—how they introduced tobacco and *kishu*, and immensely extended the cocoa-nut cultivation for coir ropes. The moral canker of the Portuguese administration is graphically described in pp. 200-202.

The reaction of Portuguese rule on Western India resulted in

(a) the increased power of the smaller chiefs as against the hegemony of the Zamorin, i.e. decentralization, national weakness and endless local feuds (p. 206).

(b) the increase of wealth and the spread of luxury among the Indians, e.g. "the construction of houses on European models became fashionable" (p. 208).

(c) the old methods of Malabar warfare underwent a great change, fire-arms became common and fortifications were undertaken in a more systematic manner (p. 209).

The author concludes by holding that the Portuguese cannot be considered as the pioneers of civilization and the forerunners of the British empire (p. 211) because "the relations between Portugal and India were barren of cultural or political results" (p. 212).

The beautiful and clear printing of the Basil Mission Press, Mangalore, deserves high praise: the margins are spacious. We have noticed only a few errors: p. 76 line 10 for *were read* was: *read*; p. 18 for *Diogo read* *Hogo*, p. 139 for *Khwan read* *Khway*. On p. viii *Sarandip* is an oversight for *Soudip* (at the mouth of the Ganges) *too* finds no entry in the Index.

J. SARKAR

HISTORY OF THE PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT, WITH A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE GROWTH OF URDU LANGUAGE, PART I. BARC. By M. Abdul Ghani. (Indian Press. Allahabad), pp. 160.

The author has clearly gone beyond his depth in attempting such a vast and difficult, but extremely important subject with the equipment which the present little sketch shows him to possess. It is a commonplace of philology (though evidently unknown to Mr. Ghani) that the affinity or otherwise of two languages is determined solely by their grammatical structure and idiom, and not at all by their store of words or vocabulary,—tens of thousands of which may be borrowed by one language from another without making the former in any way a branch of the latter. Urdu is, therefore, a derivative of Hindi and not of Persian, according to the science of language. A deep knowledge of comparative philology, in addition to that of Hindi in the earlier stages of its growth, is the equipment indispensably necessary for writing a true and scientific history of the growth of the Urdu language. The mere mastery of Persian, coupled with the railway traveller's Hindi, will not do.

Barc lists of the names of Persian writers who were patronized by Babur, as given by this author, are useless. There is no proof that all of them lived in India and were influenced in any way by the Indian environment;—for otherwise India cannot claim them. As Prof. Browne has pointed out in the last volume of his *Literary History of Persia*, Persian poetry from the 13th to the 18th century was so conventional and so thoroughly uninfluenced by the author's place and time that if you conceal the author's name and references (if any) to known historical personages, then it is impossible to say from the style whether a particular poem was written in the 13th century or four hundred years later.

The lists of Persian words naturalized in Hindi (and of Sanskrit or Hindi words used in Urdu), which our author gives, are equally uninforming. We refer him to Earle's *Philology of the English Tongue* for an example of the proper way to extract the history of the interaction of culture from a study of words. There the loan-words from Latin (or Norman-French) are grouped according to subjects (such as Law, the Church, hunting, &c.) so that we can see at once what branch of English life was a gift of the foreigners and what department of the people's activity retained its indigenous s'amp most. And lists of native words still current in each subject, should be placed side by side with the foreign loan-words, so that we can judge the *proportion* of the foreign influence in any particular branch.

Our author does nothing of the kind. He does not, also, realize that the use of Indian caste or professional names and purely technical words in Ibn Batuta's book can in no sense be taken as an example of the influence of Hindi on Persian (in this case, to be exact, on Arabic, because Ibn Batuta did not write in Persian). His assertion that in the reign of Shah Jahan "the literate people did not think it derogatory to use Urdu in their private correspondence" (p. 60) is opposed to historical evidence. The English of this book is often ungrammatical.

We trust that the publication of jejune and trite

books of this kind will not stand in the way of the production of a truly scientific study of the origin and growth of the Urdu language and the cultural interaction between India and Persia in the Mughal age.

S.

HINDU ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS: By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M. A. Lecturer in Indian History, University of Madras. Published by the University of Madras, 1929. Price Rs. 6 Pp. 340.

Mr. Dikshitar has written a critique on constitutional history of the Hindus. He has reviewed the current text-books on the subject in an intelligent manner. His chapter on 'Military Organization', though misplaced, is an original contribution. The author has omitted in his survey a useful book, viz., Mr. N. C. Bandopadhyaya's *Hindu Polity*.

I am glad to find a serious student of the subject in Mr. Dikshitar. His book will be found helpful by the teachers of the subject. The author has critically noticed the mistakes of Dr. Ghoshal and Dr. Law (pp. 123-124, 157). His view on the verses given in the *Arthashastra* (X. 3) that they are quotations is sound. The feature of the work is the comparison of Sanskrit or northern institutions with the Tamil institutions.

K. P. J.

TEACHINGS OF THE UPANISHADS: By Hem Chandra Sarkar, M. A., D. D. Published by Miss Sakuntala Rao, M. A., Secretary Ram Mohan Roy Publication Society, 210-6, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.

In this small book the author has tried to give us an account of the teachings of the Upanishads. The book is obviously written for English-speaking people but unfortunately the author's mode of expression in certain places will not be understood by European readers who are unfamiliar with the Indian way of thinking. The author thinks that "the Upanishads are more of the nature of a side current than the main march of the national mind." He forgets that the Upanishads provide the ideal towards which the main currents of Indian social, religious and philosophical thoughts run. The mythology of the Puranas, the Brahmanical legends, and the hundred and one different forms of religious practices which come under the category of Hinduism really all have as their ultimate goal the realization of the Self which is also the main thesis of the Upanishads. It is, therefore, wrong to say that "the Upanishads are really a protest against the Vedic cult."

His bias for Christian Theology is traceable in his efforts to co-relate certain Upanishadic utterances with the tenets of Christianity. He deduces on insufficient evidence that the Christian doctrine of Election has been anticipated in the 'Mundak' Upanishad; he further tries to interpret 'anandam' of the Upanishads in terms of Love. He has failed to understand the significance of some portions of certain Upanishads and has characterized such writings as "puerile." The story of the three Brahmins in the Chhandogya Upanishad has been

to a majority of Indians, a sealed book, which they are unable to read and interpret. A general unfamiliarity with their form, and an unwillingness to understand the language of Indian Art have helped to banish one of the richest cultural heritages of India from our modern schools and colleges. And one cannot sufficiently emphasize on the urgent necessity of introducing selected examples of Indian Art as an indispensable factor in the education of our boys and girls in the schools. In many schools of Europe and America, classical antiquities, that is to say, Greek and Greco-Roman Art are placed before the elementary students of Greek and Roman history in order to bring home to the student the artistic environment of old Greece and Rome and the graphic incarnation of their cultural life, and in America school-children are frequently taken to the museums where qualified teachers and docents lecture to them in the presence of the actual masterpieces of sculpture and other works of Art supplemented by photographs, and other aids in order to assist the students to a graphic realization of the actual environment of the

cultural life of the Greeks, Romans and Egyptians. They are not merely supplementary studies of history but a carefully-planned programme of a gradual initiation into the beauties of Art and the way to approach and apprehend them. By frequent opportunity to come in contact with the greatest masterpieces of art from the very early days of their school career, not only by visits to the museums, but by frequent lectures, and by means of daily contact with carefully-selected wall-pictures of works of Art, students are able to develop their faculty of enjoying beautiful forms and to lay the foundation for a critical understanding of pictures which come to fruitful maturity in later years. Recently a scheme is under consideration for introducing the teaching of Indian music in the schools of Calcutta, but Indian Art is unfortunately still regarded as a forbidden fruit in our schools and colleges. In this case, the fruit of the forbidden tree is a veritable fruit of spiritual knowledge and a Paradise Lost will certainly be a Paradise Regained.

Base Metal

By SITA DEVI

THE long rainy season was over and the blue sky smiled down upon Rangoon, the capital of Burma. A few stray bits of cloud, fleecy white, floated about aimlessly, cheering the eyes of the beholder.

Such a day is never meant for staying indoors. A terrible thing is this rainy season of Burma and only people living there can know, how cheering its termination can be. So nobody in Rangoon wanted to stay at home on this day.

Two young men sat in the front room of a small flat. The building stood on one of the main thoroughfares of the city. They were talking. One appeared to be about twenty-four years of age, the other, a bit older.

"How long are we going to wait for that blessed tea of yours?" asked the younger one, who was named Jotin. "I want to get out. this very minute."

"Wait, wait," said his friend. "You have still to learn that patience is a great virtue, and that virtue brings its own reward."

"I don't want any reward," said Jotin. "I want my tea and that at once. You are a terrible cheat, Kartik. You wrote to me that October was the most perfect time of the year for outings and now that I am here, you don't want to budge an inch out of your room. I was a fool to believe you."

"I am neither God nor the head of the Meteorological Department. It is usual for the rains to close in October," said Kartik in defence. "If they failed to do so this year, I don't see why I should be held responsible. But it is still October, isn't it? You have been here barely a week."

The long-awaited tea arrived at this juncture and put a stop to their quarrel.

Jotin was the adopted son of a rich man of Calcutta. His own father was dead and

MARATHI

SAMIT BHAVAPRAKASHI: *Text with Marathi translation, by Anuradacharya P. G. Nanal Shastri. Publisher: Yashwanth Gopal Dikshit, Poona. Pages 784. Price Rs. 6.*

Mr. Dikshit is doing good service to the Marathi-knowing students of Aryan medicine by publishing translations of standard medical works in Sanskrit. He has recently put on the market the above book which, for its size, usefulness, merit and price, is commendable in every way. The translator, Nanal Shastri, who is a local practitioner of established reputation has done the work as a labour of love and has made a free gift of the copyright of the book to the Tilak Mahavidyalaya—an example of benevolence which deserves to be emulated by every one who has the cause of national education at heart.

The work is divided into three parts. The first part contains information about physiology, materia medica, terminology and sundry matter likely to be useful for the treatment of diseases. The second part is entirely devoted to the diagnosis and treatment of various diseases. This part is of very great importance—especially the portion about fevers. The third part is comparatively small and of little significance.

A word of suggestion to translators of such works will not be out of place here. Exigencies of the time require such translations not to be too close and cramped, which oftener than not only mislead readers. Translations should be so made as to fully bring out the sense of the original passage and illustrations should be given, drawn from actual experience in life. The new race of Vaidyas should be taught not to be entirely dependent on the store of knowledge accumulated by their ancestors, but they should be made to feel it their duty to expand and enrich that store to the best of their ability. It is a pity that a competent translator like Nanal Shastri has not set this goal before him. However his translation, though old-fashioned, is free from fault and will be found helpful to practitioners as well as lay readers.

PASCHATTYA ROGA NIDAN: by Dr. V. M. Bhat B.A., M.B., B.S. Publisher: same as above. Pages 407. Price Rs. 3.

The book though of modest size possesses peculiar interest for those who desire to make a comparative study of Western and Ayurvedic medicine in its important branch of diagnosis. Dr. Bhat is eminently fitted for this work, having fully gone through the training in Western medicine in a medical college and at the same time being an ardent student of Ayurvedic medicine. In the earlier portion of the book he has concisely dealt with subjects, such as, Pathology, Bacteriology etc. which form the crux of Western medical science, the rest of the book being devoted to the treatment of the main subject i.e., the diagnosis of disease. In the renowned Sanskrit work *Madhav Nidan* to which Dr. Bhat's book is intended to be a supplementary or companion volume, such as, fully treated in all its branches, such as, for instance, diseases calling for surgical operations, for instance, diseases of women and children, of the nose, ear and throat, midwifery &c. The scope of Dr. Bhat's book is very much limited. He has taken

up only *Kaya-chilitsa*, leaving other subjects to be treated in succeeding volumes which he intends to write later on. Such a vast store of foreign knowledge is pressed into service by the author in the present book that a good many students of Aryan medicine not acquainted with Western science are likely to find it embarrassing rather than helpful. The author's views on some points are likely to be challenged. For instance, from the way in which he discusses in the preface the genesis of acute and chronic diseases in the light of *TridoSha*, one is likely to be led to believe that as chronic diseases follow acute or sub-acute ones, so do the *Kapha* diseases follow the *Pitta* diseases. This is not only far from truth, but also goes against the convention of the Aryan medicine. Further, it is rather discomforting to find the author not adhering to a fixed terminology. (Vide pp. 27, 165, 273, 277, 87) The translation of 'Idiopathic' as *Akaran* is hardly appropriate. There is no disease (effect) without its cause, though human intellect which is not infallible, is at times unable to trace it. The remarks on *Upadansha* and syphilis demand more study and modification. The author has unnecessarily taken the trouble to coin vernacular terms for inflammation, when *Madhav Nidan* (Sloka 6) while giving the description of *Sotha* has given all the cardinal signs of inflammation. These and some other points of similar nature require to be looked into with great care. A list of technical terms used in the book, whether old or newly coined should have been appended.

One word more. The term 'Western Medicine' can reasonably be held to signify not Allopathy alone, but some other *pathies* also, which are based on scientific truths and are attested by reason and experiences to be sound systems of medicine. Homeopathy is undoubtedly such a one, being recognized in the scientific world, as a connecting link between Allopathy and the Ayurvedic system. A writer who volunteers to write about a comparative study of Western and Aryan medicine will hardly be justified to quietly ignore Homeopathy, as being without the pale of his subject.

CHIKITSA-PRABHAKAR—A TREATISE ON THE TREATMENT OF DISEASES. By Prabhakar B. Ogale of Ogalewadi, Anandh State. Publisher: the author himself. Pages 1050. Price Rs. 10.

This bulky volume is the product of the author's laborious and patient study of the science of medicine—especially Aryan—and his varied experience extending over forty years. In the preface the author has given a brief history of Aryan medicine, mentioning its peculiarities, and giving short extracts from the high testimonials regarding its excellence given by eminent German, French, American and English doctors. The book is divided into four parts. The first part contains short descriptions of medicinal plants, a list of over 900 works on Indian Medicine (many of which have become rare) and the *Materia Medica* of Ayurvedic drugs. The second part deals with the general rules of conduct of healthy life, various methods of diagnosis of diseases, preparation of medicines and the various systems of medicine such as the Homeopathy, Hydropathy, Chromopathy etc. The third part is devoted to the symptoms of various diseases and their treatment, while the fourth part

contains information about a number of allied subjects such as poisons and their treatment, bacteriology, surgical and other instruments etc. Thus the arrangement of the book is thoroughly systematic. The scope of the subject, though vast and wide, comprehending in it almost every conceivable bit of information regarding medicine, is so skilfully handled and the information given is so accurate and concise that the book may justly be called a veritable store of medical lore. It will be no exaggeration to call it the Encyclopaedia of Arvan medicine. The book does not contain learned discussions on points of contention, which interest only the learned few. The book is intended for laymen and as such it embodies every sort of information likely to be useful to a general reader. At the same time it will be equally useful to the Vaidyas practising in towns and villages. No library of a householder or a public institution can be complete without possessing a copy of this valuable book.

V. G. APTE

GUJARATI

NYAY NO NATH: By M. M. Gharekhan, B.L., LL.B., Advocate. Printed at the Sayaji Vijay Press, Baroda. Paper cover. Pp. 286. Price Rs. 2-0-0. (1928).

A very interesting novel with the background of common incidents in an Indian family, and the object of rendering poetic justice to its chief characters in the plot, the hand of the Advocate is visible in the Court Scene. It is a novel, which one would like to read.

(1) BUDDHI NUN BAZAAR, (2) LOHANA VIRO NI VATO: By Jadurai D. Khandhadia of Bombay. Cloth cover. Pp. 142: 92. Price Re. 1: 1-4-0 (1928).

The title of the first book, the Market of Intelligence, is an ironical one. The book contains fourteen stories, the subjects of which are treated in a light humorous way. The second book contains a few stories of the strength and venturesomeness shown by Lohanas—the fellow castemen of the author—and it throws fresh light on the subject of their claim to be descended from Raghuvanshi Kshatriyas. A supplement gives the history of the

Indian Army and the pay and prospects of those who join its ranks. We think it is the first attempt of its kind in Gujarati.

SRIAD BHAGYAD GITA JAOTI. By Maganbhai Chaturbhai Patel, B.A., LL.B., Bar-at-law. Printed at the Surya Prakash Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 285. Price Rs. 3. (1927).

This "Light" on the Gita is the result of independent thought on the part of the author, and his views are embodied in a lengthy preface wherein he discusses the personality of Shri Krishna and the purpose of the "Song Celestial" with great ability. The Sanskrit text is accompanied with a translation into Gujarati and with explanatory foot-notes. Its best part, however, is its preface

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

1. THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA by Vera Anstey. Longmans, Green & Co.
2. BRITISH BUDGETS—Second series by Sir Bernard Mallet and C. Oswald George.
3. NOTES ON THE SEVEN PAGODAS by Sir Richard Carnac Temple.
4. THE MESSAGE J. MOSES by A. S. Wadia.
5. RELIGIOUS EVOLUTION IN INDIA (Vol. I) by Hem Chandra Sarkar.
6. ARABIC LITERATURE by H. A. R. Gibb. Oxford University Press.
7. BEGINNINGS OF VIJAYANAGAR HISTORY by Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J., M. A.
8. BILLETIN DE L'ECOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTREME ORIENT, Tome XXVIII, 1928.
9. A PRIMER OF HINDUISM by D. S. Sarma. MacMillan.
10. MR. GODFREY HIGGINS' APOLOGY FOR MOHAMED, edited by Mirza Abul-Fazl.
11. CO-OPERATION AND RURAL WELFARE IN INDIA by B. B. Mukherjee, M.A.
12. INDUSTRIAL WELFARE IN INDIA by P. S. Lokanathan, M.A.
13. FORTY YEARS IN BARODA by G. H. Desai.
14. LIST OF THE HEADS OF ADMINISTRATIONS IN INDIA AND OF THE INDIA OFFICE IN ENGLAND, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA 1929.
15. THE EXPECTANT MOTHER AND HER BABY by Bodh Ray Chopra. W. Green & Son Ltd.

century, Kanthirava was the stalwart opponent of the advance of Muslim arms in the South.

In his article in the November issue, Sir Jadunath gives some more details from the Persian sources to support the view that the king of Mysore submitted and paid tribute to Bijapur. The Persian versions find a complete refutation in the Kanarese contemporary sources and traditions (as above). There is nothing improbable in the utter defeat and repulse of the Muslims, at the end of their victorious career as far as Seringapatam. The Persian sources cover up this defeat, tinged, as they generally are, with bias against the Hindus. Moreover, they are official chronicles. The significant portions in italics in the above section have not been quoted or referred to by Sir Jadunath in his recent article].

IV

Campaign of 1640 : Further acquisitions of the Bijapur general in Central Karnataka :

Persian sources : acquisition of Chickanayakanahalli, Belur, Tumkur, Ballapur and Kunigal by Afzal Khan on behalf of Rustum (*ibid*).

Kanarese sources : While the Muhammadans took these places in Central Karnataka, they were repulsed by the Mysore army under Nanjarajiah, the commander-in-chief of Kanthirava, from the following places occupied by them : Ramgiridurga, Huliuridurga, Bagur and Turuvekere. The Bijapur Muhammadans were prevented from having any permanent foothold in southern Karnataka. In Kanarese sources, Afzal Khan is named Abdulla Khan.

Sir Jadunath sees nothing impossible in the Kanarese account though, of course, he refrains from quoting or referring to the portion in italics, which are significant (*vide* his recent article).

V

Mustafa Khan and the Kanarese country (1640) : Persian sources : 'In June 1640 Mustafa Khan was despatched from Bijapur to subdue the Kanarese country.' (*M. R.* July, p. 11)

Kanarese sources : So far as Mysore was concerned, however, Mustafa Khan was repulsed by Nanjarajiah in the action at Turuvekere in 1646.

Sir Jadunath sees nothing impossible in the Kanarese account (*ibid*).

VI

Humbling of the Raja of Mysore into a tributary vassal (c. 1650).

Persian sources : 'About 1650, the Raja of Mysore was humbled into a tributary vassal by Khan Mahammad' (*M. R.* July, p. 12).

Kanarese sources : There is absolutely no evidence, on the Mysore side, to support this statement. On the other hand, the trend of evidence goes to show that, by about 1650, Kanthirava sustained a temporary defeat, due, probably, to the inexperience of the commander-in-chief who succeeded Nanjarajiah, and entered into some truce or agreement (with the Bijapur Padshah), which he never seems to have abided by. For, during the next two years again he recuperated his position against the Muhammadans, as is evident from his conquests of Muhammadan possessions of those years. Kanthirava was always aiming at independence of all external control, of which the striking of coins (Kanthi Rai hanams) in his name was the first proof. It, therefore, seems unsafe to assert that he was humbled into a tributary vassal.

Sir Jadunath, dealing with the word tribute, now calls it 'indemnity', apparently in the light of Kanarese versions. He also says there is no real conflict between the two versions, and omits to notice here the striking of coins by Kanthirava, a sure sign of assumption of independence and a landmark in the evolution of the kingdom of Mysore. He does not even quote or refer to the significant portion in italics above, in his article in the Nov. issue. The trend of Kanarese evidence is in favour of the view that the Mysore king never paid any tribute or indemnity to the Bijapur Sultan.

The details given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar about Mustafa Khan's invasion and the "pillaging" of Mysore territories by about 1650, however interesting they may be from the Persian point of view, are not borne out by the Kanarese sources. The contradiction is thus obvious.

Das Raj, referred to in the Persian text (*vide* Sir Jadunath Sarkar's recent article in the *M. R.*), is to be identified with *Dasarajavah*, the commander-in-chief who succeeded Lingarajiah (Nanjarajiah's brother), in the light of the Kanarese sources. Sir Jadunath's identification of him with *Dasraj* is incorrect.

For a fuller account of the transactions together with documentary details, the reader is referred to my contribution on the subject in the current number of the Mysore University Research Journal.

11-11-29.

N. Subba Rao

The Pala Art of Gauda and Magadha

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M. A. (CALCUTTA), D. LITT. (LONDON)
Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics, Calcutta University

EXCEPT in some rare cases, the art of Hindu India, or Ancient India, in the various parts of the country, whether in architecture sculpture or painting, was developed out of one common archetype which became characterized through a fusion of diverse elements during the second half of the first millennium B. C. The various elements which contributed towards the evolution of a Hindu art—taking Hindu in its widest sense, embracing equally Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism—were perhaps of three-fold origin, derived from three types of race and culture which built up the Hindu people and its civilization—Austrie, Dravidian, and Aryan. Our knowledge of primitive Austrie art is as yet next to nothing. But the Austrie people of the Ganges valley, which later became Aryanized in speech, and made important contributions to Hindu culture (as can be seen by a study of Austrie loan-words in Aryan languages, from Sanskrit downwards), can only be expected to have given at least something in the evolution of Hindu plastic art. The Dravidian contribution was perhaps more definite; and certainly some of the bases of Hindu art we owe to this people, who it is exceedingly likely were the people of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. The Aryan contribution to Hindu art on the other hand is of a very debatable quality and quantity. Certainly the Aryans as an Indo-European tribe had very little artistic culture to boast of. But during their sojourn in Northern Mesopotamia, while they were in touch with the highly civilized Asianic and Mesopotamian peoples during the early centuries of the second millennium B. C., they absorbed a great deal of the local culture, chiefly that of Assyria and Babylon; and it was this foreign culture, on the material side, partly or wholly absorbed and assimilated, that they might be expected to have brought into India in the course of their slow entry into that country sometime during the middle of the same millennium. Such art as they possessed could

thus be expected to have been largely borrowed from Assyrio-Babylonia. The indigenous art of the non-Aryan Austries and Dravidians, and this Aryan art which was largely of foreign, Assyrio-Babylonian origin, thus gave the basic elements of early Hindu art as a composite thing. Other elements came in later—equally foreign with the art of the Aryans, and ultimately of the same origin: namely, the art of Persia, in architecture and sculpture, which again is mainly of Assyrio-Babylonian inspiration. All these elements were fused into one national Art for Hindu India, and the earliest and fully characterised forms of this art we see in Maurya sculpture and in the architecture and sculpture of Buddh Gaya and Sanchi and Bharhut of the second century B. C. It is still a young art, seeking for the self-expression of the race,—it is still naive, and quite vigorous in its *naïveté*. With this school of the third and second centuries B. C., Hindu or Ancient Art may be said to have entered into its career of development as an important aspect of Hindu culture, being a plastic commentary to it. With a growing knowledge of the pre-Aryan art of Mohenjo-Daro now being disclosed by new and important documents that are coming to light, it will be easier to analyse the component elements of Hindu art much better. But with a characterized Hindu culture taking form during the second half of the 1st millennium B. C., its artistic expression also became characterized, and we find this characterization in the art of the third and second centuries B. C., the archetype from which subsequent developments arose in a line of direct descent.

Leaving aside Gandhara sculpture as an unconnected episode, this oldest Hindu art of times before Christ became modified into that of the Kushana and Andhra times, that of the Northern India and Amaravati Mathura in Northern India and Amaravati in Southern India presenting it in its later and more refined phase. The common character is still there, and the development in such distant tracts of the country has

tions and the altered outlook of present-day life; and the now feeble stream of Bengal folk-art which derived its waters from the mighty flood of Pala art, is now on the way to its final extinction in the sands of neglect and degeneracy. Melancholy as its subsequent history has been in its native provinces of Bihar and Bengal during the Turki, Pathan and Mogul as well as British periods, the art of the Palas found a new home in Nepal and in Tibet. The art of these countries—whether in sculpture or bronze-casting or painting (certain Central Asian and Chinese influences in the painting of Tibet excepted)—is only Pala art under novel and congenial conditions of unrestrained development: and the history of the art of the Palas of Gauda-Magadha will naturally include, if one is to trace its development to our times, not only the folk-art of Bengal which has preserved it in fragmentary form only, but also that of Nepal and Tibet where it is living even to-day.

An art which has nobly served the spiritual and other aspirations of a people for well-nigh five centuries—and that too during the period of the almost unparalleled intellectual and spiritual awakening which that people manifested in ancient times—must be conceded to have some vitality in it; and when it has continued to flourish in unabated vigour for some ten centuries among other peoples who had no art of their own at the beginning and who took it up, to express through its language—albeit hieratic—all their sentiments and passions, their devotion and their terror,—it surely merits the title of great art. Pala art with all its limitations was indeed a great art. It served the people of Bengal and Bihar at a time when this part of India was at the very forefront in Buddhist studies, and was a teacher of the Buddhist world. Its Brahmanical learning again was not negligible. There were commercial and other relations with Indo-China and Indonesia, and Tibet was a humble disciple. What a galaxy of names eminent in the philosophy of later Buddhism which the Pala and Sena periods present! The Tibetans have preserved most of these names—of the saints and scholars, and their works; and a long and illustrious list it is, from before the Pala period onwards: Candragomin of Varendra, Mahacarya; Acarya Buddhajnanapada; Acarya Jetari; Raikavadasa, the Kayasthacarya; Prajnakarama'i; Virya-sinha; Vibhuti-candra of Jagaddala; Tathagata-sinha; Saraha; Nada-pada; Rahula-bhadra;

Vairocana-vajra; Dipankara Srijnana Atisa; Abhayakara-gupta; Luyi-pada, Jalandhari-pada, Kanha-pada, Bhuzuku and the other Siddhas; and many more, including learned women like the Jnana-dakini Nigu, wife of Nadapada, and Lakshminkara, the daughter of king Indrabhuti, and others. The Tibetans have mentioned eleven great centres of Buddhist learning in Bengal and Bihar—Nalanda, Vikramasila, Purisa, Pulagiri and Mandara in Bihar, and Jagaddala, Devikotta, Pandubhumi, Vikramapuri, Salu, and Srimudra in Bengal. Side by side with the philosophic and literary developments of Mahayana Buddhism and Puranic Brahmanism in Bengal and Bihar, and of the Tantric cults both Brahmanical and Buddhist, the art of the Palas flourished, serving these faiths equally with the Scholars and Saints some of whom have been named above. There is an interrelation between this art and the religious culture behind it which cannot be ignored. And Pala art as the handmaiden of Buddhist faith and ritual inspired Nepal and Tibet, two lands with a non-Aryan Mongoloid population,—it drew out their finest artistic impulses to manifest themselves in bronzes and in banners, and in wood-carving and clay-modelling of a unique excellence.

A History of Indian Art must take note of Pala sculpture and architecture and painting, and there is as can be expected some treatment of it in the standard books on the subject. Specimens of Pala art in the various museums and collections have been described, e. g. in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (in the Bulletin of the Museum, and in its Catalogue of Indian Sculpture by Dr. Coomaraswamy, 1923); in Paul Mallon Collection in Paris (Quatorze Sculptures indiennes, decrites par V. Goloubew, Paris, no date, 38 Boulevard Flandrin); in the museum (the richest in Pala Sculpture) of the Varendra Anusandhana Samiti at Rajshahi (in its Catalogue and Annual Reports); and in other archaeological and other journals, like the Government of India Annual Reports on Archaeology, the *Rupam*, the *Modern Review*, etc. The best collections of Pala sculpture are naturally enough to be found in Bengal, in the Indian Museum in Calcutta, in the Dacca Museum, in the Museum of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad in Calcutta, in the museum of the Varendra Anusandhana Samiti at Rajshahi, in the Patna Museum, and in some private collections in Calcutta



Fig. 1 MARRIAGE OF SIVA AND UMA
PALA SCULPTURE FROM MAGADHA
In the Collection of Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji

and figures of deities were mostly intended to be placed in shrines or in niches in temple walls. In subject matter and treatment, the bronzes (the metal being an alloy on the basis of brass or copper, popularly called in Bengal *ashla-dhatu*, for which Mr. Bhattacharya in his book has coined an English word *octo-alloy*) agree with the stone figures, although these are in small compass. The MS. miniatures which are late show merely a two-dimension treatment, with both strong outline and charming colour scheme, of the figures in relief or in the round; only in some rare cases, group compositions of a very simple nature occur.

The range of Pala art was limited by cult necessities, and within this narrow circle it had to move. It is an art, generally, of stately repose and contemplative calm, although the dynamic and the demonic are not wanting. But the essential tone of the entire school may be said to be static. Pala art lacks the vastness, and the dynamic quality,—the epic imagination and the vigour and nobility of execution—of the Pallava bas-relief art at Mahabalipuram; neither does it possess the superb majesty of the Siva panels at Elephanta. Not being of the vast proportions of these latter, Pala sculpture cannot attain to their height. The Pala sculptors again, did not care much for the life around them. The devotee's contemplation of the deity whom he passionately adores: this evidently was the inspiration of the Pala artist. In Orissan art, which is a sister to Pala art but proceeding in a somewhat new line, the little *genre* scenes which peep out here and there and everywhere from temple walls and niches and corners—a mother with her child here, there a school with a teacher and his pupils, a boat-party or a camp of ascetics at another place—that add a peculiar charm to that school. This is absent in Pala art. Then again in Pala art there was not that frank delight in flesh and in the pleasures of the flesh that form a distinction and a special quality of the art of Orissa, and of the Chandellas at Khajuraho, for instance, and also to some extent of the art of Rajputana. Woman's beauty evidently did not move the Pala artists so much, although some exquisitely modelled Lakshmis and Taras and other female divinities attest the power of the Pala sculptor in this line; and rarely, very rarely indeed do we find an erotic scene. In fact, this tendency to make art subservient to the religious

idea, to the divine conception which the scriptures taught, is a legacy which has come down to the present-day *Kumars* or clay-modellers and *Patuas* or painters of Bengal who still carry on the tradition of the thousand-years old art of their ancestors, even though they have only clay and crude paints as their medium: there is such an anxiety among them to make the figure conform to the *dhyana*—to the conception of the deity as the scriptures give it. And they are perhaps even more anxious to portray in the face of the deity, through a smile or a frown, his or her gracious or terrible aspect. The artist seemed to walk with a sacred text by his side to guide and to restrain him. His purpose seemed to be to prepare a plastic commentary on the *Sastras*: yet it was not wholly so. His hand could transform the conventional image of a god or goddess into something of a living divinity, with an ineffable smile and an aspect of infinite kindness which is characteristic of Indian art at its best: or into an avenging god who is an embodiment of terror. And indeed, some of the finest specimens of Indian sculpture are to be selected from among the Pala Vishnus, and Buddhas, and Taras, and Devis. Even when the goddess is slaying the demon, she has a look of pity in her face. And here too there is nothing of the dynamic in the act: the violent action is not suggested, but it is of the deity appearing at a certain stage in the act of killing the demon and making a pause in it as if to give a vision of herself to her worshipper. A contemplative repose with the suggestion of infinite grace—a figure such as would present itself before the ecstatic vision of a devoted worshipper—this is what shines through Pala sculpture in its most common form.

The art of the Palas was an artistic development shared in common by both Bengal and Bihar; and a thousand years ago these two tracts formed one nation and one people under the same puissant dynasty of rulers, and speaking but dialects of the same language. In the evolution of this art Bengal was the younger province in this dual kingdom of Magadha and Gauda, or Magadha and Gauda-Vanga,—younger in history and in Aryan culture. But it seems that it was the genius of Bengal that gave to Pala art its distinctive tone. The following well-known passage from the Tibetan historian of Buddhism, Tarānāth, quoted *in extenso* by

so was Jogin Mazumdar, who had adopted him. The mother who had borne him in pain and sorrow, was still alive, but Jotin did not call her mother. The wife of Jogin Mazumdar was legally entitled to that name.

They finished their tea in a hurry and after changing into cleaner clothes, went out.

"Where to?" asked Kartik as they came out into the street.

"Oh, I don't know," said Jotin. "Let us walk on. I want to see the town."

"When your father came here years ago," said Kartik, "he made many friends. Some of them may still be alive and living here. If you would like to meet them, I can take you along and introduce you to them."

"Don't be silly," said Jotin. "I don't want to sit in small dark rooms, talking to old fogies this evening. Time enough for those social duties. I am going to roam about now till sheer hunger forces me to return."

"Well then, you need not return before midnight," said Kartik, "because much better food is available in the streets here than at home. You have already tasted the splendid cooking of my servant. Hunger is the only sauce that can make it palatable. You can have any kind of food, Chinese, Burmese, Japanese, Indian or European in these roadside eating houses. Splendid cooking in some of them, and they are not very expensive either."

"No, old chap," said Jotin. "I promised the old lady, that I won't touch forbidden food. Even in the steamer I did not take anything but some awful stuff, cooked by the Hindu *bhandari*."

The old lady, referred to, was Jotin's adoptive mother. She was extremely conservative and orthodox. Even when her husband was alive, she used to drive everybody crazy with her strictness. Now that she had become a widow, she had become a terror to her relatives and subordinates.

"Oh, go away," said Kartik. "How is she going to find out? Do you think she has engaged a detective to dog your steps? You have come to enjoy yourself, and are you going to do so by behaving like a Brahmin widow? Much fun you will get out of it."

"You never know," said Jotin. "I would not trust those half-lunatics too far. If she had been really my mother, I would not have cared a hang. Even had she caught me doing wrong, she would have only abused me for a few days. But these people! A woman who buys a son for herself, can also kick him out. The law allows it. I

have disowned my parentage and my name for money, and I am not going to lose that money through any carelessness."

"If you are so nervous about it," said Kartik, "I won't press you. But you are perfectly safe here, you know. She would never have known anything about it. Does she suspect you much?"

"Well, yes," said Jotin, hesitating a little. "To a certain extent she does. In Calcutta, I was always followed by her men. I don't know, of course, whether anybody has come thus far."

"But this is insufferable!" said Kartik. "I would have run away after a week. This is selling your birthright for a mess of pottage."

"You are right," said Jotin. "But my dear chap, the lure of gold is terrible. And once you become accustomed to wealth, you can never do without it. You have to sell your soul for it, if you can't get it any other way."

They went on and on, talking all the while. Many of the houses and shops were gaily decorated and illuminated. Crowds of children, the Burmans in bright silken garments, the Indians in their everyday soiled and drab garments, congregated in the footpaths. They played and shouted and let off crackers and fireworks. Signs of merry-making appeared everywhere.

"What's on?" asked Jotin. "This is the Burmese festival of lamps," said Kartik. "For a few days, they will make merry, illuminate their houses, have dancing and music and spend a fortune in fireworks. This is one of their greatest festivals. If you want to see Burmese dancing, I can take you to the Shwedagon Pagoda."

"But what an idea, my dear boy," said Jotin. "What's the use of illumination on a full moon night? It is like entering into a competition with the creator. The proper time for illumination is a very dark night, the darkest possible. We Hindus are a clever people."

"They did not bother about proper time much," said Kartik. "The end of the rainy season has got to be celebrated, you know. It is a perfect hell, I tell you. It goes on raining for full seven months. So the first sight of a clear sky sends these chaps crazy with delight."

"I say," said Jotin, "the sight of all these lamps and fireworks has made me awfully

Mr. French in his book on Pala art referred to above, gives ancient and authoritative testimony in this matter, and incidentally also makes clear the question of the indebtedness of Nepal to Pala art: "In the time of King Devapala [end of the ninth century] there lived in Varendra (Northern Bengal) an exceedingly skilful artist named Dhiman, whose son was Bitpalo [? Vitapala]; both of these produced many works in cast-metal, as well as sculptures and paintings which resembled the works of the Nagas. The father and son gave rise to distinct schools. In painting, the followers of the father were called the Eastern school; those of the son as they were most numerous in Magadha (Bihar) were called followers of the Madhyadesha school of painting. So in Nepal the earlier schools of art resembled the old Western school; but in the course of time a peculiar Nepalese school was formed which in painting and casting resembled rather the Eastern types."

The art of the Palas is a precious heritage from the past, and it should be a subject of careful study by students, of Indian culture, and specially by the people of Bihar and Bengal as well as those of Nepal and Tibet; in addition it has a unique value in the study of Mahayana Buddhism, and as such the peoples of the Far East professing the Mahayana have a great interest in it. And a comparative study of Pala art with the other Indian schools is bound to be instructive, and productive of important results in the domain of Indian art, religion and ethnology.

Notes on the Illustrations

Fig. 1: Bas-relief of Siva's Marriage with Uma. Grey chlorite: 19 inches by 12 inches. Provenance, Gaya. In the collection of the author.

Siva's marriage with Uma has been most nobly depicted in a colossal relief panel at Elephanta and similar panels are found at Elura. It is a favourite subject for sculpture in the south, and exquisite treatments of it in the 17th century Madura style are to be found in the temple at that place.

Siva as the bridegroom is known in the South as 'Kalyana-sundara.'

Various versions of this subject are known. The present one agrees with the bas-relief at Elephanta and at Elura in the disposition of the principal divinities—Siva to the right, Uma to the left; Siva is holding

Uma's right hand (*pāni-grahana*); in his other three hands Siva is bearing the trident, the little drum, and the skull-cup, while Uma has in her left hand a round metal mirror. The downcast eyes of the couple proclaim them as the bridal pair. Between Siva and Uma sits Brahma as the priest with the lighted fire of sacrifice. The Nine Planets are on the arch overhead, with two attendant deities, and two other attendants are standing on either side below. At the base flanked by Uma's lion on one side and Siva's bull on the other is a group of *Ganas*, Siva's followers, dancing and playing music.

A similar treatment of this theme is found in a fragmentary form at Dacca, and it has been noted and reproduced in Mr. Bhattacharya's book. The Dacca relief is very late, and the positions of the deities are reversed, Siva being to the left and Uma to the right. A completely different kind of the Kalyana-sundara image occurs in Bengal sculpture,



BUDDHA TEACHING
Pala Sculpture from Magadha
Paul Mallon Collection, Paris
Fig. 2

in two reliefs in the museum of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad and the Dacca Museum. Here the treatment is iconic, and not that

of a scene in relief: Siva stands facing the worshipper towering over Uma who stands in front of him: in the background and below are the gods and the divine attendants.

The present relief has been noted by Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji in the 'Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1925-1926', at p. 176. Mr. Banerji thinks that it 'belongs to the period of revival under Mahipala I. i. e. to the first half of the eleventh century A. D.'

Fig. 2—Figure of the Preaching Buddha. In the Paul Mallon Collection in Paris. From Magadha.

This exquisite figure is an example of Pala sculpture at its best. The Buddha is seated on a lion-seat with a lotus base, of the type which has been continued down to our times in the Nepal and Tibet bronzes. His fingers are forming the *dharmacakra-mudra*, the figure proper to teaching and preaching. On his palms are the imprints of the wheel, symbolising the Wheel of the Law which he set rolling by his first preaching in the deer park at Sarnath.



MOTHER AND CHILD
Pala Sculpture from North Bengal
(By courtesy of Mr. P. C. Nahar, Calcutta)

Fig. 3

Fig. 3—'Mother and Child' Relief ('Sadyojata'). In the Puran Chand Nahar Collection, Calcutta. Found in North Bengal.

This relief is a beautiful specimen of Pala art, and from the style of writing in the inscription on it Mr. Bhattacharya suggests for it a date prior to 1050 A. D. The subject matter proved one of the most baffling in iconography. There is the figure of a young woman decked with ornaments lying or reclining on a bed with a baby beside her, and there is also on or near the bed the *Linga* symbol of Siva: and in some other examples of this subject (several have been found), there are generally figures of the gods Karttikeya and Ganesa, with or without the Nine Planets, and sometimes with other deities and attendants. The exact significance was not known, and various explanations were suggested. There is no clear indication from the texts in this connexion. Mr. Bhattacharya, who has discussed the matter at length (in pp. 134-142 of his 'Iconography'), has found texts from the *Linga-purana* and the *Brahma-purana*, on the authority of which the subject can be identified. The young mother is Uma; the child beside her is Siva, who in order to test her whether she could find her husband out from among the assembled gods, assumed the form of a child, and was found sleeping on the lap of the bride. She perceived by her inner vision who he was, and accepted him with pleasure. This is the *Brahma-purana* legend. Then the *Linga-purana* mentions how the Supreme Lord originated from Brahma as a child, *Sadyojata* or the Newly-born; and this *Sadyojata* is Siva. The figure of the *Linga* which is always present in these 'Mother and Child' reliefs, shows that the subject is Sivite, and that the *Brahma-purana* legend gives the best explanation. It is thus an episode in the story of Siva and Uma's marriage.

The delicacy of treatment in spite of the comparative want of facility is quite remarkable in this little relief. The inscription at the right side of the relief is corrupt and the reading suggested by Mr. Bhattacharya is not wholly convincing. It is a brief dedicatory note, probably giving the name of the person who consecrated the relief.

Fig. 4: Image of Surya: found in North Bengal, now in the Museum of the Varindra Anusandhana Samiti, Raj-shahi.

One of the most popular Brahmanical deities in Surya the Sun-God, and his wor-

ship was very widely spread, judging from the numerous and beautiful images of him found in Bengal. The iconography of the Surya images has been discussed in detail by Mr. Bhattasali in his book (pp. 148-173). In the present image, which is one of the finest examples of the later period of Pala art, in a very good state of preservation (although a hand has been broken off), we have the god standing facing his worshippers—handsome and majestic in his youthful godhead, a figure strong and noble. In his two hands are two lotuses conventionalized. Surya in later Hindu mythology was given three wives : Ushas, Surenu or Dyans (the original Saranyu), and Chaya (or Nikshubha, or Prithvi). In the image, Ushas is the tiny figure standing in front of Surya, and Surenu is on his left side and Chaya on his right. Surya is attended also by Pingala, the bearded corpulent figure to his right, with a pen and ink-pot in hand : he is a form of Agni or Brahma, and he records the good and evil deeds of men ; while to his left is Dandi or Dandanayaka, who is usually depicted with a sword, a form of Kumara the god of war. Surya evidently stands in his one-wheeled car drawn by his seven horses, which are below the group of the godly figures. The horses are driven by Surya's charioteer, the footless half-man half-bird Aruna. There are also female attendants shooting the rays of the sun as their arrows on the either side of the wives and male attendants of the deity : and overhead are a couple of celestial beings, Vidyadharas, with garlands.

Surya is remarkable among North Indian deities in wearing top-boots, together with his wives, sons and attendants, while all the other deities of the Hindu pantheon remain bare-footed. There was a revival of Sun worship in the early centuries after Christ through Iranian influence : and the Iranian Mithra or Mihira, bearded and booted, came to India and was absorbed in the Indian Surya with his seven-horsed chariot : and the result of this fusion, of what were but the diversifications of the same cult, gave us the medieval North-Indian Surya, some of the most artistic representations of which are to be found in the later Pala art of Bengal.

Fig. 5 : Hevajra with Sakti. About one cubit high, in black basalt. In the collection of Mr. Prithvi Singh Nahar, B. A., 38 Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta. From North Bengal. Late Pala.

This piece is one of the most unique and most interesting in Pala art, and is an invaluable document for both its iconographic and artistic importance. It is in perfect state of preservation, and is a direct ancestor of the Tibetan *Yab-Yum* or 'Father-and-Mother' figures in which the deity is in the embrace of his Sakti. Modern Tibetan bronzes, representing the same deity Hevajra in the same pose and with the same attributes, are in existence. Hevajra is one of the tutelary or protecting deities—*Yi-dam* as the Tibetans call them—who are worshipped by the devotee to help him in his quest. These protecting gods are ultimately forms of the Dhyani-Buddhas, conceived in their mild and their angry or terrible aspects. In their terrible aspects they are made to accompany their Saktis. Hevajra was one such tutelary deity of terrible aspect. The worship of Hevajra seems to have gained in popularity in the later Pala period of art, but the deity seems to have received great honours outside India, in Tibet and in Mongolia. Khubilai Khan the Mongol emperor was converted to his cult in the 13th century. Albert Gruenwedel in his book on the *Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia* gave an account of Hevajra and his attributes (French ed., p. 107), and Getty following Gruenwedel has treated of Hevajra in her *Gods of Northern Buddhism*. Indian (sanskrit) accounts of Hevajra are wanting ; and only one Pala image of Hevajra has been discovered so far—one without his Sakti. It is a bronze image with an inscription in letters of the 11th-12th century, and it has been described by Mr. Bhattasali. The stone image in Mr. P. S. Nahar's collection which is reproduced here will thus be the second Indian image of Hevajra known, but this one is remarkable in having the Sakti as well. Hevajra has eight heads, sixteen arms, and four feet : his eight hands carry skull-cups, and in those on the right side are figures of animals while in those on the left side are figures of the gods, and the two natural hands hold cups evidently of catables. A Dhyani Buddha is on his eighth head, and his countenance is surrounded, by a halo of flames. There are eight medallions with dancing goddesses above, beside and below the figure of Hevajra and his Sakti,—a detail which is not seen in the similar Tibetan bronzes which do not have the frame of the halo. On his lotus stand there are human bodies on which the deities are trampling.

The Sakti is embracing her lord, encircling one foot round his loins.

The conception of a godhead as above would seem not to have left any scope for the artist, and yet all this weight of symbolism has not been able to kill the art which is unmistakable in this composition. There is spirited modelling of the limbs, and the faces have the Pala touch, in successfully

bringing out the terrible yet benign aspect of the godhead as in Hevajra's faces here. Viewed from all aspects, this image, which is published here for the first time, is one of the most remarkable in Pala sculpture, and is a precious document of Buddhist art and iconography and of the development of religion in North-eastern India.

Tantrism in Cambodia, Sumatra and Java

By DR. B. R. CHATTERJI, Ph.D., D. Litt.

TANTRISM flourished in Java in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of the Christian era. We have no precise information as to when it was introduced into this island. But we know that in Cambodia Tantric texts are mentioned in the ninth century A. D.

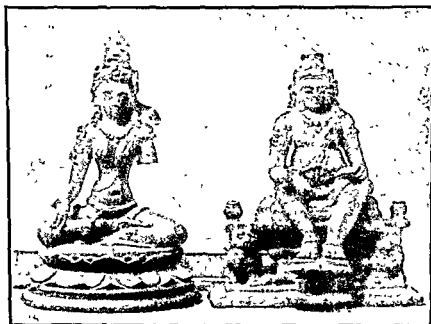
came from Janapada to the court of Jayavarman II (802-869 A. D.). This Brahman recited the Vinashika, the Nayottara, the Sammoha and the Shirashcheda from beginning to end so that they could be written down and then he taught the Royal High Priest these texts. It is mentioned also that these four texts constituted the four faces of the Tumburu.

Now there are three regions each with its special Tantras, and among the Tantras of the Vishnukranta region (which includes Bengal and extends to Chittagong) there are two works, Sammohana and Niruttara Tantras, the titles of which approach very closely to the names by which two of the texts (Sammoha and Nayottara) are mentioned in this Cambodian inscription. Again 'Tumburu' is the name of a Gandharva and there is a Gandharva Tantra in the Vishnukranta group. It is interesting to note that another group of Tantras is mentioned, the Ashvakranta group, to which is allocated the region extending from the Karatoya river (in Bengal) to Java. There are other references in Cambodian inscriptions as to how several kings were initiated into the Vrah Guhya (the Great Secret) by their Brahman *gurus*: Cambodian Buddhism was probably much more free from Tantric influence than Javanese Buddhism of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But there is reference in an eleventh century inscription to the "Tantras of the Paramis." Also images of He-vajra, a Tantric Buddhist divinity, have been recently discovered at Angkor Thom, the ancient capital of Cambodia.



Bodhisatva

A Cambodian inscription relates how a Brahman, of the name of Hiranyadama,

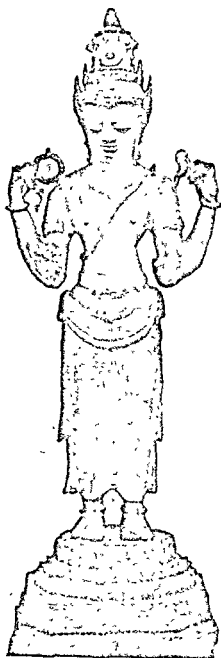


Kuvera and Paundravasini



Lokeshvara with Sakti

In Java Tantrism seems to have attained greater importance. Kritanagara (1268-1292 A. D.), the last ruler of the kingdom of Singasari (in East Java), who was adored in



Siva

his lifetime as Shiva-Buddha, was an adept in Tantric practices. Prapancha, the author of the important Kavi (old-Javanese) chronicle *Nagarakrtagama*, says that Kritanagara had gone through the ten ceremonies of purification and the eight processes of initiation and that he diligently carried out the *pancha malaras* "free from all sensual delusion." He goes on to say "After Kritanagara's 'jina initiation' his name was everywhere known as Shri Jnana-bajreshvara." We know also from the inscription engraved on the pedestal of the statue of this king dressed as a monk

that after his 'jina initiation' on a cremation ground, Kritanagara was supposed to be identified with Mahaksobhya. His funeral monument was adorned with two images, both of them described as exquisitely beautiful, one of Shiva and the other of Aksobhya.



Avalokitesvara

Then we come to the Tantric inscriptions of Adityavarman, a prince of Sumatra (c. 1343-1378 A.D.) An inscription of this prince dated 1269 Shaka era (1347 A.D.) describes the consecration of a Buddhist

sculptural group of Amoghapasha-Gaganaganja with his companions and in this connection speaks of the virtuous practices to be observed by the Buddhist community and then goes on to praise the practices of Yoga of the Mahayana. At the same time it glorifies a god and goddess Matanginisha and his Tara. Prof. Kern remarks that Matanganisha and Tara must be Amoghapasha and his Shakti and presumably they are Buddhistically fitted aspects of Shiva and Durga. In this inscription Matanganisha is represented as drunken and amorous—executing a mystic dance with his Tara in a locality resounding with the notes of birds, perfumed with the sweet scent of jasmine, full of the humming of bees and the cries of rutting elephants, and the merry shouts of sportive Gandharvas. Probably Adityavarman himself is to be identified with Matanganisha and his queen with Tara and the inscription commemorates some Tantric rite performed by the royal pair. Adityavarman is supposed to be an incarnation of Kama-raja-adhimukti-sadasmitijna, i.e., Kama whose endeavours are continuously directed towards *mukti*. This fits in well with the scene depicted here where the royal couple carry on their amorous dance (in the aspect of Matanganisha and Matangini) in the fragrant groves, echoing with the lovely songs of nymphs, where lovers, with their locks of hair adorned with mandara blossoms, seek out trysting places where they disport themselves with their beloved. Is the whole scene the description of some *chakra* ceremony?

Another inscription of Adityavarman dated 1297 Shaka era (1375 A. D.) narrates that on Tuesday, in the month of Jaisthya of that year, king Adityavarman was made a Kshetraraja with the title of Vishera Dharani. Then it goes on:—"Seated on a high seat, eating delicacies, lord of Suravasa drinking, laughing with myriads of flowers spreading on all sides their perfume...The perfume of Adityavarman's offerings is indeed indescribable." The sentences are disconnected and the meaning can only be guessed at. But we may be sure that this obscure passage does not refer to a royal picnic. As Herr I. J. L. Moens has tried to explain (Tijd. Batav. Genoot, 1924) all this may mean that king Adityavarman became a Kshetraraja in a cremation ground (like king Kritanagara)—enthroned on a heap of corpses, laughing like a maniac, drinking blood, while his *mahapashada* (his human



"A SCENE FROM GITAGOVINDA"

By M'nnak

Printed Press, Calcutta



Chunta

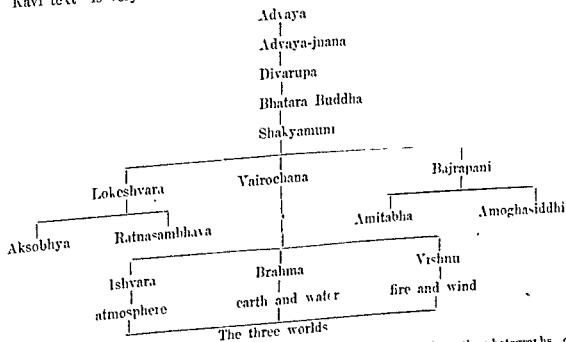


Tara



Amoghapasha

specialized in the Tantras. The last part of the Kavi text is very obscure and I shall end here by giving a curious genealogical table from this interesting Tantric work.*



* The illustrations published with this article have been reproduced from the photographs of the Dutch Far Eastern Archaeological Survey by their courtesy.

Two Indian Landscapes

By SAMARENDRA NATH GUPTA

LANDSCAPES have never been a favourite theme of any of the orthodox schools of Indian painting perhaps for the simple reason that the portrayal of the outward representative aspect of nature did not appeal to Indian artists as other subjects of religious and sentimental interest. By instinct the Indian mind is a worshipper of nature. He reveres nature not because she is beautiful but because he cherishes a feeling for her which appeals to his soul. He is also intuitively fond of details which give him food for thinking. These go a long way to explain why Indian artists seldom took to landscape painting as a separate subject. He painted foliage and flowers to perfection; he painted the fleeting glory of the evening sun, sometimes a part of a landscape, in a painting; but he seldom attempted to paint a landscape as a subject by itself. The landscape was not an interesting undertaking for him; his love for the decorative and descriptive—essential characteristics of Indian painting—made him disregard the common aspects of nature. He treated nature in a purely decorative and artificial manner to suit his aesthetic expressions. Elements of landscape in Indian paintings whenever introduced have a relevant value in relation to the subject-matter of the paintings where they are incorporated. In this respect the Indian masters show a wonderful power of selection of essentials. This selection took the form of an intricate landscape, a single tree, or even a spray of flowers, but they always created an atmosphere and provided a befitting background to complete the subject-matter of the paintings.

A very interesting example of a purely decorative landscape is reproduced opposite page 90. It is a purely artificial rendering of an imaginary landscape in a most poetical manner. It illustrates a verse from Jayadeva's *Gita-geetu* where the Malaya breeze is said

to be blowing towards the Himalayas to cool itself in the eternal snows as it finds it difficult to bear the pain of the bite of snakes and hear the sweet cooings of the cuckoo at the sight of mango blossoms.

The artist (Manak, about 1830 A. D.) has interpreted this verse by showing two mountains. One is full of angry snakes and blossoming trees and the other one on the left—the Himalayas—with specks of snow on the ridges. It is a purely arbitrary rendering of a landscape and yet its fine decorative treatment both in design and colour make it a most remarkable painting.

The other painting reproduced as frontispiece is of a different character. The dominating element of the painting is its landscape in the background which creates the necessary atmosphere and gives colour to the subject of the painting.

It shows a noble on horseback with attendants out for hawking. The landscape is generalized, artificial, and yet true in spirit of nature. It does not perhaps represent any particular spot which the artist may have seen or made note of. It gives a bit of the dreamland of the artist—not nature as she is but what the artist fancies her to be—full of rhythm and beauty. His intense feeling for the landscape made him have the same kind of sympathy for the glades and meadows as he had for the blades of grass which cover them; he fancied the trees, as he has often seen them, leaf by leaf; he visualized the ducks and cranes revealing their wonderful plumage to the light of the day when all was quiet and they had no fear; he inhaled the scent of lotus blossoms in the fresh sparkling water of a hill-lake. All this came before his mind's eyes when he composed this picture and when he came to paint them he went over the glades and meadows, trees and flowers, birds and waters with that precision and care which love alone could command.